WORKERS VANGUARD

Volume No. 29

2 January to 25 December 1998
(Issues Nos. 681-703)

Published by: Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 681 2 January 1998

U.S. Troops Out!

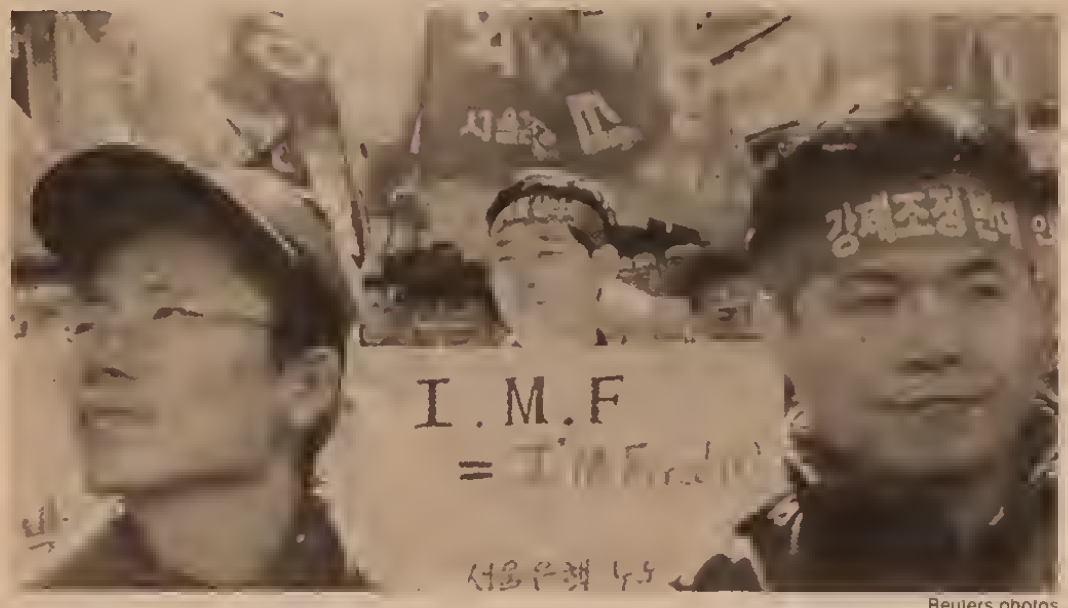
IMF "Bailout" Means Misery for South Korean Workers

For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

DECEMBER 20—Former "dissident" Kim Dae Jung was elected president of South Korea two days ago amid one of the sharpest crises in the country's history. As the series of financial collapses which first erupted in Thailand this summer engulfed the world's eleventh-largest economy, South Korea has been thrown into turmoil. December 3, the day outgoing president Kim Young Sam acquiesced to the onerous terms of a $57 billion "bailout" proposal by the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund (IMF), has been dubbed "National Humiliation Day" and compared to the Japanese colonization which ended in 1945. Among the working class, there is widespread fear and anger over the threat of massive wage cuts and even more massive layoffs—as many as one million in the coming months.

Even as the IMF deal was being pushed through, the imperialist-imposed partition of Korea was again highlighted, as the U.S., South Korea, China and North Korea began the first-ever "peace" talks aimed at bringing to a formal close the 1950-53 Korean War. For the past half century, the Korean peninsula has been divided at the 38th parallel between a capitalist police state in the South and a bureaucratically deformed workers state in the North. To this day, close to 40,000 American troops remain on South Korean soil—including a mammoth garrison right in the heart of the capital, Seoul—for which the U.S. demands some $350 million a year from the South Korean government. The North Korean delegation at the talks rightly demanded the removal of this imperialist occupation force. As proletarian internationalists, the Spartacist League/U.S. has consistently called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from Korea.

The conditions imposed by the IMF, under direct U.S. diktat, are clearly designed to undermine South Korea's capacity to compete economically—even as a weak rival—by clipping the wings of the high-flying industrial/financial conglomerates, the *chaebol*, and limiting exports of cars and other manufactured goods. With the South Korean *won* plunging in value against the dollar, the IMF deal also opens the way to a stream of imperialist takeovers, as former constraints on foreign investment and banking operations have been pried wide open. This has provoked a tide of nationalist sentiment, with middle-class housewives taking to the streets to protest imports of foreign luxury items and to collect donations to keep the *won* afloat. That wide layers of the South Korean population see the IMF accord as a plot to enforce neocolonial dependence speaks to the history of the country this century, subjugated first by Japanese colonialism and then by U.S. imperialism.



Reuters photos

South Korean workers protest against austerity measures dictated by U.S.-dominated IMF. Massive U.S. military presence bolsters Seoul police state, threatens North Korean deformed workers state. Below: Clinton during 1993 visit to 38th parallel dividing North and South.

While South Korea's capitalist rulers are far from happy about having to bow before the IMF, they are sure to use this opportunity to go after the combative independent labor movement organized in the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU). With the *chaebol*'s profit margins squeezed by competition on the international market and their attempts to intensify exploitation at home frustrated by the power of the unions, already a year ago the Kim Young Sam regime tried to ram through laws codifying the illegal status of the KCTU, allowing mass layoffs and strengthening the draconian National Security Law. This provoked an upsurge of workers' struggles, which could well happen again in response to the imposition of IMF-dictated austerity measures.

If the South Korean workers go into battle, they will not be fighting alone. Throughout Southeast Asia, economic crisis has impelled workers onto the streets. Suharto's Indonesia has been hit by strikes on almost a daily basis (see "Capitalist Greed Fuels Worker Unrest—Crisis Rocks Southeast Asia," *WV* No. 678, 14 November 1997). Meanwhile, the question being asked everywhere is, "Will China be next?" As the venal Stalinist regime ruling the deformed workers state accelerates capitalist "market reforms," it faces enormous pressures on all sides. Foreign investment has plummeted this year, helping to undercut Beijing's designs for a "cold" restoration of capitalism, while strikes and protests against layoffs and falling living standards have mounted. The alternatives posed pointblank in China are proletarian political revolution, creating a regime based on workers democracy and proletarian internationalism, or bloody capitalist counterrevolution and untrammeled imperialist exploitation.

The workers of South Korea can play a leading role in the fight for a socialist Asia. Proletarian revolution in South Korea would not only sweep away the bloodsucking *chaebol* capitalists and their police-state terror but, together with workers political revolution in the North to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, would bring about the revolutionary reunification of Korea. This fight must be based on a perspective of internationalist unity with Chinese workers facing the threat of capitalist counterrevolution and with the proletariat of Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia. The International Communist League fights to forge Bolshevik parties in Korea and around the world in struggle for new October Revolutions.

"Democratic" Police State

The South Korean bourgeoisie prides itself on performing a "miracle on the Han" in developing the country's industrial base over the past three decades. But there was nothing miraculous about this; rather, it was based on grinding exploitation of the proletariat enforced by an enormous police-state apparatus backed up by the U.S. military gendarmerie. Writing about backward countries in the epoch of imperialism, Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky noted in his 1940 article, "Trade Unions

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Part 5: Labor and the Fight for Black Rights

Wall Street and the War Against Labor

See Page 6

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The Silence of the IGs

Last September, the "Internationalist Group" (IG) posted on its Internet Web page an "ALERT!" reporting on "New Repression Against Brazilian Trotskyists." According to the IG, the Brazilian courts had ordered the seizure of the second issue of a union newsletter put out by the Comitê de Luta Classista (CLC—Class-Struggle Caucus), a group run by the IG's fraternal allies, the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB). The IG posting proclaimed: "The bosses' courts want to silence the voice that tells the truth." An appeal for "urgent solidarity" was addressed "to the workers, to the unions, to all opponents of repression." This "urgent" call has remained on the IG's Web page without a word of update *for over three months!*

What gives? In a telephone interview with IG *supremo* Jan Norden on December 20, a *Workers Vanguard* reporter asked why, "if the point was to silence the voice that tells the truth," the IG hadn't circulated the issue of the CLC newsletter suppressed by the courts. Replied Norden, "We're not basically pushing for that." Norden and his IG certainly haven't pushed for the truth.

Since Norden & Co. engineered their expulsions from the International Communist League a year and a half ago, this handful of demoralized defectors from Trotskyism have trumpeted the fiction that the LQB is building the "nucleus of a genuine Trotskyist party" and have appealed for "international solidarity" on the basis that their Brazilian allies are "class war" heroes who supposedly fight cop and court intervention into the SFPMVR municipal workers union in Volta Redonda. The ICL broke off fraternal relations with the LQB in June 1996 precisely over its *refusal* to fight for a Trotskyist party, as it became clear that the LQB was determined to pursue a course of ingrained trade-union opportunism, manifested in a squalid struggle for control of the SFPMVR. The utterly necessary and principled character of our break with the LQB was subsequently confirmed when we discovered that the LQB has since been up to its ears in class treason, repeatedly dragging the SFPMVR union through the bosses' courts, and even turning over internal union materials such as financial records (see "Lies, Damned Lies and Anti-Union Lawsuits—IG's Brazil Fraud Exposed," *WV* No. 669, 30 May 1997).

The LQB (then Luta Metalúrgica) initially resisted our urging that they take up the fight to expel cops from the SFPMVR union, and when they did so they tried to use it as a factional club against their rivals for union leadership. As they fought it out for control of the union, the LQB and an equally unprincipled faction headed by pro-cop thug Artur Fernandes, a supporter of the centrist Liga Bolchevique Internacionalista (LBI), brought one court suit after another against each other—and the union. It was the lawyer of the SFPMVR, now run by Fernandes, who got the latest court injunction against the LQB's CLC.

As we uncovered and published ever more proof of the LQB's betrayals, the IG has repeatedly weighed in with bombastic diatribes on their Web site, lyingly seeking to alibi their Brazilian collaborators with a calibrated "damage control" operation, reluctantly admitting to only those facts which we had already exposed. Now, in the phone interview with *Workers Vanguard*, Norden says in reference to the LQB's anti-union court suits: "*You found out about it long after we found out about it*"! So the IG (inadvertently) admits that it knew of this class betrayal while it was pushing its campaign for "solidarity" to demand the cops and courts keep their hands off the SFPMVR and its then-president, LQB supporter Geraldo Ribeiro. The IG stands condemned by its own words and its campaign exposed as a cynical sham.

To "explain away" the anti-union suits filed by its Brazilian fraternal allies, the IG fabricated the most preposterous tissue of lies. The IG ludicrously claimed that Ribeiro had been duped by his lawyer and had not even known of the suits filed in his name. Yet, as Norden admitted in the *WV* interview, the local newspaper, *Diário do Vale*, had even "published a statement saying that they were going to the courts." The IG itself has previously quoted from an (alleged) unpublished letter to the newspaper by Ribeiro dated 26 July 1996, eleven days after his first suit was filed, supposedly rejecting "the intervention of the bosses' courts in the labor movement." This letter has never been made available by the IG/LQB. And, as we asked in an earlier article, "If Ribeiro only learned about the court suits in his name on July 26, why then did he go on to sign 'power of attorney' documents for additional lawsuits on July 29 and again on August 6?" ("IG Lawyers for Brazil Betrayal: Caught in a Web of Lies," *WV* No. 672, 8 August 1997). The IG's response: silence.

The IG has repeatedly claimed that Ribeiro withdrew his suits as soon as he learned of them. But they were not withdrawn until *seven months* after they were filed. In our August 1997 article, we quoted a 30 January 1997 leaflet by Ribeiro himself, in which he calls his suits against the union a "defense" and admits that he only let them "expire" after the Fernandes faction first withdrew theirs. The IG's response: again, silence.

Now the LBI is engaged in its own attempt to cover up its class treason. Taking a page from the LQB's book, the LBI-supported SFPMVR union leadership has now repudiated their own lawyer's action, claiming in the September/October 1997 issue of the SFPMVR newsletter that the lawyer initiated the suit behind their backs—the exact same excuse retailed earlier by Norden on behalf of Ribeiro. As Oscar Wilde said, hypocrisy is the tribute that vice pays to virtue. The sharp political intervention of the ICL has compelled both sides in this sordid squabble to proclaim their opposition to using the bourgeois state against their opponents...while acting to the contrary.

While still in the ICL, Norden & Co. resisted our struggle to transform the LQB into the nucleus of a Trotskyist party and instead embraced the LQB's opportunist "mass work." They have since constantly attacked the ICL as having "fled from the class battle" for our break with the LQB. Yet the IG has also maintained a stony silence in response to the question we raised in our last polemic, why their vow of an "early" fusion with the LQB over a year ago remains unfulfilled ("IG, LQB—Forever 'Fraternal,' Never to Wed? Consummation or 'Brides of Christ'," *WV* No. 678, 14 November 1997). For Leninists, fraternal relations are a process of common work and political clarification aimed at testing whether fusion can be achieved on a solid basis of programmatic agreement. Counting the time he was in the ICL leadership, Norden has had more than *three years* to judge whether a fusion should be consummated.

In the past, the Nordenites waved around copies of the LQB's newspaper, *Vanguarda Operária*, as supposed "proof" that their Brazilian allies were indeed fighting to build a Trotskyist propaganda group. But the LQB dropped its party press after only two issues in favor of a series of newsletters published in the name of the CLC, an amorphous—and phony—pan-union formation.

The IG and LQB have repeatedly sought to camouflage their scandalous anti-union lawsuits by accusing the ICL of being "a willing accomplice" of Fernandes and the LBI. Curious. Unlike the IG, we have consistently denounced the LBI's hypocrisy in attacking the LQB's court suits, including in a major polemic against the LBI and its faith in the bourgeois cops and courts, "Brazil: The LBI and Police 'Strikes'" (*WV* No. 673, 5 September 1997). We also published a lengthy account of a debate with a representative of the LBI's Argentine cothinkers, the Partido Bolchevique por la Cuarta Internacional, titled "Spartacist League Debates Argentine PBCI: Trotskyism vs. Nationalism in Latin America" (*WV* No. 678, 14 November 1997). For its part, the IG has published barely a couple of paragraphs polemicizing against the LBI in its *Internationalist*, largely devoted to the fight inside the Volta Redonda union, while spewing out reams of vitriol against the ICL. As Trotsky noted, centrists always direct their main fire against opponents on their left.

The ICL has done a service to the international workers movement by exposing the IG/LQB as the unscrupulous and dangerous hustlers they are. The IG has responded by spinning an elaborate web of the most extravagant lies. And where the tissue of lies becomes too thin to hold together, their response is guilty silence. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

For Political Independence of the Proletariat

The key strategic question in the fight for socialist revolution is the political independence of the proletariat from the capitalist class enemy. In an unfinished 1940 article intended as a preface to the Chinese edition of his History of the Russian Revolution. *Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky outlined how the policies of class collaboration pursued by the Stalinists—from the liquidation of the Chinese Communist Party into the bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang in the 1920s to the "People's Front" in France and Spain in the 1930s—led to catastrophic defeats for the proletariat and set the stage for bloody capitalist reaction. Again in the aftermath of World War II, the Stalinists betrayed revolutionary opportunities in France, Italy and elsewhere by tying the working class to the bourgeois order. The International Communist League seeks to hammer home these lessons as we fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution.*

The essence of Bolshevism was the class policy of the proletariat, which alone would bring about the conquest of power in October. In the course of its entire history, Bolshevism came out irreconcilably against the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Precisely in this consisted the fundamental contradiction between Bolshevism and Menshevism. Still more, the struggle within the labor movement, which preceded the rise of Bolshevism and Menshevism, always in the last analysis revolved around the central question, the central alternative: either collaboration with the bourgeoisie or irreconcilable class struggle. The policy of "People's Fronts" does not include an iota of novelty, if we discount the solemn and essentially charlatan name. The matter at issue in all cases concerns the political subordination of the proletariat to the left wing of the exploiters, regardless of whether this practice bears the name of coalition or Left Bloc (as in France) or "People's Front" in the language of the Comintern.

The policy of the "People's Front" bore especially malignant fruit because it was applied in the epoch of the imperialist decay of the bourgeoisie. Stalin succeeded in conducting to the end, in the Chinese revolution, the policy which the Mensheviks tried to realize in the revolution of 1917. The same thing was repeated in Spain. Two grandiose revolutions suffered catastrophe owing to this: that the methods of the leadership were the methods of Stalinism, i.e., the most malignant form of Menshevism.

In the course of five years, the policy of the "People's Front," by subjecting the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, made impossible the class struggle against war. If the defeat of the Chinese revolution, conditioned by the leadership of the Comintern, prepared the conditions for Japanese occupation, then the defeat of the Spanish revolution and the ignominious capitulation of the "People's Front" in France prepared the conditions for the aggression and unprecedented military successes of Hitler.

The victories of Japan, like the victories of Hitler, are not the last word of history. War this time, too, will turn out to be the mother of revolution. Revolution will once again pose and review all the questions of the history of mankind in advanced as well as in backward countries, and make a beginning for overcoming the very distinction between advanced and backward countries.

—Leon Trotsky, "China and the Russian Revolution" (July 1940)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is December 22

No. 681 **2 January 1998**

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Racist Popular Front Government

Italy: Mass Deportations of Albanian Refugees

On December 3, the Italian Ulivo (Olive Tree) coalition government of Prime Minister Romano Prodi and Massimo D'Alema's Party of the Democratic Left (PDS) carried out dawn raids on asylum centers in order to deport thousands of Albanian refugees. This racist capitalist government relies on the active parliamentary support of Fausto Bertinotti's Rifondazione Comunista (RC)—a successor, like the PDS, to the reformist Communist Party—whose "left" wing includes the fake-Trotskyist Proposta *group. The Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I), section of the International Communist League, responded with an immediate leaflet, translated below, demanding, "No to the Deportations of Albanian Refugees!"*

Oggi

Desperate Albanian refugees at Cassano delle Murge center in Bari. Cops later dragged off refugees for deportation in dawn raids.

SPARTACO

Newspaper of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia

November 30 was the expiration date set by the government for temporary visas issued to Albanian refugees last March. Four days ago, refugees living in the "welcoming centers" (read: concentration camps) went on a hunger strike at Cassano delle Murge (Bari province), Caraffa (Brindisi province), Sarnano (Macerata province), Borgo Mezzanone (Foggia province) and Falerna (Catanzaro province). The refugees barricaded themselves inside the centers, refused to accept food and turned away Red Cross ambulances. Despite their meager forces, they were prepared to put up as much resistance as possible to the expected intervention by the Carabinieri [police] and army to deport them by force. The refugees said, "It's better to die in Italy than to return to Albania," and threatened to use Molotov cocktails against a possible police attack.

The PDS is the core of the racist bourgeois Ulivo coalition government and it enjoys the full support of RC. This is the same regime that [last spring] sent the Navy destroyer *Sibilla* to sink a ship carrying Albanian refugees fleeing desperate poverty, drowning 89 of them. Then, under the fig leaf of "humanitarian aid," it sent imperialist military forces (the *first* such expedition undertaken by the Italian imperialists since Mussolini) to that tiny Balkan country to prop up its faltering puppet regime. Their aim was to defend the interests of Italian capitalism—threatened by the social chaos that came in the wake of the outrageous Italian/Albanian monetary speculation—and to increase the exploitation of the impoverished Albanian masses. Now the government wants to ship back into this nightmare those few refugees who escaped and made it to Italy.

Just yesterday the government promised a 300,000 lire [$175] bribe to any refugee who agrees to leave, announcing that only those who "find a job...have family...or are under medical treatment" will be allowed to stay. "As for the rest—nothing doing," Albanian prime minister Fatos Nano pronounced, "We will help support them for six months so that they can find work" (*Corriere della Sera*, 2 December 1997). Despite this, today at dawn police carried out violent assaults on the centers, forcibly evicting all the refugees and taking them under guard to the Falconara Marittima airport and to Brindisi where two Navy ships awaited them. We say: ***Italian traops out of Albania! Full citizenship rights for all Albanan immigrants and refugees!***

The Italian bourgeoisie has used the spectre of an "Albanian invasion" to foment racism against all immigrants, to divide the working class and create a scapegoat for rising unemployment. The resurgence of aggressive Italian imperialism goes hand in hand with the Ulivo government's anti-worker, anti-woman, racist austerity. The drowned Albanian refugees are victims of the same bourgeois regime that is responsible for the suicides of desperate unemployed workers in the South and the rising toll of workers killed in "industrial accidents," a toll that will increase with the signing of the "labor pact" by Ulivo, RC and the trade-union bureaucracy.

Ulivo: Imperialist Murderers with RC and Proposta in Tow!

Rifondazione Comunista is a pillar of support for the Ulivo government, whose foreign minister, Lamberto Dini, demanded the construction of concentration camps in Albania to imprison the deported refugees. On July 24, RC's Senate fraction voted for a 45-day extension of "Alba 2" (Dawn 2), which stationed the Italian troops in Albania. Many of these are the same units which perpetrated torture and rape in Somalia. The Ulivo/RC coalition covered up for these sadistic beasts in order to give them a free hand in Albania in the interests of Italian imperialism. Just a few weeks ago, RC voted in favor of the racist Napolitano law that further restricts immigration and makes it easier for the state to deport immigrants. Thanks to this new law approved by RC, over 200,000 immigrants face immediate deportation. Under the Ulivo/RC coalition government, immigrants make up over one-third of the Italian prison population.

This past summer and autumn, the Ulivo/RC regime used police to carry out military-style, house-to-house "anti-Albanian" roundups. On May 13, Fausto Bertinotti had a friendly, one-and-a-half-hour chat with [National Alliance] parliamentarian Gianfranco Fini, a fascist in a suit, on the *Maurizio Costanzo Show*. Rather than fight to unionize all immigrants and for jobs for all, RC supports the Treu Agreement, which imposes a lower wage scale in the South and increases the number of jobs not covered by union contract. At the same time they support the racist laws and deportations.

On April 7, the fake-left RC, with *Proposta*'s support, ***voted in favor*** of a leadership motion calling for "postponing the projected military mission to Albania," and for carrying it out under a UN fig leaf. This motion supported by *Proposta* also called for "limited and temporary visas [for Albanian refugees], to be renewable until the end of the emergency in Albania, with provisions for the prosecution and expulsion of all criminal elements." RC/*Proposta*'s motion implicitly guarantees the ***departation of the Albanian refugees!***

Proposta never fights for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, for the unionization of immigrant workers, nor against the deportations. In *Proposta* (January 1996), they write that "the right to vote in administrative [local] elections should be granted after one year, and full suffrage should be granted after three years residence in our country," openly opposing full citizenship rights for immigrants. *Proposta* accepts the racist status quo of this capitalist society, especially under this bourgeois, racist Ulivo coalition. ***Any RC member who wants to be a communist must break with this party which supports the bourgeois government, its anti-immigrant laws and its capitalist austerity! Break with the papular front!***

It is necessary to fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and against the divisions introduced by the bourgeois state with the classifications of "legal" and "illegal" immigrants! Wherever there are immigrant workers, it is necessary to fight for their union organization in order to strengthen the workers movement and defend their rights. It is a basic principle for any class-conscious worker that the rights of the workers and those of the most oppressed layers of society will either go forward together or be driven back separately. But parties like Rifondazione Comunista, in allying with the imperialist bourgeoisie, necessarily trample on the struggle for the liberation of women and the struggle for the rights of immigrants and all minorities.

What's needed is a new, revolutionary leadership of the working class, a tribune of the people and fighter on behalf of all the oppressed. It is necessary to break with the class-collaborationist politics of RC which, in the name of a "lesser evil," subordinate the vital interests of the proletariat to those of its capitalist exploiters and oppressors. Break with class collaborationism! Stop the racist, capitalist austerity of Prodi, D'Alema, and Bertinotti! No to class collaboration with the bourgeoisie!

We of the LTd'I/ICL struggle to forge a Bolshevik party that fights for workers power! ***Build a revalutianary workers party, tribune of the oppressed! For worker/immigrant mabilizations to smash racist terror! Unionize all immigrants! For workers strikes and actians against the imperialist intervention in Albania and the deportations! The main enemy is at hame!*** ■

Paoni/Contrasto

Italian imperiallst "peacekeeping" troops dispatched to Albania by popular-front Ulivo government.

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Australia: Massive Surveillance Operation Revealed

Victoria's Secret Spies: Deadly Threat to Workers, Minorities

The following statement, issued by the Spartacist League/Australia on October 27, was printed in Australasian Spartacist *No. 162 (Summer 1997-1998).*

The Melbourne *Age*'s exposure in early October of the [state of] Victoria police's massive spying operation starkly reveals for all to see the day-to-day machinations of "official" capitalist state repression. According to the *Age*, under successive Labor (ALP) governments between 1985 and 1992 the Operations Intelligence Unit (OIU) targeted more than 1,200 individuals and organisations—socialists, including the Spartacist League, trade unions, Aboriginal, immigrant, civil rights groups and women's rights activists.

Liberal Victoria premier Jeff Kennett rallied to the defence of these sinister spies, branding their targets "those who

Australasian
SPARTACIST
Newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia

are going to pervert the course of justice and commit acts of crime." Kennett's police chief, Commissioner Neil Comrie, boasts that the spying continues, and all potential opponents of the government are targets for state disruption and provocation: "Some apparently innocuous organisations are nothing but front groups or fundraisers for terrorist activities overseas. And some groups are unknowingly exploited by extremists who use them as a cover to pursue their own agendas" (*Age*, 10 October). Kennett & Co. smear political protesters as "violent" and "extremist" yet it is the capitalist apparatus of state repression that is the source of all manner of violence. The Victoria police are notorious for gunning down 28 people since 1988—Aborigines, the mentally ill and others. In 1995 alone they killed eight.

The great number and diversity of the organisations listed in the *Age* demonstrates that this surveillance was aimed at heading off *any* struggle against the increasingly raw exploitation and oppression of those at the bottom of this society. In fact the ultimate target of the political police is the organised workers movement. Among the organisations in the *Age*'s list were at least eight trade unions. The current revelations coincide with far-reaching state and federal union-busting in which the right of workers to picket or even be in a union is under sharp attack.

In order to attack the organised working class, the bourgeoisie is targeting the most vulnerable sections of the population. In this country, dominated for decades by an official policy of "White Australia" racism, it is unsurprising that the OIU's surveillance singles out Aboriginal groups who have protested against black deaths in custody, and immigrant and minority political organisations. The inclusion of some fascist terrorists cannot disguise that the cops' operation was aimed at those whom the fascists also have in their sights. The rights of labour and minorities must go forward together, or they will fall back separately.

In August 1996, thousands of trade unionists came to the defence of Aborigines under police attack at the massive Canberra demonstration. Such powerful actions, historically all too rare, are deeply alarming to the racist Australian rulers. The state responded by launching a sinister witchhunt, "Operation Veneer," against trade unionists, Aborigines and student activists. The ALP/ACTU [labor federation] tops, seeking to prove their loyalty to capitalism, joined hands with the bosses, and actively set up and purged their ranks.

Now, in response to the large protests against vile racist demagogue Pauline Hanson, the government has increasingly turned to brutal state repression, as mounted cops charge demonstrators, arresting dozens. Even as the cops are caught out for their earlier spying, the "Protective Security Intelligence Group" (PSIG), the OIU's successor, is unabashed about continuing to monitor "extremist" political groups, anti-Hanson rallies and university protests.

Australasian Spartacist

Spartacist contingent at anti-fascist protest, Melbourne, March 1997. Secret police spy operation targeted labor, Aboriginal and other minority groups, socialists, including Spartacist League.

A Workers Party Has the Right to Organise!

The government brands leftists as "terrorists" so as to set them up as nameless, faceless victims of capitalist state terror. In 1983 in the U.S. the FBI issued new "Domestic Security Terrorism Guidelines" which sought to equate Marxist political opposition to the capitalist government with criminal "terrorism." A year later, comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. successfully concluded a lawsuit against the FBI, forcing it to retract its "definition" of the SL, which tried to paint us as conspiratorial outlaws. The SL's legal brief noted that we and our political predecessors have been "investigated" by the FBI since the Russian Revolution without the state ever finding any evidence of violent criminal activity. The FBI conceded the basic claim of our suit, that Marxists are not terrorists, and that the Spartacist League is what it says it is: "a Marxist political organization," thus depriving the deadly dangerous secret police thugs a legal cover for violent measures against us.

The OIU, PSIG and their ASIO (Australian Security Intelligence Organisation) big brothers operate in the shadows, seeking to conceal their sinister purpose: the legitimisation of state terror against those who struggle against or expose the machinations of this capitalist society. Unlike these stealthy state criminals, we state our aims and program openly. The Spartacist League, Australian section of the International Communist League, stands proudly under the banner of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky in our fight to forge a party to lead the working class to state power through socialist revolution.

The State and Revolution

The *Age*'s exposure is surely useful, but while exposure may sometimes hamper the cops in pursuing their disruption against the left, as Marxists we understand that the bourgeoisie will never do away with its political police. They are an essential part of the repressive apparatus on which its state power and class dictatorship rest. To argue otherwise is reformist dreaming. In every state in Australia, starting in the early 1970s, the special branches were "disbanded." Renamed and refurbished, their spooks and provocateurs were restocked with their bugs, black bags and guns, and sent out to hunt reds again.

For the bourgeois liberals of the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties the problem with all this spying is that it undermines public confidence in the state and its police. "We understand the need for an Operations Intelligence Unit...," they say, urging that "the priorities of the police must be made more transparent so that community confidence in their activities can be re-established." Just as the illusions created by the hoopla about Labor premier Cain's "abolishing" Victoria's political police gave the cops better cover, so do calls for "accountability," community control, inquiries, etc. serve to *streamline* police operations, rendering them more credible and strengthening the bourgeois state.

Our own organisation is among those against which the state of Victoria has sent its prying cops. This is not the first time the Spartacist League has been targeted for surveillance and disruption. In 1977 ASIO paid an agent, one Janet Langridge, to spy on our organisation. After two months as a candidate member of the SL, she voluntarily revealed her spy role, because, she claimed, she came to "respect them and...what they stand for." We immediately expelled her and made a concerted effort to let the workers movement and left know about this ASIO dirty work and the existence of this particular individual.

As we said then, this spying was "an intolerable violation of our democratic rights. We are a fully legal political organisation, entitled to carry on our activities, openly propagating our political views, without subversive infiltration by government bodies." Our aggressive campaign garnered front-page and major TV news coverage across the nation. ASIO and the government were very embarrassed by it. Two years later new laws were introduced which made publicly identifying an agent or employee of ASIO illegal, punishable by jail and fines.

Our forthright campaign was in sharp contrast to the actions of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (forerunner of the Democratic Socialist Party—DSP) around the same time. Instead of expelling self-confessed police spy Lisa Walter, they trumpeted her "conversion" to socialism and kept her in the organisation.

Unlike the DSP and others of its ilk we revolutionary Marxists take as our starting point the fact that society is divided into two hostile classes whose interests are irreconcilably counterposed: workers who must sell their labour power in order to survive, and the property-owning capitalist class to whom their labour power is sold. The state consists in essence of armed bodies of men—cops, courts and prisons—whose purpose is the repression of the working class and oppressed to protect the wealth and power of that tiny minority who exploit the labour of the overwhelming majority. As V.I. Lenin, leader of the Russian Revolution, wrote in *State and Revolution*, "The state is an organ of class *rule*, an organ for the *oppression* of one class by another." The state and its political police cannot be "cleaned up," reformed or pressured into acting on behalf of workers and the oppressed. It

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must be ***shattered*** by workers revolution, replaced by a workers state which expropriates the capitalist class.

Labor Party Whitewash

The Victoria Labor opposition and New South Wales Labor premier Bob Carr denounced the secret police spying and called for an inquiry (a demand since met), all the while claiming their hands are squeaky clean. The Victorian Council for Civil Liberties even says the OIU existed "without, it appears, the knowledge of the Government of the day" (*Age*, 7 October). While much of the fake left is happy to play along with the charade that the Cain and Kirner Labor governments were unaware of these massive spying operations, it's a crock!

Completely committed to the defence of the capitalist system, the Australian Labor Party in power administers the bourgeois state, including, necessarily, its spies and cops. It has an unbroken history of anti-Communist, anti-working-class subversion. In fact it was the Labor government of Ben Chifley in 1949 which established the infamous ASIO, the same year the ALP called out the army to break the coal miners strike.

Also in the ALP's sights at that time were the waterfront unions which had been staging strikes not only over economic demands, but also in support of the Indonesian independence struggle against the Dutch. Today Australia's secret police work hand in glove with the blood-drenched Suharto regime against leftist Indonesian and Timorese students and exiles. The White Australia rulers very much need their spies, not least as they feel their imperialist enclave threatened by the very existence of the peoples of Asia. At the same time they lord it over the dark-skinned peoples of the region from Bougainville to Fiji and beyond. Their "intelligence" agencies are deeply enmeshed in attempts to keep it that way.

By 1983 Labor was in power in Victoria and federally. This was during Cold War II, the imperialist offensive against the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states—the Soviet Union, Vietnam, China, East Europe and elsewhere—in which capitalism had been thrown out. The imperialist bourgeoisie's drive for counterrevolution found its domestic reflection in heightened state repression and attacks on workers. As we wrote at the time, "While Hawke/Hayden front for US/Chinese military provocations and war plans against Soviet-allied Vietnam, the political climate is being prepared to strengthen and unleash imperialism's secret police agencies such as ASIO and the state Special Branches against the left" (*Australasian Spartacist* No. 102, June/July 1983).

Aboriginal protesters address trade unionists (below) during August 1996 Canberra protest against welfare cuts, anti-union laws. Thousands of angry protesters joined in storming Perliament building.

Reuters

Australasian Spartacist

In 1983 while the Special Branch carried out covert surveillance of the left and workers movement, Cain and Hawke joined together to smash the Builders Labourers Federation—a union led by Maoists and specially targeted for repression for over two decades—and witchhunt its leaders for their opposition to the ALP/ACTU Prices and Incomes Accord, a nationalist, union-busting trap based on the lie that there is a partnership between labour and capital.

More recently, in 1992 under Labor's Joan Kirner, Victoria police raided the homes of seven students, including members of the International Socialist Organisation (ISO). A smear campaign blamed leftist groups for "violence" at student protests against education cutbacks, naming the ISO, Left Alliance and the "Spartacist" League (the designated misspelling favoured by the FBI), and the cops launched a "special investigation unit aimed at cracking the violent socialist organisations," a revival of the "Red Squad."

Australasian
SPARTACIST
Special supplement
24 June 1977

"Turned" agent exposes infiltration

ASIO targets Spartacist

Spartacist League launched campaign of public exposure against ASIO secret police after uncovering informers peid to spy on our party in 1977.

Reformists, Centrists and...Political Bandits

Deeply loyal to the ALP, in and out of power, the reformist left covers up the *fact* that successive Labor governments were responsible for this sinister police spying. Religiously calling for votes to Labor, the reformists cover up the ALP's role to better portray it as a "lesser evil," especially now that it is on the opposition benches. It also reflects their own cringing belief that this capitalist state can really be reformed in the interests of the oppressed. Thus the Freedom Socialist Party's front group, Radical Women, calls for the police to "be made accountable to the community." For its part, the DSP (which has also called for votes to the ***bourgeois*** Democrats!) wants to breathe life into the corpse of the "Campaign for the Abolition of Political Police" which itself was a vehicle for corralling support to the ALP.

More slippery are the centrists of Workers Power. The October/December issue of their paper declares that "the capitalist state...cannot be reformed or 'democratised.'... It must be smashed." Yet their parent British group (in December 1994) called for demanding of a future Labour government "abolishing MI5 and all secret state services." Why is this reformist/utopian demand placed on a Labour government? Because they think a capitalist state administered by Labour is something other than a capitalist state administered by, e.g., the Tories. The deeply Labor Party-loyal Workers Power thus exhibits its touching faith in the reformability of the bourgeois state.

Even more cynical is the Socialist Labour League (SLL)/Socialist Equality Party (SEP) of Nick Beams, part of David North's "International Committee of the Fourth International" (IC). Nevertheless, they too mouth "orthodoxy" about "the state forces—they are bodies which exist for the express purpose of suppressing opposition to the existing order based on the ever greater accumulation of private wealth" (*Workers News*, 17 October). This is pretty rich coming from those who are notorious for their long history of dragging leftists through the capitalist courts.

These people and their recent forebears in Gerry Healy's British Workers Revolutionary Party have blocked with quite a number of those "state forces." A secret report by an IC Commission to investigate "the corruption of G. Healy" details payoffs that were received for services rendered to a variety of oil-rich Arab despots. This included supplying photographs to the Iraqi embassy of a demonstration of opponents of Saddam Hussein's Ba'athist regime in Iraq. An indisputable and monstrous fact is that the Healyites hailed the execution of 21 Iraqi Communists by Ba'ath rulers in 1979.

Several years later, as the British coal miners were gearing up for their heroic 1984-85 strike, the Healyites dropped a carefully timed bombshell, publishing a letter by miners leader Arthur Scargill in which he correctly castigated Polish Solidarność as "an anti-socialist organisation." This was a bonanza for the Tory rags of Fleet Street, and fed directly into the MI5-inspired witchhunt of Scargill and the miners. In 1986 the Australian Healyites admitted they had printed the *Bell of Saigon*, an exile organ of the fascistic Vietnamese thugs who physically attacked leftist and labour meetings.

Of course the SLL/SEP would like to say this is all past history. But the very same Richard Phillips who declared printing a fascist rag was justified as part of a turn toward "commercial enterprise, commercial print work" today appears in the *Workers News* editorial box. When it serves their opportunist ends, the Northites can spout something resembling orthodox-sounding Marxist rhetoric. But in fact they are, to borrow Lenin's term, "political bandits," i.e., political pirates who will show any flag to attack any target.

Unlike the reformists and centrists, we understand that it will take a workers revolution to finally get rid of the capitalists' criminal secret police once and for all. The Spartacist League/Australia, section of the International Communist League, fights to forge the necessary instrument to achieve this, a revolutionary workers party committed to the abolition of capitalism around the world.■

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Wall Street and the War Against Labor

Part 5: Labor and the Fight for Black Rights

We publish below the concluding part of this series. The first four parts appeared in WV *Nos. 676, 677, 679 and 680, 17 and 31 October, 28 November and 12 December 1997.*

The 1960s was the most significant, sustained period of mass social struggle and leftist radicalization in the U.S. since the 1930s. However, the social and political character—as well as the outcome—of the struggles during these two periods were very different. In the '30s, the battles had centered on the formation (except in the South) of mass industrial unions, overcoming in part the racial-ethnic divisions which had hitherto crippled the American working class. In many cases, these unions were led by self-described communists or socialists. In contrast, the 1960s saw a widening racial divide within the American working class while the main currents of young radicals emerging from the civil rights and Vietnam antiwar movements were indifferent or hostile to organized labor. Primary responsibility for this development lay with the racist, anti-communist trade-union bureaucracy.

The Spartacist League, which originated in the early 1960s, fought for a different outcome. In the civil rights movement and subsequent black struggles, we intervened around the program and perspective of ***revolutionary integrationism***, linking the struggle for racial equality to that for proletarian power:

> "The vast majority of Black people—both North and South—are today workers who, along with the rest of the American working class, must sell their labor power in order to secure necessities of life to those who buy labor power in order to make profit. The buyers of labor power, the capitalists, are a small minority whose rule is maintained only by keeping the majority who labor for them divided and misled. The fundamental division created deliberately along racial lines has kept the Negro workers who entered American capitalism at the bottom, still at the bottom. Ultimately their road to freedom lies only through struggle with the rest of the working class to abolish capitalism and establish in its place an egalitarian, socialist society....
>
> "Because of their position as both the most oppressed and also the most conscious and experienced section, revolutionary black workers are slated to play an exceptional role in the coming American revolution."
>
> —"Black and Red: Class-Struggle Road to Negro Freedom" (1966), reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, "Basic Documents of the Spartacist League"

The Southern civil rights movement, in which entire black communities mobilized against the local white-supremacist regimes, provided an exceptionally favorable opportunity to finally unionize the states of the old Confederacy. This would have immeasurably strengthened the labor movement on both the economic and political levels and could have cracked the solid front of racist reaction in the South along *class lines*. However, the AFL-CIO tops still did nothing to organize the South because doing so would have shattered their political alliance with the Dixiecrats, on which the national dominance of the Democratic Party depended.

At the 1964 Democratic Party convention in Atlantic City, a group of predominantly black civil rights activists calling themselves the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party demanded to be seated in place of the official, white-supremacist Mississippi delegation. Hubert Humphrey, the party's leading liberal figure and darling of the AFL-CIO officialdom, successfully maneuvered to defend the Dixiecrats against the black challenge. This, along with innumerable similar actions, rapidly alienated young civil rights militants from the liberalism of the Democratic Party and its labor lieutenants.

AP

Southern Patriot

Top: Civil rights protesters attacked by cops in Birmingham, 1963. Above: 1960s strike by Charleston, South Carolina hospital workers. AFL-CIO betrayed struggle for black rights, union organization in South on altar of alliance with racist Democrats.

Furthermore, the AFL-CIO had its own segregated sector: the building trades, the stronghold of the pre-1930s craft unions. Membership was passed down from father to son and uncle to nephew. Liberal bureaucrats like Victor Reuther occasionally criticized the openly racist practices of the construction unions but did nothing about them. By the 1960s, major industrial unions like the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the United Steel Workers were heavily—even disproportionately—black. But in the eyes of many blacks, especially those outside the unions, the whites-only building trades discredited the labor movement in general.

The politics of the 1960s cannot, of course, be understood solely in terms of struggles within the United States. The blacks who defied the Klan and White Citizens Councils in Alabama and Mississippi and who battled the cops in the ghettos of Los Angeles and Detroit identified with and were partly inspired by the revolt of the dark-skinned peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against Western imperialism. The Cuban Revolution, the Algerian War of Independence and, above all, the bloody imperialist war in Vietnam had a profound effect on American politics, especially the consciousness of young leftists. While blacks overwhelmingly opposed the war, the anti-Communist fanatics in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, headed by George Meany, remained Vietnam War hawks even after Republican president Richard Nixon had given it up as a lost cause by the early 1970s.

The Spartacist League fought for independent working-class action—including labor strikes against the war—in opposition to the reformism of organizations like the formerly Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, which pushed a strategy of pressuring liberal bourgeois politicians. A wave of important strikes, including the 1970 national postal strike, public employee strikes and Teamsters wildcats showed the potential power of labor in contrast to the impotent "peace crawls" favored by the liberals. To turn this power against the war would have required a break with class collaboration in hard opposition to the liberal, Democratic Party-loyal wing of the labor bureaucracy.

The Rise of Black Nationalism

All of these factors led a significant current of black militants in the mid-1960s to break to the left from Martin Luther King Jr. and Democratic Party liberalism under the slogan of "black power." We wrote in 1966:

> "In contrast to the reform program of the civil rights movement, the demands of the black masses are necessarily and inherently class demands, and demands which the ruling class cannot meet. The call for jobs, for housing, and for emancipation from police brutalization (attacking the very basis of the state)—these cannot be answered by another civil rights bill from Washington. Their pursuit leads inevitably to a sharper and sharper confrontation with the ruling class. It is this transition which is represented by the black power slogan. Its popularization represents the repudiation of tokenism, liberal tutelage, reliance on the federal government, and the nonviolent philosophy of moral suasion."
>
> —"Black Power—Class Power," reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 (Revised): "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism" (1978)

At the same time, we warned that the "black power" slogan "can be used by petty bourgeois black nationalist elements who want to slice the social cake along color rather than class lines and to promote reactionary color mysticism. More seriously, it can be degraded to mean mere support for black politicians operating within the system." And that is, in fact, what happened.

In the mid-to-late 1960s, the big urban ghettos—Harlem, Watts in L.A., Chicago, Newark, Detroit and elsewhere—exploded, as black youth took to the streets, battling the cops and looting stores. These rebellions were savagely repressed by the police, National Guard and even army units. At the same time, the ruling class moved to buy off a layer of community activists, including nationalist demagogues, with federal money provided by "poverty" programs. Aiding in this were pseudo-nationalist operators, a development termed "porkchop nationalism" by the more radical Black Panther Party. Over the next few years, many major cities would acquire black Democratic mayors to oversee the ghettos on behalf of Wall Street and the Fortune 500 corporations.

A manifesto of porkchop nationalism was Stokely Carmichael's 1967 *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*, co-authored with black academic Charles Hamilton. Carmichael (now Kwame Ture) had been a leading militant in the Southern civil rights struggles. Now, he and Hamilton demanded that black politicos be given a free hand to run the ghettos while being generously funded by the U.S. Treasury. They were predictably hostile to the trade unions, identifying the racist and pro-imperialist

policies of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy with organized labor *as such*:

> "Organized labor has participated in the exploitation of colored peoples abroad and of black workers at home. Black people today are beginning to assert themselves at a time when the old colonial markets are vanishing; former African and Asian colonies are fighting for the right to control their own natural resources, free from exploitation by Western and American capitalism. With whom will economically secure, organized labor cast its lot—with the big businesses of exploitation or with the insecure poor colored peoples?... The answer, unfortunately, seems clear enough."

The views expressed here were by no means peculiar to Carmichael and Hamilton but in fact were part of the conventional wisdom of late-1960s American radicalism. The Black Panthers, who were influenced by Maoism, thought that all employed workers, black and white, had been bought off by the ruling class and that black lumpens were the revolutionary vanguard.

A prominent leftist intellectual of the day was Paul Sweezy, whose journal, *Monthly Review*, introduced many a leftward-moving young liberal to Stalinist ideology in its Maoist incarnation. Sweezy sought to provide a sophisticated, "Marxist-Leninist" rationale for prevailing New Left/black nationalist anti-labor prejudices. Noting that Lenin had "argued that the capitalists of the imperialist countries could and do use part of their 'booty' to bribe and win over to their side an aristocracy of labor," Sweezy maintained: "As far as the logic of the argument is concerned, it could be *extended* to a majority or even all the workers in the industrialized countries" (*Monthly Review*, December 1967).

This assertion was made at the very moment when American capitalism could no longer concede significant improvements in the economic conditions of its working class. The next decade would see stagnating wages followed by the intensification of the rate of exploitation and a frontal assault on the labor movement.

The Bankruptcy of Liberalism and Ascendancy of the Right

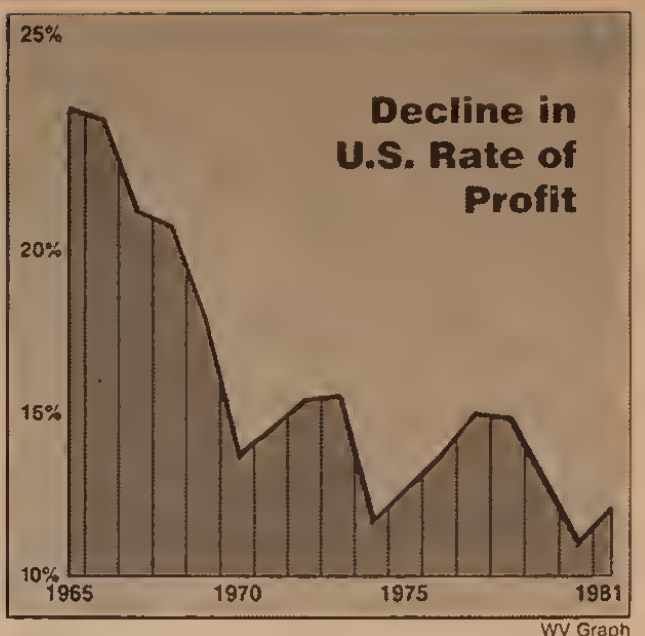
During the 1950s and early '60s, the structural weakness of the trade-union movement and treacherous nature of its pro-capitalist leadership was partly masked by the fact that American capitalism was still strong enough to raise living standards for a majority of the working class while maintaining a high level of profits. By the late 1960s this was no longer the case. The underlying sources of weakness—an aging industrial plant, declining international competitiveness—were exacerbated by the inflationary pressures of the Vietnam War. During the second half of the 1960s, average real weekly earnings of nonsupervisory workers increased by a minuscule 2 percent and actually declined slightly in two of the years. Union leaders were no longer delivering to their members at the basic bread-and-butter level, while rhetoric by liberal intellectuals about an "affluent society" provoked bitter resentment among blue-collar workers, black as well as white.

This period also saw the entry of a new proletarian generation—the post-World War II "baby boomers"—into the labor market. Their social and political consciousness, unlike that of their parents, was not shaped by the experience of the Great Depression and the labor battles of the 1930s and '40s. They had no strong loyalties to either the AFL-CIO or the Democratic Party. Young white workers were thus open to right-wing demagogy and to blaming the country's social and economic ills on black radicalism and "welfare liberalism," while young black workers and unemployed ghetto youth were receptive to nationalist denunciations of organized labor as a bastion of white privilege.

The ghetto rebellions and Vietnam antiwar protests have in retrospect obscured the fact that the late '60s-early '70s was also a period of considerable labor discontent and unrest on the shop floor. In 1968, one out of eight contracts negotiated by the union bureaucrats was rejected by the members, whereas this almost never happened in the 1950s. More importantly, that same year marked a postwar high in wildcat strikes, most dramatically in the auto plants of the Midwest.

WV Photo

Abandoned steel furnace in Cleveland, 1980. Faced with declining rate of profit, U.S. capitalists shifted production to low-wage operations elsewhere, turning Midwest industrial heartland into Rust Bowl and laying off hundreds of thousands.



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However, rank-and-file hostility to the Walter Reuther regime in the UAW and kindred union bureaucracies polarized, on the political level, along racial lines. In Detroit, black militants involved in the wildcats formed the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, which was strongly influenced by Maoist ideology. The League called for a separate union for black auto workers and combined legitimate demands against the auto bosses' racist practices (e.g., for more black apprentices in the skilled trades) with demands for more black foremen and other supervisors. At the same time, many of the white workers involved in the wildcats against the Big Three automakers voted for the racist Alabama demagogue, George Wallace, or the victorious Richard Nixon against Democratic "friend of labor" Hubert Humphrey in the 1968 presidential elections, in part out of hostility to the Reuther bureaucracy.

WV Photo

Auto workers protest outside Detroit Chrysler headquarters over closing of Dodge Main plant, July 1979.

Immediately following these elections, Kevin Phillips, a right-wing, self-described "populist," published an influential book, *The Emerging Republican Majority*, in which he argued:

> "The principal force which broke up the Democratic (New Deal) coalition is the Negro socioeconomic revolution.... The general opposition which deposed the Democratic Party came in large part from prospering Democrats who objected to Washington dissipating their tax dollars on programs which did them no good. The Democratic Party fell victim to the ideological impetus of a liberalism which had carried it beyond programs taxing the few for the benefit of the many (the New Deal) to programs taxing the many on behalf of the few (the Great Society)."

Phillips here combines partisan distortion and demagogy with important elements of truth. The notion that significant amounts of federal tax money were going to the black ghetto poor via President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs was a lie. In 1968, the last year of the Johnson-Humphrey administration, slightly less than $12 billion was spent on welfare and all other such programs (the bulk of which went to whites), an amount equal to *one-seventh of the military budget*. Interest on the federal debt amounted to $11 billion, a form of welfare for Wall Street financiers. The Great Society "poverty" programs were very small potatoes compared to programs from the 1930s New Deal, like Social Security.

Phillips was correct, however, in that liberal Democrats no longer even promised significant economic reforms to benefit the majority of working people. Johnson's Great Society did *not* include socialized medicine, free universal higher education or the massive construction of low-rent public housing. Liberals no longer even talked about redistributing income from capital to labor. Insofar as they advocated expanding social programs, they proposed financing these through higher taxes across the board. As real wages declined over the next decade, right-wing attacks on "tax and spend" liberalism would gain increasing potency.

Seeking to regain the White House, the Democrats ran an avowedly pro-business Southern Democrat, Jimmy Carter, former governor of Georgia, as their presidential candidate in 1976. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy and black liberal politicos duly mobilized their constituencies for the most right-wing Democratic presidential candidate in half a century. Seeking to polish the tarnished image of the U.S. after the Vietnam War, Carter laid the ideological basis for Cold War II under the guise of a "human rights crusade." His hapless administration would oversee the worst deterioration in the economic conditions of American working people since the 1930s.

The world economic downturn of 1974-75 exposed the weaknesses of American capitalism, as the after-tax profits of U.S. corporations plummeted over 20 percent. The American ruling class responded with a concerted drive to reduce labor costs through "downsizing," speedup, two-tier wage systems and the shift of production to the low-wage, non-union South and Southwest as well as to Latin America and the Far East. In 1978, UAW president Douglas Fraser accused the leaders of big business of "waging a one-sided class war in this country."

It was indeed a one-sided class war, because Fraser and his fellow labor bureaucrats were fighting on the side of capital. This was clearly demonstrated the following year when Chrysler, the country's third-largest automaker, was on the verge of bankruptcy. The corporation's management, working closely with the UAW tops, successfully lobbied the Carter administration for a government bailout. As part of this deal Carter and the Democratic-controlled Congress demanded that Chrysler workers take a cut in wages and benefits. The Chrysler deal opened the floodgates to giveback contracts throughout unionized industry, using the labor bureaucrats as active and direct agents of capital in intensifying the exploitation of union members.

The last year of the Carter administration

continued on page 10

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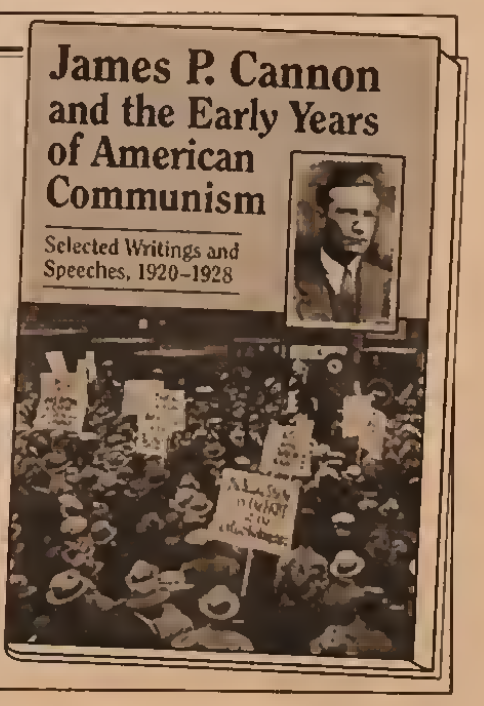

Korea...

(continued from page 1)

in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay":

> "The feebleness of the national bourgeoisie, the absence of traditions of municipal self-government, the pressure of foreign capitalism, and the relatively rapid growth of the proletariat, cut the ground from under any kind of stable democratic regime. The governments of backward, i.e., colonial and semicolonial, countries by and large assume a Bonapartist or semi-Bonapartist character; they differ from one another in that some try to orient in a democratic direction, seeking support among workers and peasants, while others install a form close to military-police dictatorship. This likewise determines the fate of the trade unions. They either stand under the special patronage of the state or they are subjected to cruel persecution."

South Korea is a prime example of this. For years, independent trade unions were completely outlawed, while the proletariat was saddled with a corporatist formation, the Federation of Korean Trade Unions, which was set up under the auspices of the Korean CIA (now named the Agency for National Security Planning) and under the tutelage of the Cold War AFL-CIO bureaucracy. It was only as a result of a wave of militant workers' struggles in 1987 that the South Korean bourgeoisie abandoned open military rule and proceeded to implement presidential elections every five years. It was out of this upsurge that the KCTU, which now has over a half million members, emerged.

These developments have fostered illusions in the democratic credentials of the *chaebol* bourgeoisie, which are promoted as well by self-styled leftist organizations like the United Secretariat. Recently, these fake Trotskyists claimed: "Ten years after the end of authoritarian rule, the political landscape in South Korea has changed enormously. The country is no longer a police state" (*International Viewpoint*, 15 July 1997). This will come as news to the many radical students and trade-union militants who continue to be imprisoned by the regime. The National Security Law, which bans even vaguely leftist activity as aiding the North Korean "enemy," continues to be wielded by the regime against militant workers and political opponents, including during the recent elections. In July, the government used the law to outlaw the Hanchongnyon student federation after riot cops had brutally suppressed a series of student protests. And in November, members of a youth group which calls for organizing a working-class party were rounded up, while 500 cops invaded Hanyang University Hospital to crush a strike and drag away the union leaders.

Korea and Permanent Revolution

A prime beneficiary of "democratic" illusions in South Korea is newly elected president Kim Dae Jung, who was jailed—and nearly assassinated—under the former military dictatorship of Park Chung Hee. In the past, much of the petty-bourgeois nationalist student left has looked to Kim, as has the KCTU leadership. They are echoed by the International Socialists of South Korea (ISSK), tied to Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain and the International Socialist Organization in the U.S. An interview with a "South Korean socialist" in the British *Socialist Worker* (22 November 1997) parroted the standard liberal refrain that Kim "was a democracy campaigner in the 1970s and 1980s," while complaining that he has since "moved to the right." In fact, the Cliffite social democrats agree with this capitalist politician on fundamental questions, sharing the anti-Communist hatred by South Korea's capitalist rulers for the deformed workers state in the North. Cliff was expelled from the Fourth International in 1950 for publicly opposing defense of the Soviet Union, China and North Korea during the Korean War.

AFP

Newly elected president Kim Dae Jung, touted as "democracy campaigner," with electoral ally Kim Jong Pil (far right), founder of murderous KCIA.

Kim traces his origins to the Korean Democratic Party set up by U.S. occupation forces in 1945. His bloc partners in the recent elections included Park Tae Joon, head of one of the largest *chaebol*, and Kim Jong Pil, who founded the KCIA and served as prime minister under dictator Park! Just a year ago, Kim Jong Pil was screaming for a crackdown on the "burgeoning leftist activism on campuses" (*Korea Times*, 26 April 1996). Now he is about to be appointed to a top government position. A Clinton aide welcomed the election outcome as a "big opportunity," while the *New York Times* (20 December 1997) noted that the South Korean leader's "credibility with the unions" places him in a "good position to convince his followers that they need to endure a year or two of pain." And the return to government of Kim Jong Pil underscores that this will involve intensified repression against the workers movement.

Appealing to populist/nationalist sentiment, Kim Dae Jung vowed to "renegotiate" the terms of the IMF agreement during the election campaign, but backed off as soon as the imperialists put their foot down. Indeed, Kim had called for IMF intervention in early November, well before the regime did. A revolutionary workers government in Korea would cancel the imperialist debt outright as part of the expropriation of industry and infrastructure.

Reuters

Amid wave of nationalist sentiment, middle-class South Korean housewives are mobilized to donate personal possessions to prop up declining currency.

The fact that Kim Dae Jung and the other two leading presidential contenders were forced to drop calls for renegotiating the IMF accord underscores the dependent character of the South Korean bourgeoisie. Korea in this century is an archetypal example of uneven and combined development: modern industry coexists alongside rural backwardness, where many remain as impoverished tenant farmers, with a police-state regime, albeit with some trappings of parliamentary democracy. South Korea's political structure is manifestly closer to that of Malaysia and Indonesia than to Japan's.

As Trotsky explained in advancing the perspective of permanent revolution, in countries of belated capitalist development, the bourgeoisies—tied to the imperialist powers on the one hand and confronted by a growing proletariat on the other—are incapable of throwing off the yoke of imperialism and resolving the other tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. These tasks can only be accomplished by overthrowing the bourgeoisie and placing the proletariat in power. This was confirmed by the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

Socialist revolution in the backward countries would necessarily have to link up with—and would act as a powerful impetus for—the fight for proletarian power in the imperialist centers. In the 1938 Transitional Program, Trotsky stressed that in backward countries "the struggle for the most elementary achievements of national independence and bourgeois democracy is combined with the socialist struggle against world imperialism." This is posed particularly acutely in Korea, where the imperialist-imposed partition places the question of national unification directly on the agenda. A proletarian vanguard party in Korea would be in direct competition with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists who seek to unify the country on a capitalist basis, destroying the collectivized foundations of the deformed workers state in the North. Trotskyists call for unconditional military defense of North Korea against capitalist attack and internal counterrevolution as part of the fight for *revolutionary reunification* through socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution in the North.

Coming atop decades of imperialist military encirclement and starvation embargo, the demise of the Soviet Union and the Beijing bureaucracy's drive toward capitalist restoration have pushed the North Korean deformed workers state into near-terminal decline, with wide swathes of the country beset by famine. Under the regime of Kim Jong Il and his father, "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung, the Pyongyang bureaucracy has pursued the autarkic program of *Juche* (self-reliance), a variant of the Stalinist nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" infused with Korean mythology. Until his death in 1994, Kim Il Sung was idolized by many radical students in the South as a Korean "patriot" who fought Japanese colonialism and later U.S. imperialism. In fact, the North Korean Stalinists have always opposed the fight to extend social revolution throughout the peninsula, calling instead for "peaceful reunification" under nationalist colors—a recipe for *capitalist* reunification. Today, Kim Jong Il pleads for better relations with the U.S. and South Korea as an "urgent requirement."

The South Korean proletariat has time and again demonstrated its capacity for militant struggle, not least in last year's general strike against Kim Young Sam's anti-labor law. But it has lacked a political party organized independently of the capitalist rulers. This year, the KCTU fielded a candidate in South Korea's presidential elections. But far from seeking to rally the working masses in struggle *against* South Korea's capitalist rulers, the "People's Victory 21" campaign headed by former KCTU leader Kwon Young Kil is a class-collaborationist lash-up, including various liberal groups, which promotes nationalist opposition to "foreign interference," blending in with bourgeois rhetoric which seeks to deflect class anger away from the domestic exploiters. This has not prevented the South Korean International Socialists from supporting Kwon's candidacy as a "step forward" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 22 November 1997).

The South Korean proletariat can go forward only on the basis of complete and unconditional independence from the bourgeoisie. This is all the more urgent today, as the South Korean ruling class seeks to line the workers up to sacrifice their livelihoods and struggles in order to appease imperialist dictates.

U.S. Imperialism and IMF Austerity

The IMF package imposed on South Korea is so severe that no less an authority than Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs denounced it. Describing the IMF as a "small, secretive institution" which has the power to "dictate economic conditions of life to 75 developing countries," Sachs fumed: "The IMF threw together a draconian programme for Korea in just a few days, without deep knowledge of the country's financial system and without any subtlety as to how to approach problems" (London *Financial Times*, 11 December 1997). Sachs ought to know what's drastic—he is the architect of the "shock therapy" which has driven millions of workers in the former Soviet Union to the brink of starvation. Sachs expected the imperialist rulers to adopt a rational, farsighted approach to capitalist counterrevolution and pour billions into Russia to erect a stable capitalist economy there as part of a post-Soviet "New World Order."

Spartacist

(English Edition)

No. 53
Summer 1997
(56 pages)
$1.50

Spartacist is sent to all *WV* subscribers.

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

But capitalism is anything but rational. As we have repeatedly observed, the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 ushered in an era of heightened interimperialist competition, as the conflicting interests of the major imperialist powers were no longer subsumed in a (U.S.-led) anti-Soviet alliance. Germany, Japan and the U.S. have each sought to carve out trade blocs and spheres of influence, with the latter two in particular engaged in fierce competition in the Asian Pacific region. Seeking to reassert the imperialist hegemony it exercised in the aftermath of World War II, the U.S. proclaimed a "one superpower" world following the collapse of the USSR. While continuing to ratchet up the rate of exploitation of workers and slashing social programs benefiting the poor and all manner of minorities in the U.S., the American ruling class has also engaged in an aggressive trade war, ominously manifested in Washington's threat two months ago to embargo Japanese shipping on the West Coast.

Displaying unalloyed imperialist arrogance, the *New York Times* (14 December 1997) ran a front-page headline exulting in "Asia's Surrender," while a piece in *U.S. News & World Report* (8 December 1997) was titled "How the Far East Was Won"! The American bourgeoisie has seized on the burgeoning financial crisis in Southeast and East Asia to impose its interests in the region, using the IMF as its instrument of choice. In the wake of the IMF bailout of Thailand, foreign investors have been busily buying up local banks. And the "opening" of South Korea—with an economy bigger than those of Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia combined—could be a bonanza for U.S. and Japanese moneymen alike.

But Wall Street brokers may not be grinning for long. In commenting on last October's stock market crash in "'Death of Communism' Myth Goes Splat" (*WV* No. 677, 31 October 1997), we wrote: "The question yet to be answered is whether the latest crash is also a prelude to depression." In the wake of the South Korean collapse, that question is being raised by bourgeois commentators as well. Japan, already beset by seven years of economic downturn, has been plagued by a series of financial collapses in recent weeks, including the century-old Yamaichi Securities. If the devaluation of the *won*—which plunged 72 percent against the dollar in the past month alone—is combined with a sustained economic collapse in Japan, this could put enormous pressure on the U.S. economy. "There is nothing to stop the coming shock to U.S. trade," the Salomon Brothers brokerage firm recently warned investors (*U.S. News & World Report*, 8 December 1997). The article observed:

> "As a declining currency makes exports cheaper, trading partners begin to retaliate with tariffs and beggar-thy-neighbor policies.
>
> "The last time a major industrial country faced these conditions was 1929—and the result was a worldwide depression."

Financial Times

Workers took to the streets in general strike one year ago against anti-labor laws. At January 1997 solidarity demonstration in Tokyo (below), a Korean-language sign carried by Spartacist Group Japan contingent read, "Korean Workers Need a Bolshevik Party!"

Spartacist Japan

As interimperialist rivalries sharpen, we fight to win workers in the U.S., Japan and other imperialist countries to the understanding that ***the main enemy is at home***. This means, first and foremost, a sharp political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor tops. Even as it turns a blind eye to the barrage of attacks being leveled at the labor movement in the wake of the victorious UPS strike, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is wallowing in its successful protectionist campaign to stop Democratic president Clinton's "fast track" trade proposal. Along with their latest phony "friend of labor," Democratic Congressman Richard Gephardt, the union misleaders seek to rally working people behind the banner of imperialist chauvinism. The Spartacist League fights to break workers and minorities from the racist, capitalist Democrats and to forge a revolutionary workers party to sweep away the U.S. bourgeoisie, the most rapacious power on earth.

Front Line in the Cold War

In a recent spread on South Korea, the British *Socialist Worker* (22 November 1997) claims that in 1953 "Korea was partitioned between the pro-Russian North and pro-US South after a war between client states of the superpowers which claimed four million Korean lives." This "third camp" rendition of the Korean War is part of the Cliffite school of falsification, aimed at alibiing Cliff's capitulation to Anglo-U.S. imperialism.

In fact, U.S. occupation forces, with Stalin's criminal acquiescence, divided the country at the 38th parallel only days after landing on the peninsula in 1945. In the North, the Kim Il Sung regime, basing itself on the Soviet Army, proceeded to expropriate the capitalists and landlords, carrying out a social revolution from above. In the South, the U.S. imperialists and their local lackeys—Japanese soldiers, colonial police and the capitalists, who had previously loyally served the brutal Japanese occupation—proceeded to suppress a series of massive worker/peasant upheavals. The 1950-53 war—in which some three to four million people were killed and North Korea was virtually leveled—was a continuation of this counterrevolutionary policy by U.S. imperialism, targeting as well the Chinese deformed workers state which had issued out of the victory of Mao Zedong's peasant-based guerrilla forces in 1949. While the last Soviet forces had been withdrawn from the North by 1948, U.S. troops remained in the South to prop up its hand-picked puppet, Syngman Rhee, followed by one dictatorial regime after another.

While Washington poured billions of dollars into South Korea to maintain a militarily strategic base of operations for its Cold War designs, on an economic level the U.S. sought to make South Korea subordinate to Japan. As late as the 1970s, the North Korean economy was stronger than that in the South. At the same time, South Korea's position as a key Cold War asset gave the weak local bourgeoisie some leeway. When military strongman Park Chung Hee took power in a 1961 coup, he embarked on a program of forced-pace industrialization, funneling the huge funds derived from the U.S. military presence, as well as Japanese financial and technological assistance, to develop the *chaebol*, many of whose founders had gotten their start servicing the American occupation. Between 1965 and 1973, Seoul got more than $2 billion for services rendered to U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Vietnam, through lucrative contracts to supply American forces and as payment for the 300,000 South Korean troops shipped off to fight there.

Japanese investment in South Korea took off in the 1960s, especially after Park signed a "normalization" treaty in 1965. Park used some $800 million in Japanese aid and investment to build the most efficient integrated steel mill in the world—despite American objections—laying the basis for large shipbuilding and auto industries. South Korea imported parts and equipment from Japan and exported finished products to the U.S. When South Korea faced a serious financial crisis—and IMF demands—in 1980, it was bailed out with Japanese assistance, including a massive $4 billion loan package on favorable terms.

However, as the huge *chaebol* operations—epitomized by the gigantic shipworks of Hyundai Heavy Industries—began to compete with Japan and the U.S. on the world market, Japanese capitalists began to withhold the most modern technology from their South Korean "partners." As long as the Soviet Union existed, U.S. ruling circles were unwilling to risk destabilizing South Korea by imposing protectionist measures against Hyundai or Samsung, or by pressuring Seoul into opening up financial markets. With the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, the interests of the U.S. in the peninsula have shifted. Counterrevolution in North Korea remains one of its goals, but a stronger South Korean bourgeoisie is not. When South Korea's rulers pleaded for assistance from Washington and Tokyo this time around, they had the door slammed in their faces.

The American military presence on the peninsula is not only a dagger aimed at the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states but an assertion of U.S. interests in the region against the South Korean bourgeoisie and Japanese imperialism. It also serves as a warning to South Korea's working masses, threatening to drown in blood any challenge to the capitalist order. From their suppression of the "autumn harvest" rising in 1946 to orchestrating the bloody Kwangju massacre of 1980, in which some 2,000 people were killed to put down an insurrectionary

continued on page 10

UPI photos

Protester attacked as troops drowned 1980 Kwangju insurrection in blood. U.S. gave green light for sleughter of 2,000 workers and leftists by military dictator Chun Doo Hwan, seen here with Reagan at White House in 1981.

Wall Street...

(continued from page 7)

witnessed the unusual combination of a sharp recession with accelerating inflation, approaching 20 percent a year. The rapid inflation pushed working-class families into higher income-tax brackets so that take-home pay was falling even faster than real wages before taxes. Right-wing Republican Ronald Reagan won the election by promising large tax cuts along with cuts in social programs, perceived as mainly benefiting the black and Hispanic poor (e.g., welfare, food stamps). This demagogy worked, as half of those white union members and their families who bothered to vote in the 1980 elections supported Reagan over Carter.

Some months prior to the election we pointed out that "the 'tax revolt' is the white backlash at two or three removes." But in contrast to the liberals we insisted: "The white backlash is not however the result of Reagan the Republican, but of decades of betrayal of *class struggle* by the labor bureaucrats and liberal black leaders who are tied to the Democratic Party. And it is only through united class struggle that racist demagogy and attacks can be fought and reversed" ("Behind Friedmania," *WV* No. 260, 11 July 1980).

For a Workers Government!

Despite fulminations about "Reaganomics" on the part of liberals and union leaders, the main policies of the Reagan administration expressed the general interests of the American ruling class, including those sections and factions represented by the Democratic Party. Indeed, all of Reagan's major policies and programs, from the massive arms build-up against the USSR to tax cuts for the rich, were endorsed by the Democratic-controlled Congress. As we wrote in a document adopted by the 1987 National Conference of the SL/U.S.:

> "The core goals of the Reagan presidency conform to a reactionary bourgeois *consensus*, the basic elements of which are: 1) overcoming at the level of popular attitudes the 'Vietnam syndrome,' i.e., disillusionment with the Cold War against the Soviet bloc and unwillingness to make sacrifices for the sake of anti-Communism, 2) increasing military and economic pressure on the Soviet Union, its allies and client states;... 3) decisively weakening the organized labor movement through a combination of giveback contracts, union-busting and the extension of non-union shops; and 4) reversing the limited and token gains of the civil rights movement, and cutting back and dismantling social programs beneficial especially to the black and Hispanic poor and the aged."

Washington Post

Labor/black mobilization organized by Spartacist League stopped Klan provocation in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982. Fight for black freedom is key to the struggle for socialist revolution.

This reactionary bourgeois consensus was clearly demonstrated when a Democrat returned to the Oval Office, after 12 years of Republican rule, in the person of another former governor. Under Bill Clinton—not Reagan nor his Republican successor George Bush—the core welfare program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, has been eliminated. And the current bipartisan agreement to balance the federal budget by 2002 can be achieved only by massively slashing Social Security and Medicare. Having succeeded in their decades-long goal of destroying the Soviet Union, a workers state albeit deformed, and having battered the trade unions at home for two decades, the men who rule this country believe they can now do *anything* to the workers, the poor, the elderly, the black and Hispanic communities without the slightest danger of social turmoil—not to speak of revolution.

However, the sudden collapse of the East Asian economic "miracle," which is wreaking havoc on world financial markets, has exposed the fragility of the post-Soviet global capitalist order. And the Teamsters strike of UPS last summer showed on a small scale the power of organized labor, producing worries about a "worker backlash" on Wall Street.

The desire to fight and a mood of anger at the arrogant CEOs of corporate America are certainly there. But that in itself is not enough. There also needs to be leadership and organization, based on the understanding that union rights and black rights go forward together or fall back separately. As we wrote in a special *WV* supplement (27 August 1997) on the lessons of the UPS strike:

> "Two possible roads lie before the working class. There is the revolutionary strategy proposed by us Marxists. In the course of sharp class struggle and through the instrumentality of a revolutionary party that patiently educates the working class in the understanding not only of its social power but of its historic interests, the workers will become conscious of themselves as a class fighting for itself and for all the oppressed against the *entire* capitalist class and its government. Or there is the continuation of the bureaucrats' acquiescence to what is possible and 'practical' under capitalism, which over the past two decades and more has led to disaster."

The mobilization of the proletariat in pursuit of its own class interests requires a political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor tops. This is integrally linked to the construction of a revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government which will expropriate the productive wealth now monopolized by the capitalists, in order to construct an egalitarian, socialist society. ■

Korea...

(continued from page 9)

revolt, U.S. forces have been a key bulwark for counterrevolutionary repression on the peninsula. Yet not once in nine articles on Korea over the past two years has the American Cliffite *Socialist Worker* raised the call for U.S. troops out. (Indeed, only one, reporting on South Korean student protests, even mentioned the U.S. military presence.) This underscores our characterization of the "third camp" as the *camp of imperialism*.

Acting as "third campists" of the second mobilization is a group grandiosely calling itself the "International Bolshevik Tendency," formed by defectors from the Spartacist tendency who couldn't stomach our hard Soviet-defensist line at the height of Reagan's Cold War II. In a lengthy article on last year's strikes in South Korea against the anti-labor laws, these counterfeit "Trotskyists" do not once raise the call for defense of the North Korean deformed workers state, nor do they so much as *mention* the U.S. military presence in the South, even as they scream to "dislodge the crumbling bureaucratic dictatorship in the North" (*1917*, [March] 1997).

In the first instance a capitulation to imperialism, the line of the "third camp" in South Korea represents an embrace of the interests of the *chaebol* bourgeoisie. The Cliffites demonstrated this even as their own comrades were dragged off to prison under the National Security Law (see "Free Choi Il Bung and All South Korean Class-War Prisoners!" *WV* No. 574, 23 April 1993). At the time of ISSK leader Choi's arrest, the Cliffites assured the anti-Communist regime that "he had not broken the National Security Law by reading banned literature from the North or belonging to a foreign organization. On the contrary, he had published books critical of regimes like North Korea" (*Socialist Worker* [U.S.], February 1993).

At the same time, the Cliffites uphold the social-democratic notion that the bourgeois cops can be won to the side of the working class. This line is particularly grotesque in South Korea, where every strike or student protest comes up against battalions of murderous police clad in Darth Vader outfits. Cliff's followers are also notorious internationally for crossing picket lines, including during the momentous year-long miners strike in Britain in 1984-85.

For a Trotskyist Party in Korea!

The Korean proletariat must reappropriate the history of the pioneer labor militants who were won to the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky and fought heroically against Japanese colonialism from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism. In its "Statement of Mission," the Korean Labor Federation, founded in 1925, proclaimed: "Our purpose is to liberate the working class and to build a completely new society. We will fight with the capitalist class with the collective power of the workers until a final victory is won" (quoted in Martin Hart-Landsberg, *The Rush to Development: Economic Change and Political Struggle in South Korea* [1993]).

The courage and combativity of the South Korean proletariat have been amply demonstrated in the struggles to forge independent unions in defiance of the police-state regime over the past 30 years. Thousands were imprisoned or killed for labor's cause. To this day, South Korean workers commemorate Chon Tae-il, a Seoul textile worker who immolated himself in November 1970 to protest anti-labor repression. Following his death, Chon's mother founded the Chonggye Garment Workers Union, one of the first independent unions. Throughout the 1970s, young women workers—many of them brought in from the countryside to work up to 16 hours a day in stifling sweatshops for no more than the price of a cup of coffee—played a key role in organizing trade unions. Their heroic efforts, in the face of brutal degradation and terror by company thugs and legions of cops, paved the way for the subsequent formation of unions in heavy industry in the 1980s.

To become conscious of its historic tasks, the South Korean proletariat must champion the cause of all the oppressed, from the fight for women's emancipation to the defense of Filipino and other immigrant workers. As we wrote in "For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!" (*WV* No. 612, 9 December 1994):

> "Only a party grounded in revolutionary internationalism can lead the South Korean proletariat to power against the *chaebol* bourgeoisie and oust the bureaucratic caste in Pyongyang through workers political revolution. A Trotskyist party would draw in all the oppressed behind the working class, basing itself on the program of permanent revolution. Only proletarian state power can emancipate the country from the stranglehold of U.S. and Japanese imperialism and resolve the belated tasks of the bourgeois revolution. Against the Stalinist/Confucian glorification of the family, which serves to maintain the age-old subjugation of women, a revolutionary workers party would act as a tribune of the people, fighting all manifestations of social oppression."■

AFP

Poor crops have exacerbated economic collapse in North Korea, leading to widespread famine conditions.

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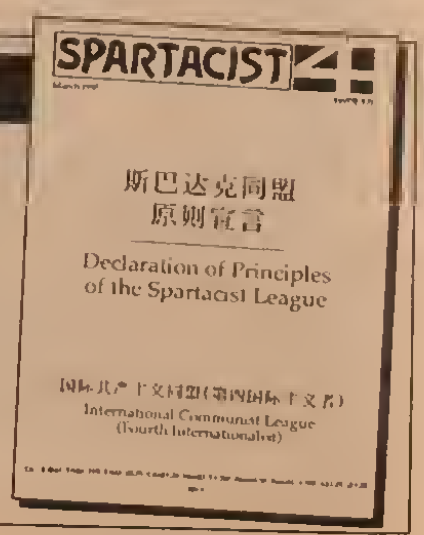

Dockers...

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associated. The PMA has also demanded that the Laney College Labor Studies group, through its coordinator, Al Lannon, turn over all documents that refer or relate to the "composition and mission" of the organization, including membership lists, minutes of meetings, names of students who participated in demonstrations, etc. Lannon has refused to comply with this witchhunt.

Demonstrating that college administrations are in fact the agents of the capitalist class, the Laney College administration has now unilaterally imposed new restrictions on student club activities. Students are now required to get permission from the administration before participating in off-campus political activities such as union organizing, while the Labor Studies group has been banned from using its banner. All defenders of labor and democratic rights must demand an end to the Laney administration's outrageous attacks on the right to free speech and assembly.

Waterfront Bosses Target ILWU

The PMA's real target in the victimization of the *Neptune Jade* protesters is the ILWU. All around the Pacific Rim, longshore unions are coming under increasing attack by the big shipping lines as they seek to increase their profits by breaking union wage scales and work rules. Singapore-based Neptune Orient recently purchased the Oakland-based American President Lines, which is the biggest shipper in the Port of Oakland, with 1,000 employees in the Bay Area, and a major player in the PMA. The combined company will rank third by market share in the immensely lucrative Pacific cargo trade (Oakland *Tribune*, 23 November 1997). The waterfront bosses' vendetta against the union was highlighted when an ILWU Local 10 official was reportedly dragged from his house by cops in October and tossed into jail for a night—on instructions from the PMA—after a confrontation with a process server.

Howard Barlow

Liverpool dockers have waged bitter two-year struggle after being fired for refusing to cross picket lines in 1995.

The PMA's McCarthyite vendetta comes in the context of escalating attacks on the labor movement in the wake of the successful and widely popular Teamsters strike against UPS. In retaliation for the union's victory, the government has ousted Ron Carey as Teamsters president, while the *Wall Street Journal* has rabidly redbaited the ardently pro-Democratic Party AFL-CIO president, John Sweeney. The U.S. bourgeoisie will brook no opposition to its "inalienable right" to intensify the exploitation of the working class. But the AFL-CIO bureaucracy—wedded to the racist capitalist order through its alliance with the Democratic Party—continues to sabotage class struggle in favor of continued reliance on the same capitalist state that is carrying out these attacks on the workers organizations.

In the case of the Oakland protests, there should have been a *union* picket line put up by the ILWU. Having refused to sanction union action in defense of the Liverpool dockers, *after* the port demonstrations, ILWU International head Brian McWilliams hypocritically intoned that "an injury to one is an injury to all" in a letter to the All Japan Dockworkers Union. In the letter, McWilliams wrote that the *Neptune Jade* "was not unloaded in Oakland" because longshoremen refused to cross a "picket line" in solidarity with the Liverpool dockers!

ILWU officials refused to picket out the *Neptune Jade* because they fear retaliation by the PMA. Covering for the bureaucracy's capitulation to the bosses' rules, the protest organizers substituted a demonstration organized by leftists for a real picket line. Sensing weakness, the PMA then launched a truly sinister witchhunt aimed at the union and its officers. So who is fooling whom?

At a September 14 meeting to defend the Oakland protesters, Howard Keylor upheld as a model the 1984 boycott of the *Nedlloyd Kimberly*. Keylor is a supporter of the International Bolshevik Tendency, a group of embittered renegades from the Spartacist League, and he provided a left cover for the ILWU bureaucracy in 1984 as well. The *Nedlloyd Kimberly* boycott came at the height of the black revolt in South Africa against the apartheid police state, as the ILWU Local 10 membership voted to refuse to handle South African cargo on the next Nedlloyd ship in port. Unlike the liberal strategy of seeking to pressure U.S. imperialism to "divest" itself from apartheid South Africa, this proposal was a concrete act of urgently needed labor solidarity with black South African workers, who had been engaged in courageous class battles for some months.

Fearing that union action would anger the PMA and be ruled illegal by the bosses' courts, the ILWU bureaucracy deep-sixed official union action and claimed that longshoremen who refused to unload the ship were simply engaging in "individual acts of conscience." Members of the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition within the ILWU politically supported by the Spartacist League, fought tooth and nail for a union picket line and against the bureaucrats' sabotage, which emboldened the PMA and left the most conscious elements vulnerable to attack by the bosses without the backing of their union. In contrast, various fake leftists in the union—including Keylor—helped to break the ten-day boycott of the *Nedlloyd Kimberly* and then set up a non-union protest as a sop to those who wanted to protest apartheid terror (see "Battle Over Union Action at South Africa Ship," *WV* No. 368, 7 December 1984; "Labor Traitors and Their Lackeys," *WV* No. 374, 8 March 1985).

Now, with the longshore contract expiring in 1999, the ferocious witchhunting attack against the *Neptune Jade* protesters and some union officials should be seen as a warning to the ILWU that the PMA will be out for blood in the upcoming negotiations. Playing by the PMA's rules and bowing to capitalist legality will only encourage further anti-union attacks. Refusing to set up a union-sanctioned picket line against the *Neptune Jade* in the first place has now put the ILWU in a defensive posture against the PMA.

Throughout the labor movement, it is crucial to break the stranglehold of the union misleaders—aided and abetted by the fake leftists—whose support to the Democratic and Republican parties and reliance on the capitalist courts and cops disarm the working class and bind it to its class enemies. The road of class struggle is the only way forward. We must forge a workers party that will fight for a socialist society where those who labor will rule.

* * *

The union movement must be mobilized to stop the PMA's witchhunt. Send donations for the legal defense of the *Neptune Jade* protesters to: Liverpool Dockers Victory Defense Committee, P.O. Box 2574, Oakland, CA 94614.■

Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

the Chicago Committee Against Police Brutality, formed by Rev. Paul Jakes along with State Senator Rickey Hendon and other bourgeois liberals. The central demand of this group, for a civilian review board to oversee the cops, is touted by the Communist Party (CP) in its newspaper, the *People's Weekly World* (8 November), which gushingly notes that Hendon "called for complete independent citizen accountability also for the FBI, the CIA and the military"! This *reductio ad absurdum* underlines the essential fallacy of reformism: does anybody in his right mind think the Pentagon is going to let John Q. Public control the nuclear trigger? Civilian review boards are designed to curb, not cop terror, but independent working-class action against it, by fostering illusions that a supposedly "neutral" government can be pressured to rein in police "excesses." Such "excesses," however, are no aberration but a deliberate policy aimed at suppressing militant social struggle by minorities and working people.

Thus Hendon's plan isn't about "controlling" the cops but about making them more effective. "We have to get the bad cops out because they destroy the morale of Black and good white officers," he said (*Chicago Defender*, 6 October). Jakes meanwhile calls for more police lieutenants and sergeants while demanding that blacks get their "fair share" in this racist and repressive apparatus. Advising the powers that be on the benefits of reform, the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, associated with the social-democratic Committees of Correspondence, dots the i's and crosses the t's: "A democratically elected Police Control Authority could go a long way toward helping the police department regain some respect and cooperation from the people. *Without this, there could be a total breakdown of law and order in our city*" (*Chicago Defender*, 11 October [emphasis added]).

The need to put on some kind of show of taking action against "rogue cops" was not lost on Chicago mayor Richard Daley and his police superintendent, Matt Rodriguez. While Rodriguez blustered that bigotry and excessive violence wouldn't be tolerated, Daley appointed a "blue-ribbon panel" headed by a former federal prosecutor to recommend changes in the police department. Some 200 angry protesters packed a meeting of the Chicago Police Board on October 9. But instead of exposing the Daley administration's dog-and-pony show, the reformists who intervened simply called for "real" action by the politicians. Thus one Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) supporter told Rodriguez: "We're tired of you pretending to hear us and saying you're going to give justice when you haven't done a thing" (*Revolutionary Worker* [*RW*], 26 October). Similarly, a spokesman for the International Socialist Organization was quoted by the Chicago *Sun-Times* as saying, "Mayor Daley is the No. 1 cause of police brutality because he tolerates it" (10 October). The implication here is that a different mayor and police superintendent, ones committed to some version of social justice, could stop the terror emanating from the station houses. This is a liberal pipe dream that ignores the cops' social function as henchmen of capitalist law and order.

One group that puts up a front of rejecting this abject reformism is the Progressive Labor Party (PL). In an article titled "No Such Thing as a 'Good' Cop" (*Challenge*, 17 September), PL writes: "The police can never be any good for the working class. Their main role is to enforce the bosses dictatorship over our class." Such fine phrases, though, contradict PL's flagrantly opportunist *practice* of counseling its supporters to voluntarily enlist in other capitalist armed bodies like the imperialist army and the National Guard. Though volunteer soldiers generally aren't lifelong, conscious guardians of racist capitalism like cops, they do wield arms to disperse strikers, put down colonial insurrections, etc. Recently PL decided to get in on the class-collaborationist bloc between the reformist "left" and the Democrats, lamenting that its supporters in Teamsters Local 743 in Chicago had failed to propose "that the local endorse the Rally Against Racist Police Terror on Oct. 22" (*Challenge*, 5 November).

The October 22 mobilization organized by Refuse & Resist! was an alliance of liberals and leftists based on the slogan: "Stop Police Brutality!" Chicago community organizer Wallace "Gator" Bradley, a Democratic Party wannabe and member of the October 22 Coalition's national coordinating committee, called on Mayor Daley to "put out an executive order making police brutality a crime" (*RW*, 26 October). This call for a non-brutal police force implies that it's possible to enforce capitalism's racist and anti-working-class laws without chokeholds, pepper spray, billy clubs, frame-ups and murder. This liberal lie was used to politically subordinate working people and minorities to the capitalist Democratic Party in the October 22 Coalition.

While seeking to organize social protest based on the power of labor against cop terror, Marxist revolutionaries fight to win the working class to understand the utter impossibility of reforming the agencies of state repression such as the cops, military, courts and prisons. The only way to "stop police brutality" is to put an end to the entire system based on exploitation and oppression that the police defend. "The social power to do that lies in the hands of the working class, with its numbers, organization and discipline—and most importantly, its capacity to bring the wheels of the profit system to a grinding halt" ("For Non-Sectarian Class-Struggle Defense!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 679, 28 November). To unleash that power in this country we need to build a revolutionary workers party with a program to fight for black liberation through socialist revolution.■

$1 (48 pages)

Order from:
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WORKERS VANGUARD

Protests Hit Cop Terror in Chicago

We reprint below a leaflet issued on December 22 by the Spartacist League in Chicago.

Jeremiah Mearday is facing years in jail in a frame-up carried out by the very same cops who beat him to a bloody pulp last September 26. Jeremiah's only "crime" was being young and black in "Segregation City," where cops mete out racist terror each and every day. Hundreds of outraged demonstrators have turned out to protest the savage beating and bogus prosecution of Mearday. The ominous response of the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.), sending some 200 menacing thugs to pack Mearday's November 7 courtroom appearance, was a declaration that the police will brook no challenge to the racist brutality they call "street justice." The Spartacist League demands: *Drop all charges against Jeremiah Mearday!* We understand that the only way to stop this kind of racist cop violence once and for all is to mobilize the social power of the working class to sweep away the profit system these gunmen serve.

Wagner/Chicago Tribune

WV Photo

Vicious beating of Jeremiah Mearday (above) and other racist cop atrocities in Chicago provoked October 11 march and other protests.

In order to unlock this revolutionary potential it is necessary for working people and minorities to understand that the police are not "workers" but their sworn enemies who have no place in the labor movement. They are enforcers of capitalist rule whose violent bigotry conforms to the racism embedded in America's profit system. Such armed bodies of men form the very core of the bosses' state power, which is why collective action by cops poses a deadly danger to the oppressed and at times even challenges the authority of the government's elected officials. The F.O.P.'s sinister mobilization was enough to demolish the notion that cops cease to be "agents of the state" when they "rebel collectively," to quote the reformist International Socialist Organization's British cothinkers (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 8 February 1997). Such actions in fact reveal bourgeois state power stripped of its "democratic" cloak.

Across the country police powers are being strengthened along with the mounting toll of executions, policies pursued with vigor by Democratic president Bill Clinton. The capitalists' all-out war on the living standards of America's poor and working people has been measured in the drive to cut off the nation's ghettos from all sustenance and hope. Particularly for oppressed minorities, joblessness and starvation go hand in hand with prison and, not infrequently, death in the streets. In Chicago's South and West Side ghettos, the nation's largest, the cops feel free to rob, beat and murder with impunity.

In the years since the 1991 videotaped Rodney King beating by Los Angeles cops and the ensuing explosion of nationwide outrage at their acquittal, however, there has been increasing concern in bourgeois circles that such high-profile incidents of police brutality will make it more difficult to maintain racist "law and order." The Mearday beating, coming in the wake of the brutal cop torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima in New York, threatened to undermine the already damaged authority of a scandal-ridden police department. The Democratic politicians who run Chicago focused their energies on damage control, promoting a series of plans to supposedly heighten popular "control" over the police. Such schemes are based on the lie that the working class and minorities can reform the very capitalist state that systematically oppresses them, but that didn't stop an array of "socialist" groups from aiding this endeavor.

A series of protests against the Mearday atrocity have been organized by

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Bay Area Longshore Union Under Attack

Defend Supporters of Liverpool Dockers!

OAKLAND—The Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) has launched a rabid, McCarthyite witchhunt against trade unionists, students and leftists who carried out protests at the Port of Oakland in September against the *Neptune Jade*, a ship carrying scab cargo. The ship had been loaded at a port in Britain controlled by the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company (MDHC), which has carried out a vicious union-busting attack on Liverpool dockers who have battled for *two years* in defense of the basic class principle that *picket lines mean don't cross*.

MDHC has employed scabs to work the Liverpool docks since 1995. The bosses had sacked the entire workforce after engineering a dispute with, and then firing, five young workers fighting for their right to overtime pay. Shamefully, the leaders of the British Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) have done all in their power to knife the dockers' struggle. At its biennial conference in July, TGWU leader Bill Morris even tried (unsuccessfully) to get the union to disown the dockers completely! Morris' backstabbing is of a piece with the Thatcherite attacks on workers and the poor now being carried out by Tony Blair's "New" Labour Party.

The PMA was enraged by the fact that the Oakland protests had prevented the offloading of the *Neptune Jade*'s scab cargo. Only days later, the ship was turned away from the Vancouver docks by a similar protest. As the ship headed for Yokohama, Zenkoku Kowan (National Council of Dockworkers' Unions of Japan) met and reached a decision "to refuse, for the time being, the work of any cargoes in Japan handled by Mersey Dock and Harbour Company, i.e. any cargoes from and to the ports of Liverpool, Thamesport and Sheerness." Neptune Orient Line has now reportedly sold the *Neptune Jade* in Taiwan—with the scab cargo still aboard.

Two days after the Oakland protests began, the PMA filed a civil suit and won a court injunction against the demonstrators, singling out in particular members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) and the Inlandboatmen's Union (IBU), a division of the ILWU. IBU member Robert Irminger, one of the protest leaders, was charged with contempt of court for allegedly violating the injunction and now faces jail time. The Laney College Labor Studies group, the Golden Gate Chapter of the Labor Party, the Peace and Freedom Party—as well as 500 "John Does" and even "Doe" labor organizations and political associations!—are named in the PMA civil suit, which demands huge monetary damages. We demand: Drop all charges against Robert Irminger and all the Liverpool dockers protesters!

In a December 19 letter accompanying a donation to the Liverpool Dockers Victory Defense Committee, the Partisan Defense Committee stated:

> "What lies behind this attack is the capitalists' fear that the power of the international working class will be brought to bear on behalf of the fired Liverpool workers. The shipping employers are out to intimidate all who would stand up for the rights of labor....
>
> "These attacks demand the widespread mobilization of organized union power in concrete solidarity action, which means refusing to bow to the courts and arbitrators of the capitalist state. That is part of preparing the working class to assume its rightful place in history—those who labor must rule!"

"Are You Now or Have You Ever Been...?"

Taking a page quite literally from 1950s anti-Communist witchhunter Joe McCarthy, lawyers for the PMA demanded that Irminger and the other defendants answer "special interrogatory" questions. Among other things, they were ordered to "identify all persons, associations and organizations known to you who participated in" the demonstrations; to "identify all labor organizations in which you are or have been a member or with which you are or have been in any way affiliated" and to name "all political organizations" with which they have been

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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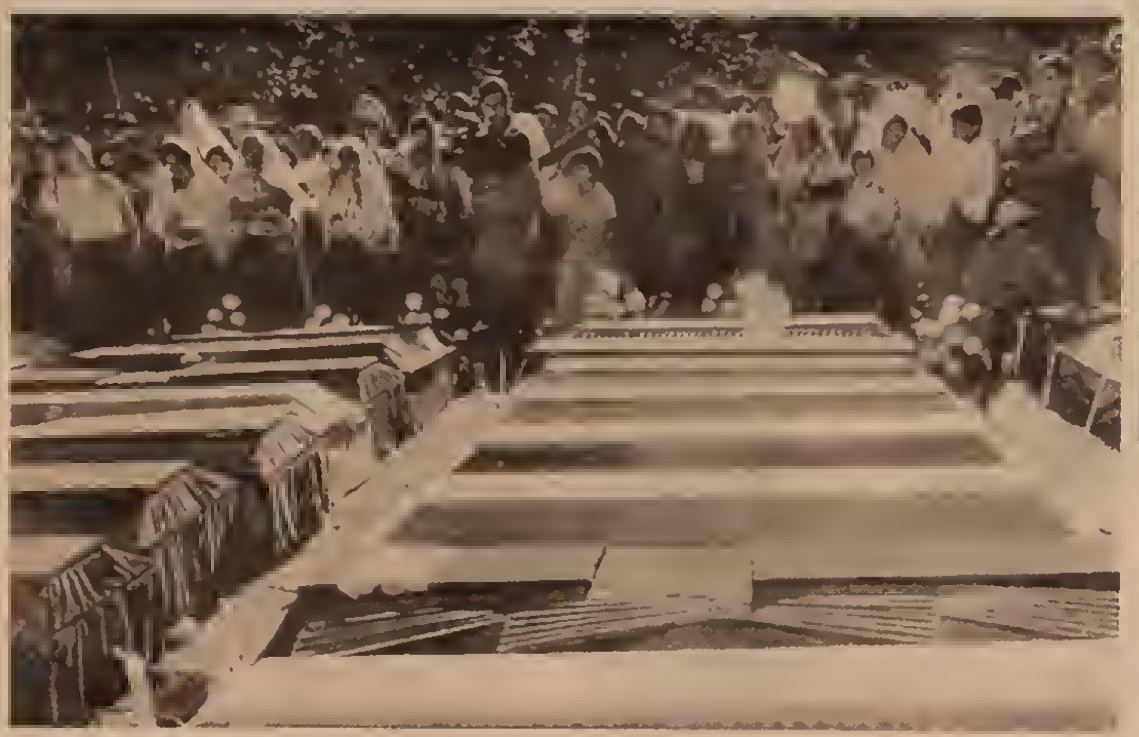
No. 682 16 January 1998

Mass Murder of Chiapas Peasants by PRI Death Squads

U.S. Imperialism's Bloody Hand in Mexico

Palmer/U.S. News & World Report



AP

Funeral for 45 Chiapas peasants slaughtered by death squad linked to PRI regime of Ernesto Zedillo (right). Democrat Clinton has escalated military aid to Mexico to enforce Wall Street dictates.

Velazco/Reforma

The Mexican state of Chiapas has seen an ominous buildup of military forces in the weeks since 45 Tzotzil peasants were slaughtered there by a death squad operating in the service of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) of President Ernesto Zedillo. Despite their hypocritical condemnations of the gruesome massacre, U.S. imperialism and its Mexican lackeys are up to their necks in the blood of these defenseless peasants. The killing spree lasted for six hours, while nearby state police ignored the gunfire and pleas for help. Women and children were shot in the back trying to flee, the injured finished off with machetes.

Even as the villagers in Acteal were burying their dead on Christmas Day, Mexican army units began sweeping into other peasant villages and setting up roadblocks, supposedly to "protect" the inhabitants and to look for "illegal weapons." Zedillo has ordered 5,000 more soldiers into Chiapas, adding to the 35,000 heavily armed troops who have occupied the state since the short-lived rebellion by the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) four years ago. Patrolling in U.S.-supplied Humvees with mounted machine guns, these units are mainly targeting communities of the doubly oppressed *indígenas* (indigenous Amerindian peoples) which, like Acteal, are known to be sympathetic to the Zapatistas. On January 12, troops fired into a demonstration in the Chiapas town of Ocosingo, killing one woman and injuring two young children.

Many of these peasants live in "autonomous" municipalities in declared opposition to the local PRI political bosses (*caciques*). There are widespread fears that the government's latest escalation of military repression is aimed at imposing a "peace of the graveyard" in Chiapas and in other embattled areas of the Mexican countryside. Hundreds of terrified indigenous people have fled their villages in the wake of the bloodbath, adding to the flood of refugees in recent months who have sought sanctuary from army/death squad terror. With many of their husbands and sons in hiding, village women have courageously confronted troops trying to break into their homes.

The EZLN rebellion coincided with

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Mexican Trotskyists Protest Chiapas Massacre

The following is translated from a leaflet issued on 29 December 1997 by the Grupo Espartaquista de México and distributed at a New Year's Day demonstration in Mexico City protesting the recent massacre and commemorating the fourth anniversary of the Zapatista rebellion.

The Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), denounces the massacre of 45 defenseless indigenous people from the Sociedad Civil las Abejas' camp of the "displaced" in Acteal, municipality of San Pedro Chenalhó, Chiapas, at the hands of a paramilitary group. On Monday, 22 December, some 60 paramilitary members—in the service of local landowners and livestock ranchers, and sponsored by the PRI municipal president—surrounded 21 women, 14 children, 9 men and one new-born baby and riddled them with bullets. Many of the injured survivors were finished off with machetes. This is the bloodiest provocation since 1994 against the indigenous people of Chiapas, sympathizers of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN), by the armed bands connected with the local authorities of the PRI—which Ernesto Zedillo heads. Workers revolution will avenge those martyred by the Mexican bourgeois regime!

Taking advantage of the scandal over this butchery—which would leave Peruvian dictator Fujimori dying of envy—and as high officials in the Mexican government hypocritically declare that they will apply "justice" in Chiapas, more than 35,000 army troops have already been mobilized to take up a position and close in on Zapatista areas, awaiting the order for a final assault. With ultimate cynicism, Washington announced its "astonishment" at the slaughter and called for an "efficient investigation" from the executioners themselves. (The high-calibre weapons used in carrying out the slaughter are "exclusively for official use.") The truth is that the war of extermination against the indigenous peoples and the starvation to which millions of peasants throughout the country have been condemned are the result of capitalist exploitation and the yoke of U.S. imperialism, now carrying out its plunder through NAFTA. For this reason, the Mexican regime militarizes the entire country as it imposes its starvation plans—to head off massive protests by the proletariat and oppressed youth.

As a revolutionary Marxist organization, despite our profound political and strategic differences with the EZLN's petty-bourgeois guerrillaism and its political support to the PRD, the Grupo Espartaquista de México unconditionally defends the indigenous peoples of Chiapas and the EZLN fighters against bourgeois state repression. The Grupo Espartaquista is guided by Leon Trotsky's program of permanent revolution, which argues that in semicolonial countries like Mexico it is only through the seizure of state power by the working class—supported by the poor peasantry—that there can be a solution to the crushing problems of the masses: for an authentic agrarian revolution, emancipation of the workers and liberation from the imperialist yoke. As a section of the International Communist

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PC Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

PDC Holiday Appeal Success

In December, the Partisan Defense Committee held its twelfth Holiday Appeal fund drive. Lively benefits held at local union halls in Chicago, San Francisco and New York raised over $12,000, bringing together trade unionists, student youth, supporters of the Spartacist League and its affiliated Labor Black Leagues and other activists. In carrying out this yearly effort to raise money for the regular stipends sent to class-war prisoners and for extra funds for them and their families during the holiday season, the PDC is inspired by the class-struggle, non-sectarian defense tradition of the early International Labor Defense. As fliers to build for the Holiday Appeal benefits stated: "This is not charity—it's an act of solidarity with those behind bars!"

Participants at the benefits celebrated the release from jail last June of former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) after *27 years* in prison. PDC spokesmen underlined the urgent need to redouble efforts to free another former Panther leader targeted by the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO operation—and by the racist Philadelphia police—death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The New York City rally was addressed by Jamal's lead attorney, Len Weinglass, who reported on a recent trip to Denmark and an earlier one to cities in Germany, where he spoke about Mumia's case "each time to a full house with enthusiastic audiences." Weinglass noted a series of awards and honors received by Mumia lately: "He has been named honorary vice president of the second-largest bar association in the United States, the National Lawyers Guild. He has been named an honorary citizen of Palermo, in Italy. He's been given honors by a labor union in Berlin and elected vice president. And I've just returned from Denmark where a national foundation in Copenhagen awarded him $7,500 as a fighter for freedom."

WV Photo

Gene Herson, with Leonard Weinglass at NYC benefit, donating his portion of "Anti-Klan Three" settlement to Mumia Abu-Jamal's legal defense.

Jamal's appeal is now before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, which has never reversed a death row conviction. As Weinglass reported:

> "If we lose there, we fully anticipate that Governor Ridge will sign a death warrant. That will probably come sometime in the spring. We will then go into Federal Court.... So there's much work to be done. Your work has been fantastic up to this point; we have a base of support. We have mobilized a very conscious group that's working not only here but around the world. And with your help, hopefully, someday we'll prevail and someday it will be Mumia who will be speaking here about his brothers and sisters who are still in prison."

At the benefit, Weinglass was presented with a check for $1,667 for Jamal's legal defense by PDC labor coordinator Gene Herson. This was Herson's share of a $5,000 settlement won in a civil suit against the Chicago city administration. The "Anti-Klan Three" had sued for violation of their civil rights and wrongful arrest during a PDC-initiated protest against an attempted Ku Klux Klan march in downtown Chicago in June 1996. Herson said:

> "Of course, we must provide the best possible legal defense, but the only way we are going to save Mumia is through a mass mobilization of the working class in this country and internationally. Everyone here tonight must understand this and must become not just organizers, but organizers of organizers—mobilizing the working class to secure *freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal!*"

In our united-front efforts to mobilize the power of labor in the fight for Jamal's freedom, "we aim to suffuse the working class with the consciousness of its historic interests in fighting for all of labor and the oppressed against the *entire* capitalist system" ("Free Mumia—Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! For Non-Sectarian, Class-Struggle Defense!" *WV* No. 679, 28 November 1997). At the same time, we welcome the diverse efforts, particularly since Mumia won a stay of execution in August 1995, that have been made by other organizations.

On December 6, Robert Meeropol addressed over 2,500 people at a Jamal defense rally in San Francisco initiated by Socialist Action. Meeropol is the son of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were sent to the electric chair in 1953 in an anti-Communist, anti-Semitic witchhunt. Meeropol talked about how a courageous young Philadelphia journalist had given him an hour of radio time two decades ago to speak out about his parents' political execution and recounted how he and the journalist agreed that such a thing could happen again. That journalist was Mumia Abu-Jamal, who, in a cruelly ironic twist, is now himself facing execution for his political views. Also on December 6, a "People's Tribunal" in support of Jamal drew almost 700 people in Philadelphia, though it was blacked out by the city's two daily papers.

As the fight for Mumia's life and freedom gains strength, prison authorities have gone out of their way to isolate and silence him. Further evidence of this was recently brought out in a civil suit against Pennsylvania prison authorities. On December 8, a federal court heard arguments in Jamal's appeal concerning an earlier suit against the prison authorities' flagrant violation of his right to free speech and to legal counsel. In December 1996, Judge Donetta Ambrose had ruled that prison authorities had definitely and irreparably injured Jamal's legal defense through their systematic obstruction of his access to legal counsel by intercepting privileged correspondence with his attorneys and forwarding copies to the office of Governor Tom Ridge. Ambrose had nonetheless upheld the state's "right" to read Jamal's correspondence with his attorney in certain circumstances.

In the latest hearing, one of the federal appeals court judges, Richard L.

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TROTSKY

LENIN

The National Question in the Imperialist Epoch

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union has led to growing inter-imperialist rivalries and a sharp resurgence of national chauvinism around the globe. In West Europe and the U.S., there has been intensified repression and terror against immigrants and national minorities. Meanwhile, military interventions and the imposition of International Monetary Fund dictates in the semicolonial countries underscore that the formal independence achieved by many former colonies after World War II has not freed them from the yoke of imperialist subjugation. As Leon Trotsky emphasized in 1934 in "War and the Fourth International," only through socialist revolution internationally can there be a just and democratic resolution of the national question.

Having used the nation for its development, capitalism has nowhere, in no single corner of the world, solved fully the national problem. The borders of the Europe of Versailles are carved out of the living body of the nations. The idea of recarving capitalist Europe to make state boundaries coincide with national boundaries is the sheerest kind of utopia. No government will cede an inch of its ground by peaceful means. A new war would carve Europe anew in accordance with the war map and not in correspondence to the boundaries of nations. The task of complete national determination and peaceful cooperation of all peoples of Europe can be solved only on the basis of the economic unification of Europe, purged of bourgeois rule. The slogan of the ***United States of Europe*** is a slogan not only for the salvation of the Balkan and Danubian peoples but for the salvation of the peoples of Germany and France as well.

A special and important place is occupied by the question of ***colonial and semicolonial countries of the East***, which are even now fighting for the independent national state. Their struggle is doubly progressive: tearing the backward peoples from Asiatism, sectionalism and foreign bondage, they strike powerful blows at the imperialist states. But it must be clearly understood beforehand that the belated revolutions in Asia and Africa are incapable of opening up a new epoch of renaissance for the national state. The liberation of the colonies will be merely a gigantic episode in the world socialist revolution, just as the belated democratic overturn in Russia, which was also a semicolonial country, was only the introduction to the socialist revolution....

The national problem merges everywhere with the social. Only the conquest of power by the world proletariat can assure a real and lasting freedom of development for *all* nations of our planet.

—Leon Trotsky, "War and the Fourth International" (June 1934)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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PRODUCTION MANAGER Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER Mindy Sanders

EDITORIAL BOARD: Ray Bishop (managing editor), Bruce André, Helene Broslus, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@iiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is January 13

No. 682 **16 January 1998**

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BT's Bill Logan Waltzing with WOSA

"Death of Communism" Confab in South Africa

JOHANNESBURG—In early December, we were witness to what will probably become an increasingly common phenomenon in the post-Soviet political landscape: self-styled leftists gathering to express their heartfelt relief at the "death of communism." Bowing to imperialist triumphalism over the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, much of the left is rapidly abandoning even any pretence to Leninism. This was manifest at an "International Conference" hosted by the South African Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA) in Cape Town. Co-sponsored by the Italian Socialismo Rivoluzionario (SR) group, this "death of communism" confab was one of a number of recent "regroupment" attempts by centrists and reformists internationally.

Trotskyists called for unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal counterrevolution while fighting for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy, as we still do in regard to the remaining bureaucratically deformed workers states. Marxists recognise that despite the usurpation of political power by a nationalist bureaucratic caste in 1923-24, the Soviet degenerated workers state remained based on collectivised property relations—the central surviving gain of the October Revolution of 1917—i.e., *no capitalists*. Stalinophobic outfits like WOSA and SR, in contrast, reneged on their duty to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution while the USSR existed and now seek to use its demise as a stepping stone into mainstream social democracy.

The "base document" submitted by WOSA and SR as the condition for delegate status at the conference made this amply clear. Capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states—a catastrophic defeat for the international proletariat—is greeted enthusiastically by WOSA/SR: "For socialists it means that the international working class can now mount a proper challenge to the rule of international capital." Concomitant with their sneering dismissal of the purpose and continuing relevance of the Bolshevik Revolution, they repudiate the instrument by which this revolution was made, insisting: "It is certainly not a centralised international party that we are proposing." Such outfits blanch at the very idea of a democratic-centralist international party because they want to be free to pursue their particular opportunist appetites on their own national terrains.

The International Communist League was invited to send delegates to this conference, but we declined, noting in a 24 November 1997 letter sent by Spartacist South Africa: "We have substantial differences with your previously circulated base document, including our insistence on the need for an international democratically centralist Leninist vanguard party. The 'Russian Question' remains central for us. We struggle for new October Revolutions, and stand for unconditional military defence of the Cuban, Chinese, Vietnamese and North Korean deformed workers states against capitalist counterrevolution, while fighting for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies."

We won grudging respect at the Cape Town gathering for putting our political differences and opposition to the WOSA/SR "base document" out in the open. This stood in sharp contrast to the conduct of the centrists. The Workers International Vanguard League (WIVL), a Stalinophobic South African grouping, tried to have its cake and eat it, too. Having accepted delegate status, once inside, the WIVL sought to denounce the base document as "reformist," and ended up being ejected by WOSA leader Neville Alexander. The next day, the WIVL threw a whining "open letter" on a table and ran for cover, without uttering so much as a word about their differences for the remainder of the conference, including at two public meetings they attended.

Even the WIVL's tame opposition was too much for the "International Bolshevik Tendency" (IBT), which was not restrained by any scruples in rushing to accept delegate status at the Cape Town conference. These self-styled "Bolsheviks" eagerly signed on to a document which, echoing anti-communist diatribes, warns that "international parties run the risk of establishing predatory relationships with unaffiliated revolutionary groups." They endorsed WOSA/SR's pointed refusal to draw any class distinction between imperialism and the former Soviet Union, expressed in the base document's even-handed reference to the "rivalry between capitalism and the Eastern block [sic]." Nor did the IBT object that the document writes off the need to defend the surviving deformed workers states against capitalist restoration and instead proclaims that "it is time now for us to overcome all those forms of sectarianism that characterised the immediate past: a time in history when we had to confront Stalinism and Maoism, represented by powerful nation states, as well as confront the capitalist system itself."

WV Photo

Spartacists demonstrated near Wall Street as Russian president Boris Yeltsin met his paymasters in 1992. Centrists and reformists reneged on defense of Soviet Union, now embrace "death of communism" lie.

The base document explicitly laid out the terms for an unprincipled lash-up, insisting: "Our differences about how to deal with the regime in the USSR and with Maoism are less important now." In line with this, the IBT distributed a long-winded, eight-page supplement to its journal, *1917*, titled "The Struggle for South Africa," which totally disappears the Trotskyist position on the Russian Question which this outfit formally claims to uphold. Indeed, the IBT statement did not even mention—let alone criticise—WOSA or the other conference sponsors. The message was obvious: the IBT is willing to unite with anybody, no matter what their politics. Thus they have no qualms about adhering to a common document with the likes of Socialismo Rivoluzionario, which supported every counterrevolutionary force that sought the destruction of the Soviet Union, from the CIA-backed Afghan *mujahedin* and Polish Solidarność to fascist-infested Lithuanian nationalists.

In short, the IBT completely blended in with the rest of the centrist flora and fauna at the Cape Town conference. But their representative there, *líder maximo* Bill Logan, is a creature of a different stripe. Logan is a sociopathic liar, manipulator and creep who has no place in the workers movement at all. He was expelled from the international Spartacist tendency (iSt—now the ICL) by a unanimous vote at our 1979 international conference for crimes "against communist morality and its substrate human decency." Logan went ballistic when he saw us at the Cape Town conference circulating an ICL pamphlet titled "The International Bolshevik Tendency—What Is It?" and three iSt internal discussion bulletins documenting the brutal and sadistic nature of Logan's regime when he was at the head of, first, our Australian and, later, our British section (see, for example, *International Information Bulletin* No. 16, "On the Logan Regime, Part III: The Dishonorable Schoolboy Sent Down," November 1983).

The IBT's participation in the Cape Town conference is not surprising, given the origins and history of this outfit. It was founded by embittered ex-members who quit the iSt in the early 1980s, at the height of Cold War II, when defence of the Soviet degenerated workers state was posed pointblank. In the early years, calling themselves the External Tendency (ET), they often sought to present a blurred carbon copy of our programme. But while screaming about how they had been "bureaucratically purged" from our organisation, in reality they aspired to join the anti-Soviet swamp. As we noted in a 1984 polemic, "If the ET were more honest, they would admit that they hated it when we hailed the Soviet Red Army's military intervention in Afghanistan." We recognised that, whatever the intentions of the venal bureaucrats in the Kremlin, this military action offered the possibility of extending the gains of the October Revolution to Afghanistan. For the ET/IBT, however, continued verbal adherence to this slogan had been a millstone around their necks. Sure enough, four years after our polemic they openly renounced our call, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"

In August 1991, seizing on the Kremlin "gang of eight" coup attempt and Russian president Boris Yeltsin's pro-imperialist countercoup, the IBT finally found an excuse to wash its hands of even pro forma defence of the Soviet Union. After the fact, the IBT trumpeted its "military support" to the incompetent coup plotters, who were just as committed to capitalist restoration as Yeltsin. Hiding behind this veneer of what they absurdly labeled Soviet defencism, the IBT rushed to proclaim that the Soviet degenerated workers state had been destroyed the moment the "gang of eight" capitulated. The IBT defeatists happily wrote off in advance any possibility that decisive working-class resistance could have swept away the Yeltsinites and opened the road to proletarian political revolution. The ICL, in contrast, distributed tens of thousands of leaflets in Moscow and elsewhere calling on Soviet workers to "Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!"

The IBT's occasional attempts to posture as orthodox Trotskyists have become far less frequent since Logan took the helm several years ago. In Canada, the IBT wallows in Anglo chauvinism and opposes independence for Quebec, while in Britain, its group has totally liquidated into Arthur Scargill's reformist Socialist Labour Party (SLP). Inside the SLP, IBT supporters linked up in an electoral bloc with supporters of imperialist intervention in Bosnia—the "Workers Aid to Bosnia" crowd—cheerleaders for Polish Solidarność and apologists for Ukrainian fascists (see "Scargill and His 'Left'

continued on page 10

Special ICL Bulletins

On the Logan Regime
(Three parts)

In 1979, Bill Logan was expelled from the international Spartacist tendency for crimes "against communist morality and its substrate human decency." Logan is now the leader of the "International Bolshevik Tendency." As a service to the workers movement we have made our international bulletins documenting Logan's crimes publicly available.

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International Communist League pamphlet, August 1995

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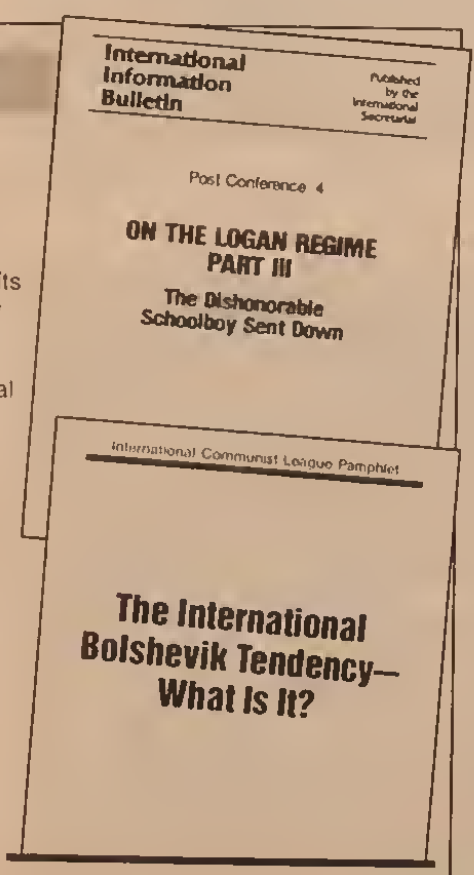

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Hamburg, Germany

Social Democrats' Racist Campaign Fuels Nazi Terror

The following article is translated and adapted from Spartakist *(No. 130, December 1997-January 1998), published by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League.*

SPARTAKIST

Across "Fortress Europe," the capitalists have used terror against immigrants and other minorities as the battering ram for attacks on the living standards of the whole working class. This racism is being deliberately fomented by the ruling classes to poison the consciousness of the workers in order to divide them and deflect them from united struggle against these assaults. Fueled by these racist campaigns, in recent years there has been an ominous growth of fascism, especially in France and Germany. "Communists" and "Socialists" in Rome and Paris and Tony Blair's "New" Labour in London have placed themselves at the forefront of the bourgeoisies' drive for enforced austerity. With an eye to national elections in 1998, in Hamburg the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) ran a racist "law and order" campaign last fall against "foreign criminality." The London *Independent* (22 September 1997) called it "one of the most xenophobic election campaigns conducted by the left in post-war Germany."

This reactionary onslaught is a direct consequence of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe, brought about by the terminal bankruptcy of Stalinism. At the same time, this has unleashed and sharpened imperialist conflicts over the redivision of world markets and spheres of exploitation that had previously been suppressed to make common cause against the USSR. In order to compete internationally, especially against their American and Japanese imperialist rivals, the European bourgeoisies—with Germany in the lead—must sharply increase the rate of exploitation at home.

During the anti-Soviet Cold War, the SPD brokered relatively high wages and social benefits for its German working-class base in order to ensure class peace in NATO's frontline state. In 1989-90, as we warned then, the SPD was the "Trojan horse of capitalist counterrevolution" in the East German deformed workers state (DDR), while the former Stalinists and "born again" social democrats of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) sold out the DDR. Now that the Soviet bloc degenerated/deformed workers states have been destroyed, the bosses intend to destroy the "welfare state" in capitalist Germany as well. With its historical stranglehold on the trade unions, the SPD asserts it is better placed than Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats (CDU) to ram cuts in wages and social spending down the workers' throats while dividing them by whipping up racism.

The background to the Hamburg elections was escalating state terror against immigrants and refugees across the country. Last July, the Social Democrats joined with the CDU to make the repressive "laws for foreigners" even more stringent. How these laws are implemented is demonstrated by the recent case of a Kurdish refugee family deported back to Turkey with a suitcase which the cops had packed full of brochures of the outlawed nationalist Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) and pictures of PKK head Abdullah Ocalan. The BGS (federal border police) prevented the family from getting rid of the suitcase en route and handed the material directly to the Turkish police. After their arrival, the father was thrown into prison. In German states where the SPD is in power, deported Algerian refugees are handed directly over to the Algerian police before the plane even takes off.

SPD-Ruled Hamburg: Anti-Immigrant Police State

In power in Hamburg for 40 years, the SPD runs a notoriously racist administration and police. This past summer, the city administration adopted a new method to speed up deportations. They bought off a representative of the Gambian consulate to certify that black refugees, regardless of where they came from, were Gambian citizens and issue them passports so they could be quickly deported. On April 20, Hitler's birthday, cops raided the main railway station, indiscriminately arresting all the blacks they could find and locking them up in paddy wagons. When the people asked why they had been arrested, the cops replied, "We're celebrating a birthday today." The Hamburg port has ships crammed full of refugees. When one fell overboard during a raid a year and a half ago, the police looked on without lifting a finger as he drowned. When a leader of the Black Student Organization filed charges against the cops for refusing to help the drowning refugee, *he* was barraged with countercharges from the police. Now, tuberculosis—whose current worldwide resurgence is the result of imperialist greed—has broken out on board the hideously overcrowded ships.

The SPD now governs in coalition with the bourgeois Green party, which demands "more police on the streets." What this means was graphically demonstrated after the elections by a mass "ticket control" of public transport in Altona, a major worker/immigrant district. Hundreds of ticket controllers took hours checking every single passenger while cops and BGS units with attack dogs made sure nobody left.

In this ugly racist climate, the Nazis felt the wind in their sails, calling on voters to "vote the original" instead of the SPD. Five fascist parties fielded candidates in the election, provocatively postering the city with their chauvinist filth. One of them, the German People's Union (DVU), fell just short of getting into the city legislature, but notably won votes and district council seats in working-class areas where many Turkish and Kurdish immigrants live, which have been hard hit by unemployment. Nazis threatened to firebomb the office of the SPD's Juso youth group, dominated by the Linksruck tendency (connected to Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain and the U.S. International Socialist Organization). Scrapping plans for a mass race-hate rally on the eve of the elections, the fascists instead sent a squad of thugs to take over an SPD election meeting, ominously demonstrating their goal of again destroying—as they did in 1933—the trade unions and all working-class organizations. SPD mayor Henning Voscherau immediately abandoned the microphone to Nazi NPD führer Andreas Storr.

There are six million unemployed in Germany today, the highest level since World War II. The mass unemployment and social despair foster the Nazi murder gangs, while the Social Democrats offer nothing but chauvinist protectionism and racism. The fascists demand, "Jobs for Germans first." Explicitly avowing the same aim, SPDer Klaus Zwickel, head of the powerful metal workers union—which includes many immigrant workers—demands anti-immigrant "quotas." And SPD state president Stolpe of Brandenburg backed the anti-Semitic Gollwitz village administration when it refused to accept Jewish immigrants from Russia. Meanwhile, national SPD leaders like Gerhard Schröder call for "deportation of 'foreign criminals'," screaming "Out, and fast." This strikes at the very heart of the integrated workers movement, criminalizing *all* immigrants *and* their children (whom the German bourgeoisie would prefer to deport en masse if they could). Thus they become fair game for the Nazi gangs, whose firebomb murders of immigrants and asylum-seekers since capitalist reunification in 1990 have made towns like Rostock, Solingen, Mölln and Lübeck synonymous with fascist terror.

Spartakist

Spartakist contingent at July 1996 Berlin protest demands: "Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for immigrants!" Below: 1996 demonstration by Kurds in Hamburg, where SPD runs notoriously racist city administration.

DPA

For Worker/Immigrant Mobilizations Against the Fascists!

The Nazis were allowed to come to power in 1933 without a shot being fired, as the Stalinized Communist Party together with the Social Democracy paralyzed the best-organized workers movement in Europe. Against their suicidal policy of capitulation, the Trotskyists fought for the *united front* of workers organizations against the Nazis:

> "No common platform with the Social Democracy, or with the leaders of the German trade unions, no common publications, banners, placards! March separately, but strike together! Agree only how to strike, whom to strike, and when to strike!"
>
> —Leon Trotsky, "For a Workers' United Front Against Fascism" (December 1931)

In this tradition, the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) fights for *trade union/immigrant mobilizations*, including all the intended victims of fascism, to stop Nazi provocations. And, with Trotsky, we hold that the fight to stop the fascists—the genocidal shock troops held in reserve by the ruling class—is inseparable from the revolutionary perspective of the proletarian struggle for state power. Our task is to build the revolutionary internationalist party that raises the consciousness of the working class to achieve this historical necessity.

With this perspective, we intervened to

stop the Nazis in Berlin-Hellersdorf in February 1997. In leaflets distributed at Berlin factories, schools and meetings, we carried out a political struggle before the eyes of the working masses and left-wing youth. We sought to arm the working class against the forces around the social-democratic PDS, which built illusions in bourgeois democracy and wanted to pressure the state to prevent a fascist provocation. Our goal was a proletarian-centered mobilization to stop the Nazis. The trade-union bureaucracy sabotaged participation by contingents of labor. Nevertheless, we were well prepared on the spot to split away and successfully organize those forces who wanted to *stop* the Nazis, making Hellersdorf a modest but politically significant victory.

The proletariat, with its strategic immigrant component, has the vital interest and social power to organize the unorganized; to fight for equal pay for equal work; for jobs for all through a shorter workweek at full, union-scale wages for all workers, including women and foreign workers; for full citizenship rights for all immigrant workers and their families. To achieve these demands requires ***breaking*** the working-class base from its racist social-democratic misleaders—the agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement—and its systematic mobilization ***for proletarian revolution***. Down with the racist, imperialist "Fortress Europe" of Maastricht—For a Socialist United States of Europe! The sections of the International Communist League have intervened with this Marxist program in the powerful defensive struggles against the racist capitalist offensive across Europe. This stands in stark contrast to the various social-democratic and popular-front dead ends being peddled by the fake left, particularly the left reformists and centrists who claim to be Trotskyist.

Why the Fake Left Can't Combat the Fascists

Across West Europe, virtually the whole spectrum of centrist groups have called on the working class to vote for the likes of Blair's "New" Labour in Britain, the German SPD, the French popular front headed by "Socialist" Lionel Jospin and including the Communist Party, and the Italian Ulivo (Olive Tree) popular-front government supported by Rifondazione Comunista. Thus do the centrists further electoralist illusions on the fraudulent basis that these reformist parties and cross-class coalitions represent the interests of the proletariat.

The mass reformist social-democratic or "Communist" parties are, in Lenin's words, "bourgeois workers parties," that is, parties traditionally based on the proletariat but with leaderships which are thoroughly bourgeois in their outlook and program. The task of communists is to *split* these parties by exacerbating the fundamental class contradiction between the pro-capitalist leadership and the working-class base. Parliamentary governments formed by these parties are *capitalist* governments administering *capitalist rule*—regardless of whether they rule alone or in coalition.

Like Lenin and Trotsky, the ICL opposes in principle any coalition with

Action Press

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Emboldened by official state racism, fascist skinheads march through Munich under Nazi banners, March 1997. Arson attack on Lübeck refugee hostel in 1996 killed ten people.

capitalist parties ("popular fronts")—whether in government or in opposition—and we oppose voting for reformist workers parties in popular fronts. When bourgeois workers parties enter class-collaborationist coalitions, the contradiction between the reformists' pro-capitalist politics and their false claims to represent the interests of the proletariat is suppressed. As Leon Trotsky asserted: "By lulling the workers and peasants with parliamentary illusions, by paralyzing their will to struggle, the People's Front creates favorable conditions for the victory of fascism" ("The New Revolutionary Upsurge and the Tasks of the Fourth International," July 1936).

Rogner/Netzhaut

Trade unionists march against threatened job cuts in Ruhr region, February 1997, only weeks before SPD tops sold out huge miners strike. Turkish and Kurdish workers are key component of proletariat in Germany.

Today in Germany, the left-reformist Linksruck tendency seeks to recruit anti-racist youth into the racist SPD. During the Hamburg elections, Linksruck took *direct responsibility* for state terror against immigrants and refugees when they campaigned for the racist Social Democrats with the front-page headline "Vote SPD with No Illusions"! That was the newspaper they distributed at a demonstration called under the slogan "Prevent the NPD March!" a week before the elections, organized by a coalition of fake-left groups including Linksruck, the right-centrist Revolutionary Socialist League (RSB) and the PDS. The SPD deployed 2,000 cops in full riot gear against the demonstrators, even as the NPD Nazis were busting up the SPD election rally that same day. But the various calls and propaganda for the anti-fascist protest were *silent* on the racist state terror instigated by the SPD. The demonstration served only to give an "anti-fascist" cover to the SPD. That could be seen clearly at an August 26 planning meeting, where an uproar broke out when Spartakist spokesmen pointed out that it is the politics of the Social Democracy and its reformist and centrist tails which give the fascists a green light.

Last March in Munich, 5,000 brown-shirt/skinhead thugs waving Nazi flags marched unhindered through the streets for hours. But the SPD-loyal *Linksruck* newspaper proclaimed "The Victory of Munich" in a banner headline in its April issue. Why? Because thousands of anti-racist protesters poured out into the streets. But they were *diverted* into impotent protest rallies kilometers away from the fascist provocation by fake leftists like Linksruck. And the SPD and DGB trade-union federation bureaucrats *demobilized* the unions. We were unique in warning at the time that Munich was a big defeat for immigrants, leftists and the entire working class, and that as a result Nazi terror would be significantly emboldened and strengthened. Subsequent events, not least the fascist disruption of the SPD rally in Hamburg, have proved our assessment: the Nazis are showing increasing boldness and have consciously taken aim at the workers movement.

Responsibility for the defeat at Munich also lies with the RSB, which helped organize the diversionary "anti-fascist" demonstration dominated by the Greens. At the protest, Nick Brauns, then in the RSB, appealed to "my ladies and gentlemen police officers" to stop protecting the fascists. The RSB has since split, losing most of its Munich local, including self-proclaimed "left oppositionists" Braun and Max Brym, who are now building a "left" caucus in the thoroughly reformist PDS. Having groveled before the SPD/DGB reformists in Munich in March, they now pose as opponents of the SPD—presumably because of its extremely racist election campaign. This is only a ruse, because the equally reformist PDS is in fact a *back door* to the SPD and *wants* to bring the SPD to power in hopes of one day entering the government itself. The fake leftists backing the PDS are simply part of the "syphilitic chain" supporting the SPD, which in turn serves the German bourgeoisie.

On November 8, the eve of the anniversary of the 1938 Nazi "Kristallnacht" pogrom which heralded the Holocaust, the Nazis again threatened a mass rally, this time in front of the Munich SPD headquarters. In response, the state banned *all* demonstrations. Brym revealed his touching faith in bourgeois legality by leading PDS protesters that day in reading passages from the German constitution aloud *to the police who surrounded them*. The "ladies and gentlemen" of the police confiscated the text and filed charges against Brym. We demand: Drop all charges against Brym! The left-reformist International Socialists went even further and hailed the ban pushed by the SPD, running the headline "Munich, 8 November: Nazi March Prevented!" (*Linke Offensive*, December 1997). The article maintained that, despite the last-minute defection of the SPD, an "alliance" of 40 organizations had been "strong enough to force the court to ban the Nazi march"—even though the "alliance" march had also been banned.

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

In the 1930s, the SPD's reliance on the "democratic" Weimar constitution and the Prussian police prepared the way for Hitler. Speaking of the armed fist of the

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Spartakist

Publication of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany

One-year subscription (6 issues): DM 10,—
Overseas subscription: DM 15,—
Overseas airmail: DM 20,—
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The Main Enemy Is at Home!

The Leninist Struggle Against Imperialism

We publish below, in edited form, an internal educational presentation given at a Spartacist League meeting in New York City earlier this month by comrade Mark Douglass of the New York SL and Spartacus Youth Club.

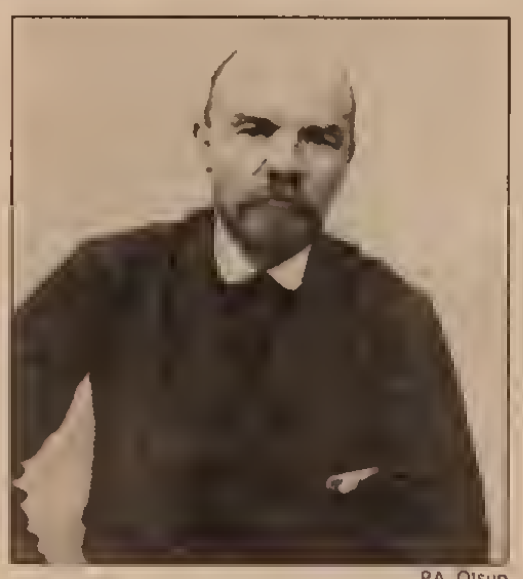
A study of V.I. Lenin's 1916 work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, is not only timely in light of the current collapse of the Southeast Asian "economic miracle," but crucial for arming our party in the more general context of the post-Soviet "New World Order." After being held up for years as a model of how countries of the so-called Third World can overcome backwardness and join the ranks of the developed world, the "Asian tigers" have begun a sharp financial descent whose casualties and potential casualties include the most powerful industrial and financial institutions of the region. Set against the backdrop of a lengthy recession in the region's dominant imperialist power, Japan, this has provoked speculation as to whether the crisis will be contained in Asia or will have a significant negative impact on the U.S. and European economies, ushering in a worldwide depression.

After the initial drop on the Hong Kong stock market, share prices on the New York Stock Exchange fell so sharply last October that trading was halted for the first time in 16 years. Bourgeois economists seized on a significant rebound of the markets the following day to convince themselves that this was simply a necessary and healthy "adjustment." Not only will the robust U.S. economy not enter a recession, said the more optimistic commentators, but its strength will prop up the world economy as a whole. Like Tolstoy's character Ivan Ilyich, the bourgeoisie nervously consoles itself that the illness is only minor and temporary when they sense something far more serious.

But as the Asian economic decline deepens, the behavior of the U.S. market was more aptly captured in a cartoon in the London *Economist* in which a broker bungee-jumps headfirst out of the window of a Wall Street firm. It is now generally accepted that the current crisis in East and Southeast Asia will not be resolved any time soon and that the recession in Japan will deepen. Whether or not the current collapse will lead directly to a worldwide depression is not yet clear. What is clear is that, rather than reflecting some temporary or superficial feature of capitalism, the current events reflect the fundamental workings of this economic system.

Salgado/Magnum

Textile workers in Bangladesh. Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin analyzed imperialism as stage of capitalism marked by dominance of finance capital and subjugation of colonial and semicolonial countries.



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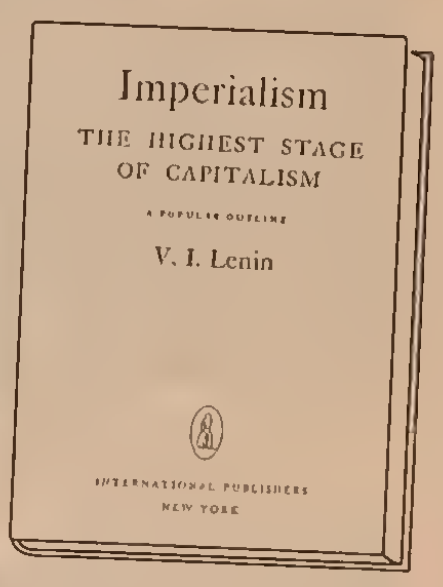

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Internationalism Is Key

The strong performance of the U.S. economy in recent years and the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union led bourgeois economists to project a new stage of capitalism in which the periodic and devastating crashes described by Karl Marx well over a century ago are effectively controlled, leading to more or less steady growth. Since Marx exposed the insoluble contradictions inherent in capitalism, many a bourgeois spokesman has claimed this to be a feature only of the capitalism of Marx's time. From Keynesian economics to "braking mechanisms" on the stock exchanges, the bourgeoisie has desperately sought the magic bullet which will prevent the damned "periodic crises" analyzed by Marx. Now, as so often in the past, bourgeois economists are scrambling in a desperate attempt to salvage theories that new events have shown to be utterly bankrupt.

Early in this century, German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky tried to deny that the workings of the capitalist economic system necessarily lead to colonial subjugation and interimperialist war. As the leading theoretician of the Second International, Kautsky was sometimes known as the "Pope of Marxism," but he moved right in reaction to the defeat of the 1905 Russian Revolution and the congealing rightism of the German Social Democracy, occupying a centrist position between the party leadership and the left wing of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Kautsky argued that imperialism was not a necessary product of capitalism at its highest stage of development and claimed that the competing interests of massive capitalist enterprises, monopolist cartels, could be resolved peacefully through agreements to jointly exploit the world.

A significant part of Lenin's *Imperialism* is a polemic against Kautsky's theory. The development of monopolies tends to suppress competition within individual countries. But Lenin documented how worldwide competition on an unprecedented scale between these enormous trusts and cartels led to a scramble by the various imperialist bourgeoisies to carve the world up into markets and spheres of exploitation under the domination of one or another power, leading ultimately to a war which engulfed the whole world in 1914-18. Today, as in Lenin's time, this competition pushes toward interimperialist war.

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union has significantly altered the world which we as a revolutionary party seek to intervene in and change. Far from eliminating the contradictions of capitalism, the post-Soviet world is characterized by more and more frenzied competition between the world's dominant imperialisms—the U.S., Japan and Germany. The U.S.-led anti-Soviet coalition which tended to dampen such interimperialist competition has given way to a mad scramble to redivide the world. Just as U.S. imperialism incinerated Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 as a warning of the impending Cold

German soldiers at the Marne River at outbreak of World War I, August 1914. Revolutionary socialist Karl Liebknecht authored statement of proletarian opposition to the imperialist war, "The Main Enemy Is at Home!"

War to the Soviet Union, the slaughter of over a hundred thousand Iraqis in 1991 was meant to assert Washington's unquestioned dominance as the "one superpower" in the "New World Order." But while the end of World War II signaled the emergence of the U.S. as the dominant imperialist power, the end of the Cold War sees a growing challenge to this position by the Japanese and German imperialists.

Writing in the years leading up to World War II, Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, had the following to say about the tasks of revolutionaries:

> "The first prerequisite for success is the ***training of the party cadres*** in the correct understanding of all the conditions of imperialist war and of all the political processes that accompany it. Woe to that party that confines itself in this burning question to general phrases and abstract slogans! The bloody events will crash over its head and smash it.
>
> "It is necessary to set up special circles for the study of the political experiences of the war of 1914-18 (ideological preparations for the war by the imperialists, misleading of public opinion by military headquarters through the patriotic press, the role of the antithesis defense-attack; groupings in the proletarian camp, the isolation of the Marxist elements, etc. etc.)."
>
> —"War and the Fourth International" (June 1934)

That the Bolshevik Party had infused its members with this understanding of the first interimperialist world war was a prerequisite for their irreconcilable opposition to it. Had they not stood firm during the onslaught of patriotism which swept over the working class at the beginning of the war, there never would have been a Russian Revolution. Kautsky, on the other hand, found himself on the wrong side of the barricades—amnestying his "own" bourgeoisie. Like the Bolsheviks in World War I and the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party in World War II, our party must understand the nature of imperialism and the wars which flow from it so that we can mobilize to oppose these needless slaughters with a fight for proletarian power. To this end, I want to look more closely at the fundamental premises presented by Lenin in his writings on the subject.

Monopolies and Finance Capital

The starting point for Lenin's study was the emergence of large capitalist enterprises which more and more dominated huge sections of the economy. While the ideologues of capitalism pointed to free competition as the hallmark and strength of this system, Lenin described a reality that looked different. In the aftermath of the financial crisis of 1873, a lengthy period ensued in which the richest capitalists began extending their investment and control throughout a particular industry and into many different industries. These cartels were the precursors of the massive corporations that are today mistakenly termed "multinationals."

The depression of 1900-03, like every depression, drove large numbers of capitalists into bankruptcy. The cartels proved to have an advantage in surviving the wild fluctuations of the capitalist business cycle. While the cartels had not been sufficiently built up by 1873 and largely failed during the economic crisis of that year, they soon established themselves as a permanent and dominant feature of the capitalist economic system. Part of the advantage that the cartels had over their competitors flowed from economy of scale; they were able to buy what they needed in larger quantities and thus get them cheaper. Having more capital, these companies were also able to employ more advanced technology. Of course, larger companies had always been able to produce their products more cheaply for these reasons. In fact, this is why they began to monopolize huge sections of the market to begin with.

Cartels had two advantages over their predecessors. By investing in a number of different industries, the cartel was better able to weather recessions and depressions, offsetting losses in one branch of operations with gains in others. In addition, by having more leeway to sell products for a certain period at a loss and by moving to control all branches of a given industry—including the sources of raw materials—the cartel was able to employ all sorts of methods to drive its competitors out of business.

Reuters

Protest in South Korea against austerity dictated by U.S.-dominated IMF. Asian financial crisis could spark outpouring of struggle by combative working class.

So one of the characteristics of imperialism was the domination of the market by huge business enterprises. As Russian Bolsheviks Nikolai Bukharin and Evgeny Preobrazhensky put it in *The ABC of Communism* (1922), "'Free competition' has been replaced by the dominion of capitalist combines, by the rule of syndicates and trusts." The dominance of these massive companies has continued to deepen since Lenin's time. At present, 300 firms control fully one-quarter of the productive assets of the world.

It was argued by some that the dominance of a small number of huge companies would add an element of planning to the capitalist economy, counteracting the anarchy of production described by Marx. But while planning is instituted to a certain degree in the various branches of industry controlled by a particular monopoly, the anarchy of production is increased in the system as a whole. As Lenin remarked in his book,

> "The disparity between the development of agriculture and that of industry, which is characteristic of capitalism in general, is increased. The privileged position of the most highly cartelised, so-called ***heavy*** industry, especially coal and iron, causes 'a still greater lack of co-ordination' in other branches of industry."

Moreover, monopolies and cartels are still subject to the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, thereby leading to periodic sharp cutbacks in investment, production and employment.

Another feature that emerged at the turn of the century was the joint-stock company. Heightened competition meant that only those with access to large amounts of capital would survive. The solution was the creation of corporations which traded shares on the stock market. Rather than "democratizing" capitalism, as some of Lenin's contemporaries maintained, this allowed the capitalists to greatly increase the available capital under their control. Since a capitalist normally needs to own no more than one-third of the shares of a corporation to prevent the myriad other scattered shareholders from exerting any real control, he can triple the amount of capital at his disposal by issuing shares.

With the emergence of monopolies, banks began to occupy more and more of a central role in the economy; before that, they had primarily played the role of middlemen in business deals. The monopolies deposit enormous amounts of capital in banks, which in turn lend the money to other capitalists. As the banks make larger and larger profits from the interest paid by debtors, they themselves begin investing directly in industry. This capital, controlled by the banks and invested in industry, is called finance capital. The dominance of finance capital is the primary feature of imperialism.

In the epoch of imperialism, larger banks are constantly gobbling up smaller banks, thus increasing the amount of capital they control. Industry becomes increasingly dependent on the banks for the massive amounts of capital needed to operate and expand. Not surprisingly, the banks take a greater interest in the day-to-day operations of the companies in which they invest. Monopolies become closely linked to the banks through bank officials sitting on corporate boards of directors, family ties between bankers and industrialists, and other means. What emerges is a financial oligarchy which combines gains from industrial investments, interest from loans, commissions from stock sales and so on.

As we noted in the recent *WV* series on "Wall Street and the War Against Labor," in the so-called bank-based economies of Japan and Germany the merging of the banks and industries described by Lenin is almost complete. In Japan, financial, industrial, distribution and commercial capital is organized in tightly integrated groups today called *keiretsu*. And in Germany, the three biggest banks have representatives on over 40 percent of the supervisory boards of share corporations.

In the U.S., this merging of the banks with industry was somewhat obscured by laws enacted before and during the Great Depression which restricted certain banking activity. But the peculiarities of banking laws in individual countries has not qualitatively altered the close relationship between financiers and industrialists, expressed not least in intermarriage. In any case, such laws as existed in the U.S. were sidestepped in numerous ways when they conflicted with the plans of the large banks. And over the last 20 years, one regulation after another has been dropped in an attempt to make American banks more competitive with Japanese and German banks.

Imperialism and Social-Chauvinism

In the early days of capitalism, Britain—the most industrialized country—exported its manufactured goods to the rest of the world. But by the beginning of the 20th century, the dominant capitalist countries had also begun to export significant portions of the finance capital they had accrued. Cheap raw materials, cheap labor and cheap land made investment in backward countries a potentially profitable venture. Thus began the explosion of competition between the imperialist powers for the division of the world. Possession of colonies ensured access to raw materials and reserves of cheap labor. In his book, Lenin documented how the enormous expansion of European colonialism coincided with the emerging dominance of monopoly capitalism. Direct military control of dependent countries was the best way for the capitalists to ensure that their massive investments were protected.

In asserting that the monopoly capitalists could come to a peaceful agreement to collectively exploit the world, Kautsky denied the national character of the bourgeoisie, a view today taken up by David North's Socialist Equality Party and other proponents of the theory of "globalization" (see "How David North Embraces Karl Kautsky: The 'Global Economy' and Labor Reformism," *WV* Nos. 660, 661, 662 and 664; 24 January, 7 February, 21 February and 21 March 1997). The so-called multinationals extend their influence across many countries and continents, but they are ultimately dependent on their own bourgeois state. Ford's investments in Brazil, for example, are certainly protected by the Brazilian army and police. But, at the end of the day, it's the U.S. armed forces that Ford and other American capitalists rely on to protect their profits and enforce their dictates abroad, as has been demonstrated all too often in Latin America over the last century. The endless attempts to smash the Cuban Revolution for having dared to expropriate U.S. companies have not been carried out primarily by the United Fruit Company, but by the CIA and the military agencies of the U.S. state, which serves as the executive committee of the American

continued on page 8

Frederick A. Praeger

Der Spiegel

Centrist Karl Kautsky (left) covered for social-chauvinist leaders of German Social Democracy. Right: Social Democratic leader Friedrich Ebert, shown reviewing troops as president of bourgeois republic following World War I.

Imperialism...

(continued from page 7)

capitalist class as a whole.

The imperialist state strives to secure control of world markets and spheres of exploitation for its capitalists, engaging in trade wars and other forms of competition. Various capitalist concerns and state powers can and will enter into agreements to divide up the world's markets. But these agreements are necessarily temporary, based on the relative economic and military strength of the imperialists involved, which changes as capitalism develops unevenly from one industry to another and one country to another. Thus every division of the world presupposes a redivision at some future date. Peace under imperialism is nothing more than a truce between wars, as has been shown by two world wars and innumerable lesser conflicts this century.

In his initial attempts to explain the growth of opportunism in the workers movement at the beginning of the century, Lenin identified it as a product of petty-bourgeois influence bearing down on the proletarian party. With the outbreak of World War I in August 1914 and the German Social Democracy's vote for imperialist war credits, Lenin recognized that opportunism could no longer be regarded as a marginal phenomenon. He came to the conclusion that this opportunism was brought into the workers movement by a labor bureaucracy supported especially by the better-off sections of the working class—the "labor aristocracy"—who benefited from the exceptional profits gained by the imperialist bourgeoisie from the exploitation of the colonies and semicolonies.

In August 1914, the German Social Democracy proclaimed, "In the hour of danger we shall not desert our Fatherland," giving the Kaiser its seal of approval to send millions of workers to their deaths. Lenin responded in "The Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy in the European War" (September 1914):

> "The conduct of the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party, the strongest and the most influential in the Second International (1889-1914), a party which has voted for war credits and repeated the bourgeois-chauvinist phrases of the Prussian Junkers and the bourgeoisie, is sheer betrayal of socialism....
>
> "The betrayal of socialism by most leaders of the Second International (1889-1914) signifies the ideological and political bankruptcy of the International."

Punch

Radio Times Hulton

1892 cartoon depicts British colonialist Cecil Rhodes in the conquest of Africa. Rhodes built his fortune through brutal exploitation of black workers, as in gold mine in Transvaal region of South Africa, above.

In contrast to the chauvinist capitulation of the majority of the Second International, Lenin and the Bolsheviks fought for intransigent revolutionary defeatism: "From the viewpoint of the working class and the toiling masses of all the peoples of Russia, the defeat of the tsarist monarchy and its army, which oppress Poland, the Ukraine, and many other peoples of Russia, and foment hatred among the peoples so as to increase Great-Russian oppression of the other nationalities, and consolidate the reactionary and barbarous government of the tsar's monarchy, would be the lesser evil by far."

The Trotskyists in World War II

Twenty years later, in outlining the stance of Bolshevik-Leninists toward the impending Second World War, Trotsky explained in "War and the Fourth International": "Lenin's formula, '*defeat is the lesser evil*,' means not defeat of one's country is the lesser evil as compared with the defeat of the enemy country but that a military defeat resulting from the growth of the revolutionary movement is infinitely more beneficial to the proletariat and to the whole people than military victory assured by 'civil peace'."

The Fourth International charted the same course of irreconcilable opposition to the second imperialist world war that Lenin had to the first, forthrightly advancing the slogan raised by German revolutionary Karl Liebknecht during World War I: *The main enemy is at home!* While opposing all the imperialist powers, the Fourth International called for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state.

Unlike the slavishly pro-war Stalinist Communist Party, which denounced trade unionists who engaged in strikes as "fifth columnists," the then-Trotskyist SWP fought for class struggle in defiance of the labor tops' "no strike" pledge and against Jim Crow segregation of blacks and the incarceration of Japanese Americans in concentration camps. Against the Stalinists, the Trotskyists asserted that U.S. imperialism's war against Hitler's Germany (and, centrally, Japan) was no more a "war for democracy" than was the Kaiser's war against tsarist Russia waged to protect Germany's "development toward liberty," as the Social Democratic leaders declared at the time of World War I.

As the German military strategist Clausewitz observed, war is a continuation of politics by other means. The supreme objective of the foreign policy of an imperialist state is the protection of its bourgeoisie's existing markets and the conquest of new ones in which it may invest its finance capital. For this reason, to Marxists the fact that Germany invaded France first and the French bourgeoisie was forced to enter a war that might or might not have come at the most opportune time means nothing. The objectives of the French, German and other bourgeoisies in the war, as in the period before the war, were to protect their own markets and to conquer those of the rival bourgeoisies. All other concerns were subordinated to this goal.

I was struck when reading Lenin's *Imperialism* how much direct relevance it has in today's world. In the period since Lenin wrote this book, the workers of Russia rose up under the leadership of the Bolsheviks and took state power; the Stalinist bureaucracy usurped political power from the working class and began to act as gravediggers of revolution; a second and even more devastating world war took place for the redivision of the world; Stalinist regimes came to power through social revolutions in large sections of the world; the colonial countries almost all gained formal political independence and the U.S. became the dominant imperialist power. Of these events, only the Russian Revolution, its subsequent degeneration and the creation of deformed workers states in East Europe, Asia and Cuba posed any really new tasks beyond those laid out by Lenin in 1916.

The understanding of Stalinism and the tasks of revolutionaries vis-à-vis the Soviet degenerated workers states was one of Trotsky's significant and unique contributions to Marxism. While the Stalinists had usurped political power from the working class, they rested parasitically on the collectivized and planned economy which had issued out of the October Revolution. As our tendency subsequently elaborated in analyzing the 1959-60 Cuban Revolution, the bureaucratically deformed workers states which emerged following World War II were qualitatively similar to the Soviet Union after its degeneration under Stalinism.

No amount of Stalinist platitudes about "peaceful coexistence" would or will prevent the capitalists from pursuing their drive to overturn the collectivized economies and to dominate the world's markets for the export of capital. The imperialists did not rest until capitalism had been restored in the Soviet Union and East Europe and they will not be satisfied until they see counterrevolution in China and the remaining deformed workers states. Trotskyists fought for unconditional military defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states and for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies. This program remains urgent today, in the wake of the USSR's destruction, as capitalist counterrevolution threatens China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba.

In preparing the cadres of the Fourth International for the impending war, Trotsky emphasized in his writings leading up to World War II that an attack on the Soviet Union would likely come during the war. When war did break out in Europe in September 1939, it provoked a petty-bourgeois opposition within the SWP led by Max Shachtman and James Burnham, who reneged on their duty to defend the Soviet Union, capitulating in the first instance to a frenzy of liberal anti-Communism in response to the Hitler-Stalin pact. Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism* and SWP leader James P. Cannon's *Struggle for a Proletarian Party* document the fight to defend the revolutionary program of the Fourth International against these renegades from Marxism.

Like their Shachtmanite forerunners, the "third campists" of Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party and U.S. International Socialist Organization make a mockery of Lenin's understanding of imperialism. Thus they claim that missile testing carried out in the Taiwan Straits by the Chinese deformed workers state in 1996 was an act of imperialist aggression—against capitalist Taiwan, with its thinly veiled police-state regime run by the bloody Guomindang. Cliff embraced social-democratic anti-Communism in 1950 in refusing to defend the Soviet Union, China and North Korea against imperialism during the Korean War, labeling the Stalinist bureaucracies "state capitalist" ruling classes as a cover for his flight from Marxism. Having sided with every imperialist-sponsored force against the Soviet Union during the Cold War, the Cliffites cheered the restoration of capitalism in the USSR

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and now long for bloody counterrevolution in China, North Korea and Cuba.

National Independence and Permanent Revolution

Lenin's extensive writings on the national and colonial questions, his insistence on the need to uphold the right of national self-determination and to fight for emancipation of the colonies from imperialism, were complemented and deepened by Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. As the current financial crisis in South Korea and Southeast Asia underscores, only through the seizure of power by the proletariat, standing at the head of all the oppressed, can the colonial and semicolonial countries free themselves of the yoke of imperialist subjugation.

Where Lenin stressed that opposition to colonial and semicolonial exploitation was integrally linked with the struggle for proletarian revolution in the imperialist centers, the latter-day Kautskyans who talk of "globalization" use this to amnesty the treachery of the procapitalist labor misleaders, claiming that "runaway shops" and so on have led to a situation in which American trade unions are powerless to resist attacks on jobs, wages and union conditions. For their part, the AFL-CIO bureaucrats try to line up workers in the U.S. behind their "own" imperialist rulers and blame workers in other countries for plunging living standards here. But as the recent UPS strike showed, the American working class has no lack of social power, but rather lacks a revolutionary leadership to mobilize that potential power against the capitalists. And imperialist investment abroad has led to the creation of a young and combative proletariat in countries like Indonesia and South Korea.

A look at South Korea illuminates the way in which imperialism simultaneously arrests development in the colonial or neocolonial countries and provides the basis for their liberation through the creation of a powerful working class. With South Korea serving as a strategic military staging area during the Cold War, the U.S. and Japan tolerated the development of huge industrial/financial conglomerates, the *chaebol*, by the bourgeoisie there. With the end of the Cold War, the imperialists are asserting their dominance over the South Korean bourgeoisie in a big way. Using the financial crisis as a pretext, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is smashing all barriers to foreign investment and paving the way for Japanese and U.S. imperialists to buy out South Korean companies at bargain-basement prices.

South Korea's capitalists are too weak and subordinate to the imperialists to chart an independent course. But both the domestic and imperialist bourgeoisies are rightly fearful of the South Korean proletariat, with its recent history of militant struggle, which has the power to defeat the IMF's austerity measures. The question is whether the workers' discontent will be channeled into nationalism and class collaboration or into a struggle for proletarian power. Trotskyists call for revolutionary reunification of Korea through socialist revolution in the South and proletarian political revolution in the North. Across Southeast Asia there is a burning need for revolutionary leadership. In the coming period, it is a priority of our international to cohere revolutionary internationalist cadre as the nuclei of Leninist-Trotskyist parties there.

Interimperialist Rivalries Heat Up

America's success in achieving imperialist hegemony at the end of World War II was soured by the emergence of the Soviet Union as the number two military power and the creation of deformed workers states in East Europe, China and North Korea. After briefly toying with imposing a draconian economic regime known as the Morgenthau Plan on Germany, akin to the punitive Versailles

United Press

U.S. troops outside Manila during Spanish-American War. Over half a million people were slaughtered during American conquest of Philippines between 1899 and 1902.

Treaty imposed by the victors after World War I, the U.S. rulers opted instead to rebuild the country as a bulwark against the Soviet bloc. Likewise, the U.S. decided to rebuild the Japanese economy in light of the 1949 Chinese Revolution and the Korean War. When the postwar trade rules were set at Bretton Woods in 1945, the United States was indisputably the leading imperialist power, producing two-fifths of the world's marketable products. By the end of the 1960s, however, Japan and Germany were making huge inroads into world markets—including the American market. The position of U.S. imperialism was further weakened in this period by the inflationary pressures generated by its long, losing colonial war in Vietnam. The devaluation of the dollar and the institution of fluctuating exchange rates on 15 August 1971 marked the end of the Bretton Woods system, and of unquestioned U.S. imperialist hegemony.

The unprecedented profits of American corporations in recent years have come primarily from massive attacks on the working class to increase the rate of exploitation. Simultaneously, the U.S. rulers have railed against "unfair trading practices," particularly by Japan, in order to demand that the Japanese bourgeoisie provide a guaranteed market for more expensive and poorer quality U.S. goods. For its part, the Japanese ruling class has sought to maintain its competitive edge by shifting production to low-wage plants in Southeast Asia and attacking wages and job security of Japanese workers. Over the last 20 years or so, Japanese capitalists have increasingly come to rely on part-time workers, for whom pay is lower and benefits are nonexistent. To give an example of this, from 1980 to 1985, the number of temp agencies in Tokyo went from 1 to 150.

Two critical pillars of the economic system set up at Bretton Woods were the IMF and the World Bank. Far from supplanting the power of the nation-state as some "globalization" theorists claim, these have served primarily as tools of their most powerful contributor—U.S. imperialism. As Japanese and German imperialism continue to reassert themselves, the U.S. has had a harder time getting its rivals to pour huge sums of money into programs designed first and foremost to benefit American capitalists. Thus, Germany and Japan openly challenged the U.S.-engineered "bailout" of Mexico a few years ago. For its part, Washington refused to join in the IMF bailout of Thailand recently pushed through by Japan—even while insisting on a role in drawing up the austerity measures imposed as part of the "rescue" package.

VAAP

Russian factory workers at May Day demonstration in 1917 carried Bolshevik slogans, including banner reading, "Long Live the Third International!"

The reassertion of Japanese and German imperialist interests has been accompanied by attempts to break the limitations imposed on their militaries at the end of World War II. Over the last decade, Japan has escalated military spending more than any other imperialist power, concentrating its efforts on obtaining high-tech weaponry. After amending the constitutional ban on deployment of military forces overseas, the Japanese government participated in a United Nations "peacekeeping" mission in Cambodia in 1992-93. And Germany used the UN imperialist intervention in Somalia to amend its constitutional ban on military activity abroad.

While interimperialist rivalries began to heat up even before the end of the Cold War, the demise of the Soviet Union has greatly accelerated this, partly by reopening those areas to imperialist exploitation and also because it eliminated the maneuvering room that Third World nationalist regimes had possessed, making investments in these economically backward countries far more secure. The post-Soviet world has seen a strengthening of imperialist trade blocs. Clinton pushed through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in an attempt to solidify Wall Street's domination of Mexico—and eventually Latin America as a whole—in part to deal with encroachments by Japanese investors on what the U.S. considers its private preserve. Germany has sought to consolidate its power as the top dog in Europe, while Japan is out to recreate its Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere from the days before World War II.

In all these countries, the social-chauvinist labor bureaucrats assist the imperialists by trying to mobilize the working class behind their own exploiters. Our task is to build revolutionary workers parties that fight all forms of chauvinism and nationalism, which only further the interests of the capitalists in their drive to squeeze more profits from the workers. As in the past, chauvinism and protectionism lead not to greater job security but to the sacrifice of millions of workers as cannon fodder in the bourgeoisies' war for world domination. We are just beginning to see the sort of pressures that will come to bear on our party as interimperialist rivalries sharpen. Following in the footsteps of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, we understand that only through steadfast opposition to the respective imperialist bourgeoisies in each country can we build the sections of a reborn Fourth International needed to lead the workers in revolutionary struggle to smash this system of exploitation. ■

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at 1991 protest in San Francisco against U.S. Imperialism's war in Persian Gulf.

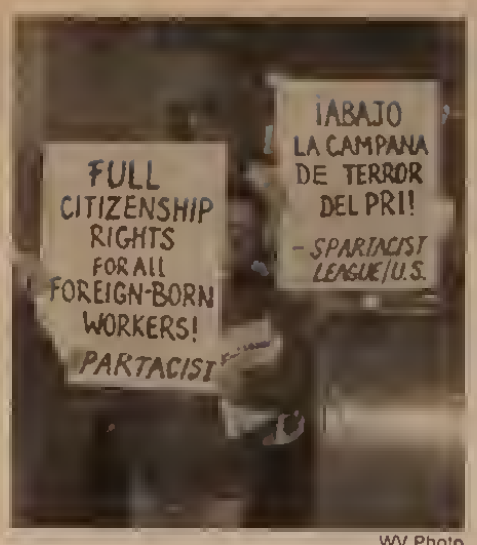
Mexico...

(continued from page 1)

the imposition of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on New Year's Day, 1994. The Spartacist League/U.S., in a 1991 joint statement with our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada and the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), denounced NAFTA as an imperialist "free trade" rape of Mexico (*WV* No. 530, 5 July 1991). This has been amply confirmed in the intervening years, as the impoverishment of Mexico's workers and peasants has dramatically worsened, while military repression aimed at preventing any challenge to the Mexican bourgeoisie and its imperialist patrons has sharply intensified. As pro-EZLN protesters surrounded the Mexico City stock exchange on January 5, they carried a banner reading: "The power of money is stained with the blood of the Indians of Chiapas."

Shortly after the EZLN rebellion broke out, the Pentagon delivered huge quantities of military equipment to the Mexican armed forces and deployed thousands of U.S. troops, Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) and CIA agents on the Guatemalan side of the Chiapas border. As we warned in a headline last year (*WV* No. 664, 21 March 1997), "U.S. 'Drug War' Means Imperialist Terror." Under cover of its global "war on drugs," Washington has been arming its hutchers in Mexico—and throughout Latin America—to the hilt to carry out bloody repression against insurgent peasants and striking workers.

This is now being hinted at even by that imperialist mouthpiece, the *New York Times*. A 29 December 1997 article reports that the CIA trained its own clandestine unit of "anti-drug" commandos in the late 1980s. More recently, the Clinton administration has been training thousands of Mexican officers and soldiers at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. (This is in addition to the Mexican and other Latin American military butchers



WV Photo

Spartacist sign in Spanish at January 12 NYC protest against Chiapas massacre reads, "Down With the PRI's Terror Campaign!"

regularly "graduated" from the School of the Americas—more accurately known as the "School of the Assassins"—at Fort Benning, Georgia.) Noting that "the United States is providing the Mexican military with extensive covert intelligence support and training hundreds of its officers to help shape a network of anti-drug troops around the country," the *Times* added that "there was nothing to stop the transfer of American-trained army officers to similar special forces units that might be deployed against leftist insurgents in southern states like Guerrero and Chiapas."

Washington's increasingly blatant military intervention in Mexico has been accompanied by militarization of the border, aimed at keeping out immigrants fleeing starvation conditions. Meanwhile, concerned about growing discontent with the thoroughly corrupt PRI regime, the U.S. imperialists have urged Zedillo to loosen his party's six-decade monopoly of political control and to institute other cosmetic reforms. Washington greeted last summer's electoral successes by the bourgeois opposition parties, not only the right-wing National Action Party (PAN) but the "left" nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. Following the Chiapas massacre, Zedillo ordered the arrest of the local PRI *cacique* and some 40 others and got his hardline interior minister and the PRI governor of Chiapas to resign.

Despite Cárdenas' occasional populist/nationalist rhetoric, the PRD is a thoroughly capitalist party which defends the interests of the Mexican bourgeoisie and is committed to enforcing Wall Street's austerity dictates. While echoing condemnations of the latest massacre in Chiapas, the PRD supported the army's onslaught against the Zapatistas in 1994. As the new mayor of Mexico City, Cárdenas has made his foremost priority a "war on crime," unleashing increased cop terror against workers and the unemployed in the capital's plebeian quarters. What this means was seen when an elite police unit killed and dismembered three youths in Mexico City in early September, shortly after Cárdenas' election.

In a statement denouncing the Acteal massacre (see "Mexican Trotskyists Protest Chiapas Massacre," page 1), the GEM warned against widespread illusions in the PRD, counterposing the need for a revolutionary-internationalist party of the working class forged on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution and proletarian class independence. Such a revolutionary party would seek to mobilize the *power of the proletariat* against the Mexican bourgeoisie's bloody assault in Chiapas. It is only through struggle around such burning political issues—in direct opposition to the PRD—that the working class can become conscious of its historic role, putting itself at the head of all the oppressed in the struggle for socialist revolution.

Here in the "belly of the imperialist beast," the SL/U.S. fights to mobilize the working class in opposition to Washington's imperialist adventures down the line. Against the chauvinist protectionism pushed by the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO tops, we fight for international workers solidarity, for common class struggle by workers in Mexico and the U.S. This means a fight to mobilize the U.S. labor movement to combat anti-immigrant racism and to demand *full citizenship rights for all immigrants*. The millions of Mexican and Central American workers in the U.S. can serve as a living bridge between the struggles of the Latin American proletariat against the depredations of Wall Street and the fight for socialist revolution here. Key to this is the forging of a multiracial proletarian vanguard party as part of a reforged Fourth International. ■

Chiapas...

(continued from page 1)

League, the GEM fights to link this proletarian revolution in Mexico to the struggle of the powerful North American working class for socialist revolution in the United States, "the belly of the beast." We fight for proletarian internationalism and for socialism on a worldwide scale.

It is necessary that the workers break with any illusions in the existing parties of the bourgeoisie (PRI, PRD, PAN) and that they build their own party. This is a burning question in Mexico today. Now that the PRD has taken charge of the Mexico City government, there are illusions that the PRD deputies and Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas are going to resolve things and obtain "justice." But the PRD is a bourgeois-nationalist party which defends the capitalist system. The parties of the bourgeoisie will never dissolve its armies and police, since they are the core of its state. Neither will they "disarm" the white guards of the local *caciques* [strongmen] and *latifundistas* [landowners] who terrorize the peasants and indigenous peoples. Only victorious socialist revolution will bring justice to the oppressed and victims of bourgeois repression, and do away with the misery, exploitation, discrimination and racism which are engendered by capitalism. Army out of Chiapas! For proletarian revolution throughout the Americas! ■

PDC...

(continued from page 2)

Nygaard stated: "I have a hard time fathoming why the Department of Corrections would send this letter all the way to the governor's office. It talks of the defense strategy. I was appalled that this could leak out to the very people who could one day be sitting across the table from [Abu-Jamal] at some further proceeding" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 9 December 1997). While the earlier ruling by Ambrose and the questions posed by the federal appeals court judges are important challenges to the state's gross interference in Jamal's legal defense, there are countless examples of why Mumia cannot expect justice from the racist "justice" system.

At the New York benefit, Labor Black League member Betty G. spoke powerfully about the pervasive racist cop terror in capitalist America. In describing the role of the LBLs in helping to build the future revolutionary workers party, she stressed the importance of the LBLs' ten-point program for integrated, revolutionary working-class struggle:

> "When I was asked to speak, I took a look at the ten-point program that has arisen out of the class struggle over the past years. I thought of the things we see on a daily basis that make this program so important—the growing list of victims of police brutality: Shane Daniels, Anthony Baez, most recently Abner Louima. I'm a teacher of students who come right out of the ghetto and barrio, and I hear on a daily basis about the attacks of police against them. I read in their journals, 'I never again want to see another one of my friends stopped for no reason by the police.' We defend victims of cop terror and racist police frame-up. That is one of the principles of the Labor Black Leagues.
>
> "When I first became associated with the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee, it was after about 30 years of working in the labor movement. Part of the attraction of the SL and the Labor Black Leagues is their unyielding commitment to class independence. I've learned that the Bolshevik Revolution would not have happened if it hadn't been for a strong party of the most conscious members of the working class, to lead the rest of the working class. That is how we see ourselves in the Labor Black Leagues. And the fulfillment of the working class' historic mission to free us from the yoke of capitalist oppression may really happen if we can follow these principles." ■

Confab...

(continued from page 3)

Critics," *Workers Hammer* No. 151, July/August 1996).

The ICL's intervention at the Cape Town conference was directly counterposed to the anti-internationalist opportunism being purveyed by the various participating groups. Our floor speakers at two public meetings were the only ones to so much as raise the need for socialist revolution! Our comrades also set up a literature table, selling over 90 pieces of ICL material in seven languages, including "Revolutionary Regroupment or Centrist Alchemy?" (*Spartacist* [English edition] No. 53, Summer 1997), a polemic against an earlier "regroupment" farce in London a year ago. (One of the sponsors of the London conference, the Workers International League, has now announced in a 16 December 1997 letter to subscribers that it has "dissolved to allow the two groupings that had emerged during approximately a year of internal differences to go their separate ways.")

In contradistinction to the fake leftists of all stripes who capitulated to the imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys, the ICL fought to the end to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution. Today as before, we seek to reforge an authoritative, democratic-centralist Fourth International to lead the proletariat to victory over the decadent world capitalist system. ■

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Hamburg...

(continued from page 5)

bourgeois state, Trotsky noted in his 1932 article "What Next?":

> "The fact that the police was originally recruited in large numbers from among Social Democratic workers is absolutely meaningless.... The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker. Of late years these policemen have had to do much more fighting with revolutionary workers than with Nazi students. Such training does not fail to leave its effects. And above all: every policeman knows that though governments may change, the police remain."

The Weimar police were integrated almost intact into the Third Reich and later into the machinery of Nazi genocide.

Last May Day in Leipzig, the German Workers Power Group (GAM) gave a textbook example of what centrism means. The Nazis, intending to capitalize on their ominous victory in Munich, planned another provocation on the outskirts of Leipzig, at a monument to Prussian soldiers who died fighting Napoleon. The DGB then canceled all regional May Day rallies in Saxony and called a central rally for downtown Leipzig. The GAM enthused: "Building on this, we must intervene to use these forces to drive the rightist mob off the streets" (*Arbeitermacht*, May 1997). That is a lie. The DGB rally, with the racist Zwickel as a keynote speaker, was scheduled to take place hours after and kilometers away from the Nazis' planned genocidal provocation. Its purpose was to *prevent* a workers united-front action. The DGB, SPD and PDS called on the state to ban the Nazi provocation, which it did. The result: 4,500 cops, called in by the SPD mayor, arrested more than 100 anti-Nazi youth, while protecting 50 Nazis.

Berlin, December 18: Protest against racist law barring foreign students from working, initiated by Spartakist Youth during student occupation at Humboldt University.

Spartakist photos

Calls on the bourgeois state to "ban" the fascists only encourage it to increase its police-state powers, the full force of which are inevitably brought down upon the workers movement and immigrant organizations. As Trotsky wrote to his Dutch supporters in January 1936 ("Bourgeois Democracy and the Fight Against Fascism"): "That is why the slogan for the disbanding and disarming of the fascist gangs by the state (and voting for similar measures) is reactionary through and through (the German Social Democrats cry: 'The state must act!')."

To call for a vote today for either the SPD or the PDS is to betray the class interests of the proletariat and to bind it to its class enemy; it means enlisting in the campaign of racist anti-immigrant hysteria which is fueling the growth of the Nazis. In the 1930s, popular-front governments in Spain and France led straight to the victory of fascism and to imperialist world war. As Trotsky wrote in the 1938 Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International: "People's Fronts on the one hand—fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution." It is precisely because the fake lefts have bound themselves hand and foot to the Social Democracy and the popular front that these groups are politically incapable of fighting the fascist menace.

Today the West European bourgeoisies prefer to rely on their social-democratic lackeys and the popular front to keep their stranglehold on the working masses. They cultivate the Nazis as a reserve army, i.e., as an insurance policy in case of the resurgence of a revolutionary workers movement. But the Nazi Holocaust and the war against the Soviet Union show the insane, barbaric methods the imperialists are prepared to use in defense of their crisis-racked system of exploitation when their present instruments no longer suffice. In forging the revolutionary vanguard, the strategic task of breaking the German working class from Social Democracy retains all the importance today that it had in Trotsky's time. We struggle for a new revolutionary leadership of the labor movement and for reforging a genuine Leninist-Trotskyist international party which struggles for new October Revolutions worldwide. This requires a ruthless fight against our centrist and left-reformist opponents, who remain the principal obstacles to realizing this task. As Trotsky stated in the Transitional Program on the eve of World War II:

> "Without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind. It is now the turn of the proletariat, i.e., chiefly of its revolutionary vanguard. The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership."■

Homeless...

(continued from page 12)

(only to have their bedrolls and textbooks trashed by the cops in the recent sweeps). Rents in San Francisco—for decades among the highest in the country—have soared by over a third in less than two years. With vacancy rates of less than 1 percent, the average two-bedroom apartment now rents for $1,660 per month; even rooms in the skid-row Tenderloin now go for $400 a month. Rents are also rising across the bay in Oakland and down to San Jose, encompassing the area's historic working-class and black concentrations.

Meanwhile, subsidized housing in the ghettos and barrios is being systematically destroyed as a result of conscious government policy. The nasty racist edge of this campaign is seen in San Francisco, where the black poor are being driven out of town as overwhelmingly minority public housing projects are torn down in favor of "mixed income" units. And, as it has for the last two decades, "gentrification" continues to eat away at affordable housing in historically black neighborhoods like the Western Addition.

As the bourgeoisie strives to increase profits by driving down the cost of labor, leading to a widening chasm between the very rich at the top and much of the rest of the population, ever larger sectors of the working class are faced with immiseration. Meanwhile, millions remain without any jobs. Capitalism *requires* a "reserve army" of the unemployed, to exert downward pressure on wages and to be called on during times of economic expansion. These days, bourgeois economists and media define a 5 percent unemployment rate as "full employment." And these statistics don't include those who have given up looking for work or who are deemed "unemployable" after their (usually six-month) benefit period expires. Nor do they include the more than 1.5 million people—overwhelmingly black and Hispanic—rotting in prison hell. The prison population has risen in direct correlation with the decline of industrial jobs over the past 15 years.

For a Fighting Workers Party!

The bourgeois rulers are consciously creating the conditions for a massive growth in the numbers of homeless people. The growing lines at soup kitchens and the millions sleeping and dying on the streets throughout the country are a criminal indictment of the capitalist system and an unmistakable sign of its decay. What's urgently needed is a class-struggle fight for *jobs for all*. Equally urgent is the need for *free, quality medical care* and *quality, integrated housing for all*. But providing these burning social necessities is *incompatible* with the capitalist profit system. If capitalism could provide full employment at decent pay, there would not be a "homeless problem."

To begin to mobilize the labor movement to fight the immiseration of workers and the degradation of the chronically unemployed in the ghettos and barrios requires breaking the stranglehold of the labor tops, who politically subordinate the unions to the class enemy through their allegiance to the capitalist Democrats. Brown was elected mayor in 1995 with the enthusiastic support of the union bureaucracy and its fake-left hangers-on, including the Communist Party and the Committees of Correspondence. As California State Assembly Speaker, he helped enact cuts in social services in tandem with a series of Republican governors. Brown personifies the class contempt and hatred of that thin layer of blacks who have "made it" in capitalist America for the vast majority of black people who are ground down, forcibly segregated at the bottom of this racist society.

Brown's reformist supporters touted his lying promise to maintain the city's social "safety net" in the face of welfare cuts, even as he campaigned as the man who could "get things done" for the financial district and won the backing of the police establishment with his "law and order" stance. Predictably, as mayor, Brown has delivered a steady diet of racist cop repression, cutbacks and union-busting. But the reformist left is paralyzed by its perspective of pressuring the capitalist Democratic Party to ameliorate the desperate conditions of life produced by this system of exploitation for the working class and the poor. Under former mayor Jordan, groups like the Workers World Party might protest when City Hall went after the homeless or Food Not Bombs. But there has been barely a peep from the reformists over Brown's even more outrageous attacks on the homeless.

Brown has been able to deliver for the bourgeoisie because of the treachery of the union tops—centrally the heads of the ILWU longshore union and the Transport Workers Union (TWU)—who backed him for office and continue to serve him by suppressing any challenge to his attacks. Following his election, Brown helped bludgeon the heavily integrated Teamsters Local 350 garbage workers into ending their strike by threatening to use city workers as scabs. And he has particularly gone after the heavily black MUNI transit union, TWU Local 250A, which represents a critical link between San Francisco's embattled black poor and the social power of the working class. For years, there has been a vicious, racist campaign by the media and City Hall to blame the drivers, who have been subjected to speedup and hazardous working conditions, for the dilapidated state of the grossly underfunded transit system.

Soon after his election, Brown appointed personal hatchet man Emilio Cruz to go after the drivers. In his first nine months as MUNI general manager, Cruz has fired dozens of workers, while provisions written into last year's union contract have drastically intensified speedup. When angry union members threatened a sick-out last April, eventually winning the reinstatement of a fired veteran black woman driver, the union officials stepped in to quash the potential wildcat.

In September, a strike by BART commuter rail workers gridlocked the San Francisco Bay Area for a week. Inspired by the UPS strike which had just ended, the BART strike included a demand for equal pay for equal work, particularly speaking to the needs of blacks, Latinos and immigrants facing discrimination. But the strike was *derailed* by the union tops, represented by the likes of San Francisco Labor Council secretary Walter Johnson, who eagerly welcomed the intervention of Brown and other Democratic Party "friends of labor" (see "Union Tops Scuttle Fight for Equal Pay for Equal Work," *WV* No. 674, 19 September 1997).

The labor bureaucracy's alliance with the Democratic Party disarms workers and the oppressed in the face of the bourgeoisie's class war. Break with the Democrats! A political fight must be waged to unleash the social power of the working class by ousting the labor traitors in favor of a class-struggle leadership. Defense of the livelihoods of working people, and especially of the doubly oppressed black and Hispanic masses, requires a revolutionary leadership of the working class—a Leninist vanguard party—which will champion the cause of all the oppressed as part of the fight to overthrow the entire capitalist profit system.

As an immediate measure, a revolutionary workers government would expropriate the rich landlords and requisition the bourgeoisie's lavish mansions to provide emergency housing for all. As Friedrich Engels, who with Karl Marx pioneered modern communism, wrote well over a century ago in *The Housing Question* (1872): "As long as the capitalist mode of production continues to exist, it is folly to hope for an isolated solution of the housing question or of any other social question affecting the fate of the workers. The solution lies in the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of life and labour by the working class itself."■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Booming Profits...and More Misery for the Poor

War Against the Homeless in San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO—Mayor Willie Brown has launched a vicious new assault on the city's growing homeless population. Police are seizing the shopping carts in which homeless people carry around their few possessions and hauling their clothes, medicine, blankets—everything they own—to the city dump. The Department of Parks and Recreation has torn down 700 homeless encampments in order to "clean up" Golden Gate Park, a premier attraction in the city's tourist-dependent economy. At one end of the park, a hurricane fence has been erected to keep out all but "families with children"—a big step back to the turn of the *last* century, when "public" parks were reserved as playgrounds for the rich. Now, to conduct night searches for more bodies to roust, Brown is threatening to borrow *heat-seeking helicopters* from the Oakland Police Department! What's next—Agent Orange and napalm?

Black Democrat Brown was elected in 1995 with the backing of everyone from the trade-union officialdom to downtown financiers to the racist killers of the SF Police Department. Brown promised to stop "Operation Matrix," a program of vicious harassment and arrests of the homeless implemented under his predecessor, Frank Jordan, a former police chief. But now the "liberal" Brown is carrying out policies which Jordan could only dream of. Arrests for sleeping and "camping" in public have doubled under Brown. District Attorney Terence Hallinan, idolized by the reformist left as a "progressive," recently vowed to make so-called "quality of life" offenses carry jail time and boasted, "We'll make it so uncomfortable they have to leave" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 6 November 1997).

With up to 15,000 people now homeless in San Francisco, Brown offers only to supplement the city's pathetic stock of shelters with a few rented firetrap slum hotels. Meanwhile, the brutal, racist cops are unleashed on any who would protest the plight of the homeless. Last March, a demonstration organized by liberal and religious activists protesting the planned demolition of some 500 vacant housing units on the former Presidio army base—coveted prime real estate—was met with the mass arrest of 83 people. Dozens more protesters were arrested two months later. And for years, supporters of "Food Not Bombs" have been targeted for arrest simply for providing meals to the indigent.

Macor/SF Chronicle

Arrests of homeless people for sleeping and "camping" in public have doubled under SF Democratic mayor Willie Brown.

The city rulers are well aware that a whole new wave of minorities, immigrants and other impoverished working people will be thrown onto the streets as a result of the axing of welfare. Since Democratic president Clinton signed legislation ending "welfare as we know it" almost a year and a half ago, two million women and children have already been thrown off public assistance. Millions more will lose this meager lifeline as new time limits on benefits run out over the next few years. While particularly targeting immigrants and the black ghetto poor, the anti-welfare law is aimed at driving down the wages and living standards of all working people.

This government, which rules on behalf of the tiny class of capitalist exploiters, is consciously driving ever greater numbers into sheer destitution, a policy which amounts to *starving the poor*. As both federal and state governments implement draconian measures to deny "illegal" immigrants even a modicum of social services, nearly one million "legal" immigrants—over 400,000 in California alone—have had food stamps ripped away under Clinton's "welfare reform." Desperate immigrant families are "joining the long line of needy people forced to devote more time and more energy into stretching food dollars and filling stomachs" (*New York Times*, 8 December 1997). Increased demands for emergency food assistance were reported by 86 percent of cities surveyed last month. In New York City, 73,000 people are turned away by such food providers every month as supplies run out. In an article headlined "New Face in Line at Soup Kitchen: Working Poor," the *Los Angeles Times* (27 December 1997) described the plight faced by ever more working people in the "boom economy":

> "In Phoenix, the unemployment rate is 3 percent, a level economists define as virtually full employment. But in Phoenix's food pantries and soup kitchens, the city's rosy economic picture looks considerably more gray: four out of five of those seeking emergency food aid report that they are working—and poor."

This winter, the deadly specter of homelessness looms for thousands of poor families as they use their rent money to compensate for the loss of food stamps.

Impoverished Workers and Social Decay

The growing homeless population is a direct product of the drastic lowering of the living standards of the working class over the last 20 years. When Republican president Reagan got away with crushing the PATCO air traffic controllers strike in 1981, it was a signal that the craven union tops would do nothing to defend labor against the capitalists' attacks. Now, emboldened by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and faced with growing competition from their imperialist rivals, America's capitalist rulers have intensified their incessant efforts to bolster profits while maintaining social discipline at home. Especially in the wake of last summer's successful UPS strike, which rekindled capitalist fears of resurgent working-class struggle, the bourgeoisie is pursuing a conscious policy of subordinating the organized working class through government intervention in the unions and increased pressure on the labor bureaucracy to police the workers—as well as outright repression. These attacks can only escalate as the fallout from the Asian financial crisis hits the U.S. economy.

While the big business press venomously brands the homeless as "criminals" and "drug addicts," those thrown onto the streets include increasing numbers of people who have been laid off or driven into poverty by illness because their jobs or pension plans didn't include medical insurance. Many, like the immigrant workers who line up in San Francisco's Mission District for menial day labor, are simply unable to pay astronomical rents on part-time or minimum-wage income. Reflecting the racial oppression inherent in American capitalism, these layers are disproportionately black and Hispanic and, increasingly, immigrant. With its demand to upgrade part-time workers into full-time jobs, the UPS strike evoked wide support among workers and minorities struggling to keep from falling through the bottom of the economy.

The capitalists cynically scream about putting welfare recipients "back to work" as a justification for their union-busting, slave-labor "workfare" schemes. But even in what the ruling class touts as a "strong economy," only half of those axed from the welfare rolls have found jobs, and only 48 percent of those jobs are considered "full time." As the *New York Times* (30 December 1997) pointed out, this could mean as little as 33 hours a week at less than $6 per hour, for an annual income $2,500 below the official poverty level for a family of three.

Many of the homeless in San Francisco are mentally ill people who have been increasingly dumped on the streets as mental hospitals and wards shut down due to cutbacks in health care which began under Democratic governor Jerry Brown in the 1970s. Some are college students who try to meet the rising costs of tuition by living in Golden Gate Park

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Conrad/NY Times

Working families are increasingly forced onto the streets or into squalid hovels like this one in New York City.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 683

30 January 1998

As Clinton Militarizes Border with Mexico

Del Spiegel

Palmer/U.S. News & World Report

Immigrants face terror, exploitation from U.S. capitalist rulers: troops erect steel wall at Mexican border near San Diego, children toil for starvation wages in Manhattan garment sweatshop.

Government Starves Immigrants

Labor Must Champion Immigrant Rights!

As the capitalist rulers rub their hands in glee over the sharp decline in welfare rolls across the country, millions more people grow gaunt from hunger. Since Democratic president Clinton signed the bipartisan measure ending "welfare as we know it" in August 1996, already overburdened soup kitchens and food pantries have been besieged by people desperately trying to feed themselves and their children. In denouncing this vindictive law, we wrote: "The vast increase in human misery resulting from the new anti-welfare act is still uncharted, but there is no doubt that many thousands will starve and die—from hunger, from untreated contagious diseases, from exposure, from homelessness—as a direct result" (*WV* No. 650, 30 August 1996).

While Democratic and Republican politicians alike cynically have prated about moving people "from welfare to work," the deadly effects of this assault on the poor are so evident this winter that even the capitalist press has had to concede that millions are being pushed to the brink of starvation. The attack on welfare was promoted by a racist campaign vilifying "illegal" immigrants and especially the black ghetto poor, particularly women and children for whom Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) provided a slim lifeline. In fact, nearly one million "legal" immigrants were cut off from food stamps and other benefits. "Denied Food Stamps, Many Immigrants Scrape for Meals," headlined an article in the *New York Times* (8 December 1997), while a similar piece in the *Los Angeles Times* (27 December 1997) was titled, "New Face in Line at Soup Kitchen: Working Poor."

In New York City alone, over 70,000 people are being turned away from food pantries each month as supplies run out. The *New York Times* article noted: "As the months pass and kitchen cupboards grow barer, immigrants who earn on average about $10,000 a year find themselves giving up fresh meat, spending rent money on groceries, lining up at food pantries and hunting for work in a city where the unemployment rate stands at 9.1 percent, nearly double the national average." The situation has grown so dire that even Republican NYC mayor Rudolph Giuliani has launched a lawsuit to force the federal government to restore food stamps for immigrant families, arguing that the cuts imposed "extreme hardship, hunger and malnutrition." But this racist pig has hardly become a champion of the poor: Giuliani just appointed as the city's new "welfare czar" the author of the Wisconsin plan which served as the model for the federal anti-welfare law.

Virtually every major city has experienced increased demand for emergency food aid, with two out of five applicants currently employed. The savagery of this onslaught, even as the capitalists are wallowing in record profits, is boundless: "illegal" immigrants suffering from AIDS—who had been granted temporary residency in cities like New York—are now having their Medicaid benefits (and life-prolonging drugs) taken away, giving them the "choice" of dying a cruel death here or back in their impoverished homelands.

In pushing the war on welfare, "the capitalist rulers seek to pit the white working class against both blacks and immigrants by portraying them as a drain on the tax dollars of 'hard-working white folks'," we wrote in the introduction to our January 1997 *Black History and the Class Struggle* pamphlet ("Capitalist Rulers Wage War on Blacks, Immigrants"). We continued:

> "In racist America, where the words 'welfare queen' have long served as code words for the black ghetto poor, the ruling class thinks it can get away with shredding welfare by playing the race card. Leaving aside the fact that the majority of those on welfare are white, the 'welfare reform' bill is aimed at driving down the wages and further immiserating the entire working class. This fact is being brought home with a vengeance in the implementation of 'workfare' programs aimed at busting the unions by forcing welfare recipients to work these jobs at starvation wages."

What is happening in the U.S. is far from unique. With the heating up of inter-imperialist rivalries in the wake of the destruction of the Soviet Union, the bourgeoisies have escalated their attacks on wages, working conditions and social programs across the board in order to increase their competitive edge against rival capitalists. Particularly in West Europe, immigrants and ethnic minorities have been the principal targets of this drive, which is aimed against the whole of the proletariat. This is evident in the U.S., as real wages have fallen by one-fifth over the past two decades. And the elimination of relatively inexpensive programs like AFDC is only the prelude to a full-scale assault on Social Security and Medicare.

Racist Repression on the Border

Along with driving immigrant families to starvation, the Clinton government has drastically beefed up its arsenal of repression along the borders. Under codenames like "Operation Gatekeeper" in California and "Operation Rio Grande" in Texas, border guards have been equipped with advanced weaponry and increasingly reinforced with military units. Numerous border cities have been closed off with mammoth steel walls, including one in Nogales, Arizona which the racist yuppie Clinton administration grotesquely touts as being designed to appear "friendly" to Mexico by allowing "light and a feeling of openness"! Deportations are at a record high —over 110,000 last year—a 62 percent increase from the year before.

According to conservative estimates by the University of Houston's Center for Immigration, nearly 1,200 people died trying to cross from Mexico between 1993 and 1996, the vast majority of them drowning victims, while others were shot down by U.S. troops or cops. A 1997 law gave Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents sweeping

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Enlightenment Rationalism and the Origins of Marxism

See Page Four

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Arafat Museum Visit Canceled by Vile Zionist Outcry

When the State Department organized a tour of the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. for visiting Palestinian Authority president Yasir Arafat, it provoked a vile chauvinist frenzy by American Zionists and Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu's ruling right-wing Likud party. The Zionists pronounced the Palestinian leader *verboten* at the federally funded museum, screaming that he was "Hitler incarnate." Only after this reactionary outcry had succeeded in canceling Arafat's visit did the Zionists back off and say he was welcome after all.

The furor over Arafat's proposed visit was not only thoroughly racist but immensely hypocritical. In pursuit of Zionist *Realpolitik*, some truly sinister anti-Semitic types have been *welcomed* at the Holocaust Museum. One of the foreign dignitaries who was feted at the museum's dedication in April 1993 was none other than fascistic Croatian strongman Franjo Tudjman, an open apologist for the Nazi-allied Ustasha which slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Jews and Serbs during World War II. Two years before that, the museum site was visited by Lech Walesa, then president of Poland, whose fascist-infested Solidarność upholds the anti-Semitic Pilsudskiite dictatorship of the 1920s and '30s. To this day, Walesa's chief "spiritual advisor" is a notoriously anti-Semitic priest named Henryk Jankowski.

It takes phenomenal chutzpah for the Zionists, whose Israeli stormtroopers have carried out one genocidal massacre after another against the Palestinian people, to denounce Arafat as a Hitler. In fact, the Palestinian nationalist leader is a toady of the Israeli Zionist state and U.S. imperialism. The Holocaust Museum visit was intended to help revive the U.S.-sponsored "peace process"—which has effectively been scuttled by the Netanyahu regime—through which Arafat became an Israeli lieutenant in the national subjugation of the Palestinian masses. As proletarian internationalists, we fight for a socialist federation of the Near East, in which all the toilers of the region will achieve social and national emancipation.■

Gamma/Studio X

An earlier visitor to Holocaust Museum: Croatia's Franjo Tudjman, apologist for Ustashi fascists.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Honor Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg!

In upholding the revolutionary traditions of the early Communist movement, this month the International Communist League commemorates the "Three Ls"—Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. Karl Liebknecht was imprisoned during World War I for his opposition to the imperialist war, expressed in his call, "The main enemy is at home!" Along with Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, a Polish Communist of Jewish origin, was a leader of the revolutionary wing of the German Social Democracy and a founder of the Spartakusbund and its successor, the German Communist Party. They were murdered on 19 January 1919 by military reactionaries as the Social Democratic government of Ebert and Scheidemann crushed the Spartakist workers uprising in blood. V.I. Lenin, leader of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, died on 21 January 1924. We publish below Lenin's remarks on hearing of the murders of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, written as a postscript to his "Letter to the Workers of Europe and America."

The foregoing lines were written before the brutal and dastardly murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg by the Ebert and Scheidemann government. Those butchers, in their servility to the bourgeoisie, allowed the German whiteguards, the watchdogs of sacred capitalist property, to lynch Rosa Luxemburg, to murder Karl Liebknecht by shooting him in the back on the patently false plea that he "attempted to escape."... Evidently, history has chosen a path on which the role of "labour lieutenants of the capitalist class" must be played to the "last degree" of brutality, baseness and meaness. Let those simpletons, the Kautskyites, talk in their newspaper *Freiheit* about a "court" of representatives of "all" "socialist" parties (those servile souls insist that the Scheidemann executioners are socialists)! Those heroes of philistine stupidity and petty-bourgeois cowardice even fail to understand that the courts are organs of state power, and that the issue in the struggle and civil war now being waged in Germany is precisely one of who is to hold this power—the bourgeoisie, "served" by the Scheidemanns as executioners and instigators of pogroms, and by the Kautskys as glorifiers of "pure democracy," or the proletariat, which will overthrow the capitalist exploiters and crush their resistance.

The blood of the best representatives of the world proletarian International, of the unforgettable leaders of the world socialist revolution, will steel ever new masses of workers for the life-and-death struggle. And this struggle will lead to victory. We in Russia, in the summer of 1917, lived through the "July days," when the Russian Scheidemanns, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, also provided "state" protection for the "victory" of the whiteguards over the Bolsheviks, and when Cossacks shot the worker Voinov in the streets of Petrograd for distributing Bolshevik leaflets. We know from experience how quickly such "victories" of the bourgeoisie and their henchmen cure the people of their illusions about bourgeois democracy, "universal suffrage," and so forth.

—V.I. Lenin, "Letter to the Workers of Europe and America" (January 1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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CIRCULATION MANAGER. Mindy Sanders

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@iiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

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The closing date for news in this issue is January 26.

No. 683 **30 January 1998**

The Mendacity of Anarchy

A reader recently brought to our attention an article by one "Max Anger" in the Spring-Summer 1997 issue of *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed* (!) headlined "The Spartacist School of Falsification." The article purports to expose our supposed lies about anarchist idol Nestor Makhno, a Ukrainian peasant leader at the time of the 1917 Russian Revolution and the ensuing Civil War. What this typically mendacious (i.e., deceitful, prevaricating, false) anarchist anti-Marxist drivel "omits" to mention is that, months earlier, our *Young Spartacus* pages had run both the relevant portions of Anger's "contribution" and a lengthy reply demolishing his numerous lies and distortions ("An Exchange on Nestor Makhno: Peasant 'Anarchism,' Pogroms and the Russian Revolution," *WV* No. 656, 22 November 1996).

Anger's ire was aroused by the seven-part *Young Spartacus* series, "Marxism vs. Anarchism: From 1848 to the Bolshevik Revolution," which noted:

> "The most significant counterrevolutionary force under the banner of anarchism was the Ukrainian peasant-based army of Nestor Makhno, which carried out pogroms against Jewish communities and collaborated with White armies against the Bolsheviks."
>
> —*WV* No. 650 (30 August 1996)

When Anger leapt in to defend Makhno's honor, we published our exchange with him in order to educate those leftist youth mistakenly attracted to anarchism. We cited, among other things, eyewitness documentation in Yiddish and Russian—held by the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York City—attesting to anti-Semitic pogroms by Makhno's bands. Evidently unable to challenge our facts, Anger peddled his lying wares in more sympathetic quarters.

Anarchist diatribes against Bolshevism/Trotskyism are nothing new. As we noted in our series, the anarchists also raised a hue and cry about Makhno—and the Bolsheviks' suppression of the counterrevolutionary 1921 Kronstadt uprising—in the 1930s, when Trotsky was exposing and denouncing the treachery of the Spanish anarchists, who joined the Stalinists and social democrats in a capitalist government which suppressed a workers revolution. Today, the anarchists rush to embrace the imperialists' "death of communism" lie. The current issue of *Anarchy* (Fall-Winter 1997-98) promotes a treatise titled *Anarchism After Leftism*, which argues: "Cleansed of its leftist residues, anarchy—anarchism minus Marxism—will be free to get better at being what it is." Indeed, petty-bourgeois hostility to Marxism and the proletariat is "what it is," pure and simple. As we commented in our reply on Makhno: "Max Anger's raving defense of Makhno's peasant bandits provides a measure of the dementia that can be induced by bourgeois anti-Communism in the U.S."■

Tailing Mexican Nationalism, IG "Disappears" the PRD

For some months now, the Internationalist Group (IG)—a small coterie of defectors from the International Communist League (ICL) in the U.S. and Mexico—has been fulminating against our supposed revisionism on the nature of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas' Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) in Mexico. Where we say clearly that the PRD *is* a bourgeois-nationalist party and counterpose the need to break the Mexican proletariat from nationalism and forge a revolutionary workers party, the IG insists that there is some vaguely defined "Cardenista popular front," echoing various Mexican reformists and centrists in the PRD's shadow.

The whole purpose of a popular front—a class-collaborationist coalition of reformist workers parties and bourgeois parties—*is* to subordinate the workers organizations to their class enemy. Writing on the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s, Trotsky noted that this purpose could be served even by including only "the shadow of the bourgeoisie." But now the IG has conjured up a "popular front" with no workers party! Instead, the IG is reduced to pointing to the tiny reformist and centrist groups which tail Cárdenas, a handful of "dissident" union officials who speak at his rallies, or other amorphous "rebellious sectors" in the PRD's tow, like the peasant-based Zapatistas. As we noted in correcting our own earlier designation of this formation as a popular front: "In the process of seeking to defend its characterization of the Cardenistas as a popular front, the IG in effect liquidates any distinction between the proletariat—which Marxists understand is the only class with the social power and consistent class interest to *lead* the fight against capitalist class rule—and petty-bourgeois forces" ("Mexico: For Workers Revolution!" *WV* No. 672, 8 August 1997).

After Cárdenas was elected mayor of Mexico City last July, the IG's *Internationalist* (September-October 1997) pontificated: "This is precisely the moment when Trotskyists should be dispelling illusions among Mexican workers and youth.... Yet at this very moment, the ICL leaders abandon the struggle against the popular front just where it is the hottest." Behind the IG's cynical diatribes is *its* refusal to challenge illusions in PRD "left" bourgeois nationalism. This was evident at a January 12 protest in New York City against the massacre of 45 Chiapas peasants by death squads linked to the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party. One of the signs carried by the Spartacist League contingent read, "No

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mexican Massacre in Acteal: How Many More?

In a vicious attack that lasted up to four hours at least 45 of Mexico's indigenous people (men, women and children) were massacred in the county of San Pedro de Chenalhó, in Chiapas State, several days before Christmas, 1997. New accounts were generally sketchy, and rarely tried to make sense of the evil, savage event.

The names of over two score dead were not worthy of reporting, and the fleeting references to the Zapatista Rebel Army (EZLN) only left many in a ball of confusion.

One hears of this long, drawn-out, premeditated massacre, and wonders: Why? If the reader is at all like the writer, s/he saw or heard nothing at all like an explanation for this planned explosion of death. The writer had to turn to the informative alternative to the establishment press, which, in this instance, meant the Nuevo Amanecer Press, which offered what the establishment media could not—context.

N.A.P. noted, in a communique issued weeks before the massacre by the Zapatista Central Command, that the indigenous people have been suffering for months at the hands of paramilitary bands and state police, under the auspices and protection of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Indeed, the area of the massacre, San Pedro de Chenalhó, was a place where thousands of Indians were congregated, poor, ragged, hungry and ill, refugees from villages in the Chiapan highlands, under PRI guns. In a December 12th, 1997 communique, Zapatista Subcommander Marcos wrote of the repression waged against the indigenous people, especially local (Chenalhó) Zapatista activists:

> "The state and federal governments and the Institutional Revolutionary Party, far from stopping their wave of aggressions, are trying to avoid solving the main problem of Chenalhó, which is the eradication of their paramilitary groups and the return of the displaced people to their communities. While it pretends to establish a dialogue, Chiapanecan PRI followers are undertaking the plunder and destruction of the evicted's property. Coffee, cattle, clothes, and domestic utensils are being distributed among the paramilitary as the bounty of a war which, up until now, has only seen shooting coming from one of the sides, that is the government and its political party."
>
> (NAP: amanecer@aa.net 12/16/97)

These paramilitary groups, whose war cry was "an end to the Zapatista seed," have waged an insidious campaign against Indian communities in the southeast, of theft, robbery, brutality, rape, arson, murders and then, mass murders.

Subcommander Marcos' warning (of Dec. 12th, '97) was all but ignored, and ten days later (on Dec. 22nd, 1997) Chiapas was marked by an unholy massacre. According to Subcom. Marcos, "The direct responsibility for these bloody events falls upon Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon and the Justice Ministry, who, two days ago, gave a green light to the counterinsurgency project presented by the Federal Army." (NC for DM: moonlight@igc.apc.org 12/25/97)

Nine men, 21 women and 15 children—these people, nameless, invisible, and dead, could very well be alive if the warnings had been heeded. But they were Indians. Indigenous people. Indigenes.

What if 45 whites were killed in a four hour-long paramilitary massacre? Their faces, their names, their lives, and their loves would be the daily fare of newspapers, magazines and television.

But they weren't white. They were red. And just as the Zapatista warnings were ignored the brutal lives and deaths at the hands of the PRIistas are fast on the way of being forgotten.

Until next time.

31 December 1997

© 1997 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

To join the fight to free Mumia and for the latest updates on his case, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252. E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Memphis

Defend Anti-Klan Protesters!

The following protest letter was sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to William L. Gibbons, attorney general in Memphis, Tennessee, on January 23.

The Partisan Defense Committee condemns the vicious police attack on the men, women and children who came out to protest a march by the hooded-and-robed lynchers of the Ku Klux Klan in Memphis on January 17. Now your office is persecuting 26 anti-Klan protesters who were arrested by the cops, cynically branding them as "gang members." We demand that all charges against these protesters be dropped immediately!

The Klan's racist provocation against Martin Luther King Day—in the city where King was assassinated 30 years ago—was a threat challenging not only the right of black people to a place in American society but to their very right to live. The multiracial crowd of hundreds who poured out in protest were there to defend blacks, Jews, Hispanics, gays, leftists, trade unionists and others the Klan has lined up in its cross hairs.

Throughout the day, the police protected the Klan while lobbing potentially deadly tear gas and pepper spray canisters against the protesters, who included children and elderly people. The cops themselves admitted to planting at least 50 undercover agents in the protest. These agents began assaulting the anti-Klan demonstrators when they protested against provocateurs distributing racist white-supremacist literature among them.

While the Klan was allowed to spew its racist filth and program for genocide, the anti-Klan protesters were attacked and arrested by the cops for the "crime" of exercising their right to protest against Klan terror. Drop all the charges against the Memphis anti-Klan protesters!

Richard Genova for the
Partisan Defense Committee

Riggs/NY Times

Memphis, January 17: Demonstrators protest racist Klan provocation against MLK Day.

Support to the Capitalist PRD—Build a Revolutionary Workers Party of the Bolshevik Type!" Yet after spilling pages of ink on the "crucial," "urgent," "vital" necessity of fighting a supposed PRD "popular front"—at this very moment when illusions in the PRD as an agency for "justice" were heightened—the IG turned up with placards that *made no mention of the PRD!*

When confronted on this by our comrades, the IG finally hauled out a placard reading, "Romper con El Frente Popular! Forjar un Partido Obrero Revolucionario!" (Break with the Popular Front! Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!). Why no specific reference to the PRD? "The people" would understand that's what they meant, huffed IG *número dos* Negrete. In fact, "the people" the IG is pandering to have deepgoing illusions in the PRD—in its core, petty (and not so petty) bourgeois nationalists—which is falsely seen as an advocate for the poor and an opponent of the escalating imperialist subjugation of Mexico. Writing the PRD out of its placards, the IG demonstrates that its insistence on a "Cardenista popular front" is simply the vehicle for adapting to bourgeois nationalism.

Nationalism has historically been the *main instrument* for tying the proletariat and dispossessed masses of Mexico to their exploiters. Caught in the grip of imperialism, Mexico is a volatile society seething with social grievances. The reformist-nationalist perspective of an "anti-imperialist united front" with the thoroughly corrupt and slavishly dependent semicolonial bourgeoisie is a recipe for bloody defeat. The road to social emancipation for the Mexican toilers lies in the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution—the seizure of power by the proletariat at the head of all the oppressed, linked to the fight for socialist revolution in the U.S. imperialist heartland.■

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No. 10, Fall-Winter 1997

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Young Spartacus

Enlightenment Rationalism and the Origins of Marxism

In resuming publication of this series, we begin the second of two presentations given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour last summer as part of a series of internal SL classes on the origins of Marxism. The first three parts, which covered comrade Seymour's first presentation, were published in WV *Nos. 673, 674 and 675 (5 September, 19 September and 3 October 1997).*

PART FOUR

In early 1841, shortly before his 23rd birthday, Karl Marx completed and submitted his doctoral dissertation in philosophy, entitled "Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature." His ambition and intent was to become a professor of philosophy at a German university, that is, a respectable bourgeois intellectual. His close friends and colleagues were teachers or students of philosophy of the Hegelian school. His writings were directed toward—and only intelligible to—intellectuals thoroughly familiar with German philosophy, its various tendencies and disputes.

Six years later, Marx joined and became a principal leader of an underground communist organization, largely composed of workingmen, dedicated to the overthrow of every government in Europe, first and foremost the Kingdom of Prussia. The nature of his *new* comrades can be gauged by the political biography of Karl Schapper, the organization's leading figure before Marx joined it.

In the early 19th century, the storming of the Bastille in Paris in 1789 was for leftist youth what the storming of the Winter Palace in Petrograd in 1917 was for leftist youth during much of the 20th century. They all dreamed of storming their own Bastille and igniting a great, world-shaking revolution. In the mid-1830s, about 50 revolutionary "hotheads" in central Germany—among them Karl Schapper, a 21-year-old student of forestry—decided the time for dreaming was over and they should just do it. So they took over a police station in Frankfurt. Needless to say, this adventure was easily and quickly suppressed by the authorities.

Schapper managed to escape arrest and made his way to southern France, where he joined a ragtag army led by Italian radical democrat and nationalist Giuseppe Mazzini. Mazzini's army of national liberation, numbering about 300 men, promptly invaded the Kingdom of Savoy—the strongest absolutist state in Italy—whose forces easily repelled the revolutionary invaders.

But once more Schapper was unscathed and this time he made his way to Paris, the political and spiritual center of the European revolutionary movement. There he joined the newly formed League of the Just, a secret communist society largely composed of émigré German workers. The League had close ties to similar French secret societies led by the redoubtable Auguste Blanqui. One fine spring day in 1839, Blanqui assembled about a thousand of his armed followers—mainly Frenchmen, with a contingent of Germans—in central Paris, where they set up barricades and declared their intent to overthrow the government of Louis Philippe, the so-called bankers' king. This time Schapper and his German comrades were arrested, along with Blanqui and the other leaders.

Mansell Collection

British Museum

Storming of Bastille in July 1789 inspired fighters against tyranny around the world. Overthrow and arrest of Robespierre (left) five years later signified triumph of Thermidorian reaction.

However, there was considerable popular sympathy for the insurgents, so Louis Philippe decided simply to expel Schapper and the other German communists, who then went to London. I would like to recount that two months after arriving in England, Schapper and 2,000 other guys tried to storm Windsor Palace aiming to overthrow Queen Victoria. But this time he decided to change his strategy and tactics. I'll discuss this a little later.

What I want to emphasize here is how radical a change Marx underwent between 1841 and 1847. It was not simply his ideas about the world that changed, but every significant aspect of his public life and to a large extent his private life as well. How and why did this young academic philosopher become a leader of a working-class-based, communist movement aiming at the revolutionary overthrow of the existing European social and political order? What was the relationship—positive or negative—between the philosophical ideas of Hegel and what was later called scientific socialism?

Two Paths from the French Revolution

To answer these questions one has to go back to the French Revolution. For *both* the political movements with which the young Marx was successively involved—the Young Hegelians and the Communist League—had their origins in the French Revolution and its extension to Germany through the Napoleonic empire. The youthful Hegel enthusiastically welcomed the French Revolution, and as a mature and respected bourgeois intellectual he became an ardent supporter of Napoleon, whom he dubbed "the world-soul on horseback." Here it's important to point out that Napoleon was an ex-Jacobin and onetime protégé of Robespierre, whose memory he always held in high regard. For its part, the German League of the Just was rooted in the theoretical, political and organizational tradition begun by Gracchus Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals of 1796, Babeuf himself having earlier been a Jacobin militant.

In a sense, there were two paths leading from the French Revolution to Marxism: a rightward path from Napoleon through Hegel to the Young Hegelians; and a leftward path leading from Babeuf and Philippe Buonarroti through Blanqui to the German League of the Just. These two paths converged in 1847 when the former Young Hegelian intellectuals Marx and Engels effected a revolutionary regroupment with erstwhile German Babouvist militants to form the Communist League, whose doctrine and program was codified in the *Communist Manifesto*.

Both Hegel and Babeuf were members of that generation of young intellectuals who believed that with the French Revolution the principles of the Enlightenment were being transformed into reality. Decades later, when in his fifties, Hegel recounted in a lecture to his students (published in *The Philosophy of History* [1956]) the apocalyptic atmosphere ushered in by the storming of the Bastille and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen:

> "The conception, the idea of Right asserted its authority ***all at once***, and the old framework of injustice could offer no resistance to its onslaught. A constitution, therefore, was established in harmony with the conception of Right, and on this foundation all future legislation was to be based.... This was accordingly a glorious mental dawn. All thinking beings shared in the jubilation of this epoch. Emotions of a lofty character stirred men's minds at that time; a spiritual enthusiasm thrilled through the world, as if the reconciliation between the Divine and the Secular was now first accomplished."

The belief that heaven was about to descend to earth necessarily led to a disillusionment among the youthful idealists who had held this vision. Both Babeuf and Hegel expressed this disillusionment, albeit for very different reasons, in very different ways and with very different conclusions. Babeuf maintained that the

French Revolution did not go far enough. He therefore inaugurated a movement and tradition defined by communist idealism and revolutionary voluntarism. Hegel decided that the French Revolution had gone too far, too fast; that the French people were not spiritually mature enough to achieve heaven on earth. He thus became an advocate of gradual—very gradual—reform from above. In his last years, he wrote in his 1821 work, *The Philosophy of Right*, that political change should be such that "the advance from one state of affairs to another is tranquil in appearance and unnoticed. In this way a constitution changes over a period of time into something quite different from what it was originally."

Marx came to believe in communism and proletarian revolution and, in that sense, embraced the Babouvist tradition. But he also adhered to Hegel's anti-utopian realism. Like Hegel, he maintained that revolutionaries could not simply reconstruct the world at will according to their own moral ideals. In Marx's first work as a self-considered communist, in 1844, he states: "It is not enough for thought to strive for realisation, reality must itself strive towards thought" ("Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law: Introduction," Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works*, Volume 3 [1975]). In other words, men can change society only insofar as society itself has changed so as to make possible their goals and program.

Communism is possible not because it is a moral ideal but because its economic preconditions have been created by industrial capitalism along with a social class—the proletariat—with a vital interest in economic collectivism. Thus he and Engels wrote in their 1846 work, *The German Ideology*:

> "Communism is for us not a *state of affairs* which is to be established, an *ideal* to which reality [will] have to adjust itself. We call communism the *real* movement which abolishes the present state of things. The conditions of this movement result from the now existing premise."

Jacobin Idealism

To understand both the Hegelian component of Marxism as well as its Babouvist heritage, we have to take a closer look at the French Revolution, especially its ideological dimensions during its most radical phase, the Jacobin regime of 1793-94. If the young Hegel, viewing the upheaval in France from across the Rhine, believed that heaven was about to descend on earth, imagine the apocalyptic fervor of the men actually leading the revolution.

The Jacobin leader Saint-Just declared that happiness was a new idea in Europe. Obviously, he was not talking about the momentary happiness of individuals: long before the French Revolution, men and women were happy when they fell in love, when they had a healthy infant whom they wanted, when they got drunk and partied all night (though perhaps they were not so happy the next morning). Saint-Just was talking about collective happiness as a permanent social condition. He meant that the French democratic republic was the first state in Europe committed to the well-being of all its citizens, to ensuring them liberty, equality and fraternity.

More than a century after the French Revolution, Leon Trotsky called the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union in the 1920s a "Thermidorian reaction." When you think about it, this is an odd term used in no other context. It does not derive from a person (there was no Joe Thermidor), place or movement. It derives from the month that Robespierre was overthrown by a right-wing Jacobin faction. But you might say, there is no month called Thermidor in French. Not today there isn't. However, in 1792 the leaders of the French Revolution decided to signify their total break with the past by scrapping the Gregorian calendar and beginning world history anew with the year I, written in Roman numerals. They also gave new names to the months, such as Thermidor, Fructidor and the like.

Along similar lines, the Jacobins attempted to establish a new state religion, based on deism, which would replace Christianity. Robespierre's speech proposing this new civic religion is a good expression of the Jacobin worldview. As a true son of the Enlightenment, he begins by pointing to the enormous progress in science and technology over the previous few decades: "Compare the imperfect language of hieroglyphics with the miracles of printing.... Measure the distance between the astronomical observations of the wise men of Asia and the discoveries of Newton." He then goes on:

> "All has changed in the physical order; all must change in the moral and political order. One half of the world revolution is already achieved, the other half has yet to be accomplished....
>
> "The French people appear to have outstripped the rest of the human race by two thousand years; one might even be tempted to regard them as a distinct species among the rest. Europe is kneeling to the shadows of the tyrants whom we are punishing.
>
> "In Europe a ploughman or an artisan is an animal trained to do the pleasure of a noble; in France the nobles seek to transform themselves into ploughmen and artisans, and cannot even attain this honor.
>
> "Europe cannot conceive of life without kings and nobles; and we cannot conceive of it with them."
>
> —reproduced in George Rudé, ed., *Robespierre* (1967)

Bibliotheque Nationale

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Jacobins attempted to replace Christianity with new state religion based on deism, expressed in artworks of the time: "Regenerated Man" triumphant over superstition (left), "Feast of the Supreme Being."

Radio Times Hulton

Gracchus Babeuf publicized early communist ideas in his journal, was later executed for leading 1796 insurrection by Conspiracy of Equals.

Robespierre concludes by proposing the following legislation:

> "Article I. The French people recognizes the existence of the Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul.
>
> "Article II. It recognizes that the best way of worshipping the Supreme Being is to do one's duties as a man.
>
> "Article III. It considers that the most important of these duties are: to detest bad faith and despotism, to punish tyrants and traitors, to assist the unfortunate, to respect the weak, to defend the oppressed, to do all the good one can to one's neighbor, and to behave with justice towards all men."

In other words, the Jacobins believed it was possible by law to instill in the French people unselfish concern for their fellow man; to use the language of the day, to instill "patriotism" and "virtue" as the dominant principles of social and political life.

The Jacobins represented a revolutionary *minority* of the French bourgeoisie. They did *not* come to power through gaining a majority of the votes in elections to the revolutionary parliament, the Convention, which would have required support from a majority of the peasantry. Rather, they came to power by organizing an insurrection of the Parisian lower classes—the so-called *sans-culottes*—which overthrew the more moderate bourgeois faction, the Girondins, then governing the country. Consequently, the Robespierre regime had to conciliate the Paris artisan proletariat which constituted its main base of support against its many enemies, both within and without France.

The Jacobin regime was waging war against most of the rest of Europe as well as civil wars against royalist forces in key regions of France. These wars inevitably caused enormous economic dislocations and shortages. The combined pressure of the *sans-culottes* from below and the dislocations of war forced the revolutionary government to institute a primitive version of a controlled economy, for example, setting a maximum price for basic foodstuffs such as bread.

Given its idealistic ideology, the Jacobins did not justify these policies on pragmatic grounds—as temporary emergency measures—but as a manifestation of the fundamental rights of man. Thus Robespierre declared:

> "Which is the first object of our polity? To guarantee the imprescriptible rights of man. And which is the first of these rights? That of existence. The first social law is, therefore, that which assures every member of society of the means of existence; all others are subordinated to it; property has only been founded and protected to give it greater strength."
>
> —*Robespierre*

If, as Robespierre maintained, the right to exist permits and even justifies restrictions on private property, it is but a logical extension to maintain that the right of existence demands the abolition of private property altogether. That extension was soon made by ex-Jacobin militants such as Babeuf, Buonarroti, Sylvan Marichal and others.

But before discussing this I want to say something about the Jacobin "Terror," since it played a central role in the development of Hegel's political attitudes and theories. Over 90 percent of the people executed under the "Terror" were in the two regions of France beset by full-scale civil war. They were people who were captured arms in hand fighting against the revolutionary army. People were *not* executed for merely expressing opposition to the Jacobin government and its doctrines. Catholic priests were not killed or imprisoned for giving sacraments to the faithful, or whatever Catholic priests do with the faithful. (Not part of my personal experience, thank god!) Some Catholic priests were killed for inciting peasants to insurrect against the revolutionary government.

However, counterrevolutionary propaganda—liberal as well as reactionary—portrayed the Jacobin "Terror" as what would later be called "totalitarian thought control." The Englishman Edmund Burke denounced Robespierre and his colleagues for seeking to establish a reign of virtue through a reign of terror. This was a lie, but a lie that was widely accepted, especially outside France, and one which has been perpetuated and has remained widely accepted ever since.

The Babouvist Tradition

During the Jacobin regime, Gracchus Babeuf served as a local official administering the food supply in a working-class district in Paris. Thus on the basis of his own firsthand experience he recognized that attempts by the revolutionary government to regulate the capitalist market in the interests of the workers and poor were

continued on page 6

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Enlightenment...

(continued from page 5)

at best inadequate and at worst totally ineffectual. Merchants evaded the price maximum by hoarding and selling at higher prices on what we would now call the black market. After Robespierre was overthrown, all economic controls were abolished, and the conditions of the workers in Paris and other French cities deteriorated into ever greater wretchedness.

Considering these developments during the Thermidorian reaction, Babeuf concluded that the right to existence was fundamentally incompatible with the right of private property. He therefore developed a crude system of communism. This was a communism of distribution, not production—though Babeuf did advocate agricultural collectivism rather than peasant smallholding. In Babeuf's view, peasants and workers would produce as before but would deliver their products to government warehouses rather than sell them on the market. The government would then distribute these goods equally and in proportion to need. Those families with more children would receive more food, clothing, etc.

The Conspiracy of Equals in 1796 was an attempt to realize this communist program through an armed insurrection—centrally based on the artisan proletariat of Paris—against the Thermidorian regime. The movement was suppressed by the authorities before it reached the stage of insurrection and the principal leaders were arrested and tried. While Babeuf was sentenced to death, another leading figure, Buonarroti, was only imprisoned for a time, possibly because his mistress had seduced one of the judges.

For the next 40 years of his life, Buonarroti sought to keep alive the principles and program of Jacobin communism, first in the hostile climate of the Napoleonic empire and then under the even more reactionary conditions of the post-Napoleonic restoration. In 1828, he published in Belgium a history of the Conspiracy of Equals, including many of its original documents, a book which became known as "the bible of revolutionaries." At one point the young Marx considered translating this book into German.

In 1830, the ultra-reactionary Bourbon regime in France was overthrown by a popular revolution and replaced by the less repressive monarchical regime of Louis Philippe. For a time the political situation in France was relatively open. Buonarroti thus returned to the country of the Revolution and was able to intersect and influence a new generation of leftist militants, the outstanding figure among them being Auguste Blanqui.

Institute for Social History, Amsterdam

Jacobin communist Auguste Blanqui participated in July 1830 revolution which brought down ultra-reactionary French Bourbon regime.

H. Roger-Viollet

At that time there was a sizable population of émigré German workers in Paris, and a number of these were won to Jacobin communism and came under the sway of Blanqui's secret societies. Central to the Blanquist strategy was what might be called military vanguardism, the belief that the hold action of a small group of revolutionary militants could inspire the masses to rise up in revolt against the oppressive monarchical regimes.

However, after experiencing defeat in the streets of Paris in 1839 and being expelled from France to England, leading German communists such as Karl Schapper and Joseph Moll reconsidered the Blanquist strategy. They concluded that the mass of workers had not heeded the revolutionaries' call to arms because they did not understand and therefore did not support the communist program. Consequently, adherents of the League of the Just—which was centered in London but also existed in Paris and other European cities—now devoted themselves to propaganda and education, postponing the revolution to an indefinite future. Ironically, it was the former left-Hegelian intellectuals Marx and Engels who had to convince the former revolutionary adventurers Schapper and Moll that popular insurrections in Germany and France were possible in the historical short term.

During the 1970s, I gave a lecture series under the heading "Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition," which was published and is available in the bound volumes of *Young Spartacus*. So what I know and think about this subject is accessible in far greater detail and analytical elaboration than I can convey to you today. Therefore I'm going to devote the rest of this talk to Hegel and his school, the intellectual and political development of the young Marx and certain controversies about this. I'm weighting this educational in this way *not* because I consider the left-Hegelian component more important in understanding Marxism than the Jacobin component—I don't think that—but rather because the left-Hegelian component is far harder to understand and has been subject to much confusionism and mystification.

Hegel's Political Biography

I think the easiest way to approach Hegel—and I said easiest, not easy—is to first consider his political biography. Before we descend to the mind-bending depths of Hegelian philosophy, we should look at the major historical events which affected him and how he responded to them.

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel was born in 1770 in the principality of Swabia in southwestern Germany, a relatively economically advanced region in that then-divided country. His father was a senior government bureaucrat involved in finance and trade. Hegel's background was thus typical of the German bourgeoisie of the Lutheran persuasion. He was educated in the spirit of the German Enlightenment, which was more idealistic, more concerned with individual morality and spiritual values, so to speak, than the English and French versions of the Enlightenment.

As previously noted, he enthusiastically welcomed the French Revolution and believed that the rights of man were about to triumph on the German side of the Rhine as well. In 1795, he wrote to his friend and fellow philosopher-in-training, Friedrich Schelling:

> "I believe that there is no better sign of the times than the fact that mankind as such is being represented with so much reverence, it is a proof that the halo which has surrounded the heads of the oppressors and gods of the earth has disappeared. The philosophers demonstrate this dignity [of man]; the people will learn to feel it and will not merely demand their rights, which have been trampled in the dust, but will themselves take and appropriate them"
>
> —quoted in Shlomo Avineri, *Hegel's Theory of the Modern State* (1972)

However, over the next several years this naive democratic idealism and optimism dissipated and were replaced by a moderate liberalism which for Hegel represented a reconciliation with social and political reality as he viewed it. A key factor in Hegel's rightward evolution was his extremely negative reaction to the Jacobin regime in France. In part this represented a reaction to what actually happened in France at this time, and in part it was based on a common misunderstanding of this crucial historical episode.

Even when he was a democratic idealist, Hegel opposed social leveling and regarded the right to property as an important guarantor of individual liberty. Thus he denounced what he termed "sans-culottism" in France: At the same time, he believed that Robespierre and his colleagues had resorted to mass terror in order to impose on the French people their own philosophical principles, such as deism, and their concept of revolutionary morality. He later wrote that the French Revolution represented

> "for the first time in human history the prodigious spectacle of the overthrow of the constitution of a great actual state and its complete reconstruction *ab initio* [from the beginning] on the basis of pure thought alone, after the destruction of all existing and given material. The will of the refounders was to give it what they alleged was a purely rational basis, but it was only abstractions that were being used; the Idea was lacking; and the experiment ended in the maximum of frightfulness and terror."
>
> —*Hegel's Philosophy of Right*

As a criticism or even understanding of what actually happened during the French Revolution, Hegel's view was profoundly wrong. But as a criticism of Jacobin *ideology*, Hegel was in this respect on the mark. The Jacobins did believe they could sweep away the old society and rebuild the world anew according to their ideals—not only in terms of social, economic and political institutions but in all fundamental aspects of popular consciousness. Robespierre, Saint-Just and their comrades believed that through an act of will or even an act of law they could eradicate almost 2,000 years of Christianity, respect for traditional authority and even individual egoism. Hegel was right that no government—even a revolutionary government—possesses absolute freedom to reconstruct society according to its own principles and ideals. As Marx later wrote in a very Hegelian passage in his 1852 work, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*:

> "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living."

Bettmann Archive

Raccolta Stampe Bertarelli, Milan

Radical democrat Giuseppe Mazzini strove to unite Italy. A short-lived Roman Republic was proclaimed in February 1849.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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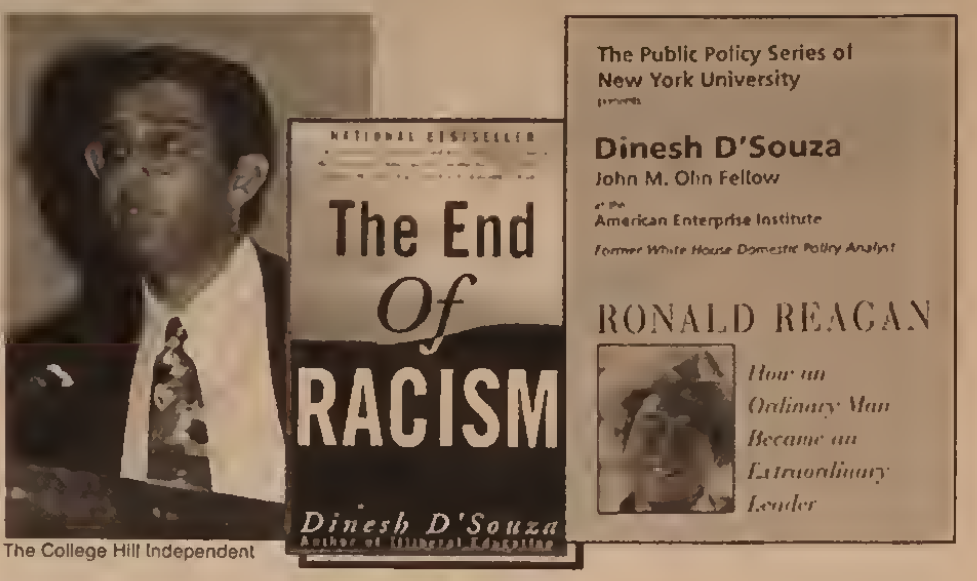
New York Post Squeals as

Reaganite Pig D'Souza's Views Blasted at NYU



The College Hill Independent

Scurrilous editorial in Rupert Murdoch rag screams for expulsion of anti-racist students who exposed Dinesh D'Souza, apologist for racism and Reagan reaction.

Distorting D'Souza

NEW YORK POST
16 December 97

New York University Professor (and ... and whatever Reagan's other sins, he had never been accused of impregnating large numbers of women. But he was still incessantly heckled and interrupted.

The protesters' major obsession was D'Souza's book, "The End of Racism," in which he attacked the prevailing liberal orthodoxy on racial issues. These self-important race warriors didn't hesitate to brand D'Souza — who is of Indian ancestry — a "...

London was hosting an appearance by Dinesh D'Souza ... introduced him by noting ... a speaker ...

The following was issued as a leaflet on January 21 by the New York Spartacus Youth Club.

Dinesh D'Souza, a racist ideologue and former "policy analyst" for Ronald Reagan, was sponsored to speak at New York University (NYU) last December by the ultraright Young American Foundation and the *Intercollegiate Review*. But while his sponsors had hoped to provide a forum for D'Souza to promote his new book, *Ronald Reagan: How an Ordinary Man Became an Extraordinary Leader*, this mouthpiece for vicious racist reaction got a suitably hostile reception from a multiracial crowd of some 100 students.

D'Souza is most notorious for his earlier book, *The End of Racism*. Oozing with a self-righteous appreciation of his own intellectual prowess, D'Souza derides blacks as "destructive and pathological" and deserving of what he so politely terms "rational discrimination." Dedicated to his wife Dixie, D'Souza's book rails against a supposed "resistance to academic achievement" by American blacks. This is really rich coming from a man whose hero, Ronald Reagan, is a poster child for dimness. Now D'Souza's racist programs are largely being carried out by the Clinton White House.

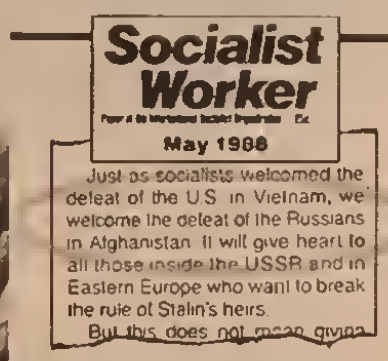
At the NYU event, D'Souza's revolting alibis for all-sided capitalist reaction—from the smashing of the air traffic controllers union by Reagan in 1981, to the starvation of single black welfare mothers and their children, to celebrating the ravages of capitalist counterrevolution now sweeping East Europe and the former Soviet Union—provoked a raucous debate. A week later, the editorialists of the *New York Post* weighed in, demanding "punitive measures" against the students who protested D'Souza. These hired pens who otherwise spend their time uncovering closet pinkos everywhere from the *New York Times* obituary page to John Sweeney's AFL-CIO bureaucracy to even the Clinton White House argued, "If any such thing as school discipline exists any longer, they should face expulsion." The *Post* editorial especially targeted a "substantial group of student radicals—including the local Sparticist [sic] League, the Zulu Nation and assorted socialists."

Actually Zulu Nation, a multiracial student group, was barred by campus security from entering the event because they had arrived late. But, in the lingo of tabloid trash, "Zulu" is a high-impact word designed to connote images of "lawless" blacks, or in D'Souza's words, "ignoble savages." We don't know where the *Post* gets its information. But as we pointed out in a letter of protest to the *Post* (which they have refused to print) published below, their incorrect spelling of our organization's name is characteristic of the FBI (see "And 'i' = FBI," *WV* No. 340, 21 October 1983).

As a member of the Spartacus Youth Club argued during the discussion period, D'Souza's "intellectual" apologias for racist reaction go hand in hand with his adulation of Reagan's Cold War drive aimed at destroying the former workers states in the Soviet Union and East Europe. Although bureaucratically deformed, economically mismanaged and ultimately strangled by Stalinist bureaucracies who looked for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, these states embodied enormous gains for the working class internationally. That is why we as Marxist revolutionaries fought tooth and nail for the defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the East European deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. At the same time, we understood that such a defense mandated a proletarian political revolution to replace the Stalinist bureaucracies with a revolutionary internationalist leadership, like that of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party which had led the Russian working class to victory in the great October Revolution of 1917.

A large contingent of members of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) also came out to protest D'Souza. It was notable that while they heckled his overtly racist remarks, the ISO fell silent when D'Souza touted Reagan's anti-Communist war drive. But, then, how could they protest when they had stood on the same side of the barricades as the U.S. imperialists—from supporting Polish Solidarność, the only "union" Ronald Reagan ever loved, to cheering for the CIA-armed Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan who skinned schoolteachers alive for teaching young girls how to read and write.

Kennerly/Gamma-Liaison


Socialist Worker
May 1988
Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs.
But this does not mean giving

Reagan supported counterrevolutionary Afghan *mujahedin*, so did "socialist" ISO.

The anti-Communist consensus, shared by the ISO, was a reflection of just how deeply these self-proclaimed socialists buy into the fraud of "democracy" preached by the imperialist rulers. Thus it is no surprise that in the days preceding D'Souza's appearance at NYU, the ISO was pleading with the NYU administration to not allow D'Souza at "our school." But the administrators are nothing other than the representatives of the bourgeoisie on campus. Their purpose is to maintain the university as an institution to train the next generation of capitalist ideologues and technicians. These are the same administrators whom the *Post* is now instructing to expel those students who protested D'Souza.

We reprint below our reply to the slanderous *New York Post* editorial.

* * *

19 December 1997

To the editor of the *New York Post*:

Your December 16 editorial, "Distorting D'Souza," is a masterpiece of distortion. Representing the Spartacus Youth Club, I attended the NYU meeting where D'Souza spoke for an hour while "discussion" was restricted to "questions only." What free and "raucous" exchange of ideas there was came only from an audience which was mainly hostile to D'Souza's repugnant views.

You scream about "freedom of expression." Yet you demand the expulsion of those who sought to challenge the views of a man who upholds chattel slavery with the grotesque argument that "the American slave *was* treated like property, which is to say, pretty well." One student read a poem aimed at showing D'Souza that, as a dark-skinned Indian, his role as an ideologue for racism is precarious. The poem told the truth: "In your denial that racism exists/you deny that the very people that promote your theory/laugh behind your back/saying 'We have another sandn----r'." You retail D'Souza's lie that this was racist.

You smear opposition to D'Souza's views as "fascism" in order to alibi a man who was editor of the *Dartmouth Review*, which had a motto of "Genocide is never having to say you're sorry." We're not saying D'Souza's a fascist. Fascists are paramilitary action gangs whose aim is racial genocide and the destruction of the labor movement. This is not a question of free speech. As an elementary act of self-defense the fascists must be stopped through organized working-class action. D'Souza just traffics in right-wing ideas. He was not stopped from speaking, but was met by protest and argument aimed at refuting the racist views that he tries to pass off as "scholarship."

Perhaps a clue to the sources of your false information can be found in your misspelling of our organization's name. The substitution of an "i" for the "a" in "Spartacist" is a trademark of the FBI. Or maybe you got the spelling from Herb London, D'Souza's host at NYU and president of the Hudson Institute, a right-wing think tank whose board of trustees includes Dan Quayle, a man who can't spell the word "potato."

Joe Sol
New York Spartacus Youth Club

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Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacists

Workers Power's "United Front" with Counterrevolution

The following polemic centered on the Australian Workers Power group—affiliated to the British group of the same name—is reprinted from Australasian Spartacist *No. 162 (Summer 1997/98), published by our comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia.*

Australasian **SPARTACIST**

The centrist Workers Power (WP) group is clearly in turmoil. By their own report (*Workers Power*, October/December 1997), the phoney "League for a Revolutionary Communist International" (LRCI) emerged from their August conference deeply divided over the class nature of the state, the overturn of capitalism in East Europe and elsewhere after World War II and the counterrevolutionary restoration of capitalism in the USSR.

For Marxists, these are fundamental and defining questions, at the core of a revolutionary program. But for the LRCI they are merely academic debates. Thus "changes in analysis" can be safely relegated to a future issue of their international journal, not due for publication until January 1998. Yet, as a companion article marking the 80th anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution ("The Left and Capitalist Restoration") makes clear, WP still seeks to justify their sordid history of support to various forces of capitalist counterrevolution, especially Boris Yeltsin's pro-imperialist countercoup of August 1991.

Seizing on the pathetic "coup" attempt by the "gang of eight" Kremlin bureaucrats, Yeltsin's ascendancy, backed by the U.S. and every other imperialist power, subsequently proved to be the key event in the destruction of the Soviet Union. In the absence of mass working-class resistance, the period of open counterrevolution ushered in by Yeltsin culminated in the creation of a bourgeois state. Capitalist restoration was and is an unparalleled catastrophe for the working class, not only in the former Soviet Union but internationally, freeing up the imperialists to unleash attacks on the working masses of the advanced industrial countries and the already savagely oppressed peoples of the semicolonial world.

In 1991 Workers Power called for a "united front with the Yeltsin forces," declaiming: "It was necessary to form a common front of resistance, a military and class struggle bloc with those forces and with their leaders.... A part of this united front call would have been to fight alongside the 'democrats' and the Yeltsinites to defend all the centres of resistance to the coup including the RSFSR parliament (the 'White House')" (*Workers Power* [Britain], November 1991). One of their members literally stood on Yeltsin's White House barricades. They did so "no matter what the socially counterrevolutionary nature of Yeltsin's programme, no matter how many spivs and racketeers joined the barricades."

Workers Hammer

Skurihinaya/Pravda

British Workers Power at 1990 London picket (top) in support of Baltic counterrevolutionaries. Centrist WP joined with anti-Soviet SWP, echoing imperialist chorus for fascist-infested Lithuanian nationalists (above).

We Spartacists of the International Communist League denounced WP and its ilk as "Traitors, not Trotskyists" for this criminal betrayal. It is no surprise, therefore, that in seeking to "justify" their actions WP aims its polemical fire largely at the Spartacists.

WP adamantly denies that they "'supported Yeltsin' or had 'illusions in bourgeois democracy' as the Spartacists are so fond of claiming." But why was WP "for blocking with all those forces opposing the coup makers (CSE)"? "It was because the CSE represented the most serious immediate threat to the meagre democratic gains that the workers had wrung from the bureaucracy over the previous years." Thus in the name of defending "democratic gains" WP blocks with...U.S. imperialist chieftain George Bush, who certainly was among "all those forces opposing the coup makers"! "Democracy" versus "Stalinist totalitarianism" was precisely the counterrevolutionary rallying cry of the capitalists and their social-democratic front men.

Indeed, WP views Yeltsin's counterrevolution purely through the eyes of a Laborite parliamentarist. Against "the politically bankrupt Spartacists [who] argue that Yeltsin coming to power...was the decisive turning point in the restoration of a capitalist state," WP paints Yeltsin's countercoup as "a simple change of government." To this day they deny that capitalism has been restored in the lands of the former Soviet Union. Russia, they say, is a "moribund workers state," a peculiar, classless formulation invented by Workers Power to deny that capitalist counterrevolution has taken place, as a cover for their support to the restorationist forces. This position has made WP look foolish as it obviously flies in the face of reality—so they have begun to modify it, declaring that most of East Europe, which they also labelled "moribund workers states," are now capitalist.

For Workers Power, the essential feature of a workers state is the degree of nationalisation. Claiming that the class nature of the state is merely a reflection of the economy, WP tries to make an ally of Trotsky, quoting (more or less) his statement that "the nationalisation of the land, the means of industrial production, transport and exchange, together with the monopoly of foreign trade constitute the basis of the Soviet social structure." State-owned collectivised property, central planning and state monopoly of foreign trade are indeed the defining features of proletarian property forms—the necessary economic foundations for the development of a classless, socialist society on an international scale. But widespread nationalisations alone do not equal the destruction of capitalism. And in general, in periods of revolution or counterrevolution, the economic forms can be, and often are, at variance with the political character of the state. Trotsky specifically addressed this question in "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937):

> "Should a bourgeois counterrevolution succeed in the USSR, the new government for a lengthy period would have to base itself upon the nationalised economy. But what does such a type of temporary conflict between the economy and the state mean? It means a ***revolution*** or a ***counterrevolution***. The victory of one class over another signifies that it will reconstruct the economy in the interests of the victors."

Even by WP's own false criteria, they have a problem, and are obliged to admit that "The monopoly on foreign finance and trade, the planning ministries and many state-owned industries have all been dismantled." So now they are forced to fall back on an absurdity: "Difficulties in constructing and enforcing capitalist credit mechanisms mean that thousands of firms continue to operate when the domination of the law of value would dictate that they should be closed down. In no capitalist country would loss-making production be tolerated on such a scale." Have they never heard of corporate bailouts?

The Russian Question Point Blank

WP sneeringly mocks as "one of the most memorable pearls of Spartacist wisdom" our statement that the August 1991 events "appear to have been decisive in the direction of development of the SU, but only those who are under the sway of capitalist ideology would have been hasty to draw this conclusion at the time" (*Spartacist* No. 47-48, Winter 1992-93). For WP, this means we say "Yeltsin's August coup was decisive but it would have been wrong to have recognised it at the time!" Only those who forsake the proletariat as incapable of becoming a class mobilised for itself through the instrument of a Leninist party would have instantly written off the Soviet degenerated workers state.

For WP, Yeltsin's triumph was a foregone conclusion. We, however, stand with American Trotskyist James P. Cannon who wrote:

> "We do not examine the Russian revolution and what remains of its great conquests as though it were a bug under a glass. ***We have an interest! We take part in the fight!***"
>
> —"Speech on the Russian Question," *Struggle for a Proletarian Party* (1943)

The ICL distributed tens of thousands of leaflets proclaiming: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" Ours was the first statement widely distributed in the Soviet Union in opposition to Yeltsin's restorationist drive. We said that what was necessary in August 1991 was a call on Moscow workers to clean

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He Who Pays the Piper Calls the Tune

The following article is translated from Spartakist *No. 130 (December 1997-January 1998), publication of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League.*

SPARTAKIST 4

For Marxists, who understand that the bourgeois state must be smashed through socialist revolution, the fight for the independence of the workers movement is a question of principle. For that very reason we accept *no* financial support from the capitalist state. Not so the "League for a Revolutionary Communist International" (LRCI) and its Austrian section ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt (ASt—Workers Viewpoint; in Germany, Gruppe Arbeitermacht [GAM—Workers Power Group]). The Viennese Alliance of Alternative Publications released documentation on the Internet which shows that the bimonthly *ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt* as well as the LRCI's German-language theoretical journal, *Revolutionärer Marxismus*, are *funded by the Austrian state*. When we confronted a member of ASt at Vienna University during our subscription drive there this year, he proudly confirmed the receipt of state money.

In November 1996, the Austrian social-democratic SPÖ successfully prevented an attempt by its Christian Democratic ÖVP coalition partner to overturn the subsidy of the ASt/GAM publications and other "left alternative" papers as not "worthy of support." The SPÖ has been in the government in Austria for decades: he who pays the piper calls the tune. The ASt was scheduled to receive not less than 135,000 Austrian Schilling ($11,100) for the 1996 fiscal year. With the corrupt Austrian state as its paymaster, who could wonder about the current ASt front page on the 1998 presidential elections: "Don't back down: SPÖ must run candidate!"

Two years ago the SPÖ introduced the harshest racist immigration laws in Europe, thereby providing Haidar's Nazi FPÖ with a mass following. Echoing the SPÖ, the ASt and GAM whitewash this dangerous fascist führer as "right-populist," just as they did in the 1980s when they alibied Nazi war criminal and former Austrian president Kurt Waldheim.

The dividing line between revolutionaries and reformists is their attitude toward the bourgeois state. In accepting money from the government, the Austrian LRCI section apes the reformist Social Democracy, whose program and practice is to administer the capitalist state in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

out the counterrevolutionary rabble on Yeltsin's barricades. Such an independent mobilisation of the workers could have opened the road to political revolution through a showdown with the imperialist-backed forces of capitalist restoration. While recognising that the state power had been effectively fractured, we looked to spark working-class action in defence of collectivised property.

Unable to conceive of an independent proletarian policy, Workers Power claims that if "Yeltsin taking power was decisive in the restoration of capitalism, then surely the Spartacists made a mistake. They should have blocked with the Stalinists who opposed him." Spicing up their polemic with a falsehood, WP claims we have never explained why we didn't.

This was an all-sided squalid affair in which neither side opposed capitalist "market reforms," i.e., counterrevolution. The "coup plotters" only wanted a more gradual, controlled introduction of capitalism, without the democratic trappings of *glasnost* (openness). As we said in a polemic against the pseudo-Trotskyist apologists for Yeltsin:

> "The coup plotters were not only irresolute but didn't want to unleash the forces that could have defeated the more extreme counterrevolutionaries, for that could have led to a civil war if the Yeltsinites really fought back. And in an armed struggle pitting outright restorationists against recalcitrant elements of the bureaucracy, defence of the collectivised economy would have been placed on the agenda whatever the Stalinists' intentions."
>
> —"Cheerleaders for Yeltsin's Counterrevolution," *ASp* No. 143, Summer 1991/1992

WP recalls that "after only three days we immediately called for a breaking of the united front with the Yeltsin forces and advocated mobilising opposition to their 'seizure' of power." They sniff that this "falsifies the Spartacist claim that we politically supported Yeltsin." Actually, it proves exactly what we said of them: during the most critical moments of August 1991, they knowingly supported Yeltsin's forces of imperialist-backed capitalist counterrevolution. Now, with boundless cynicism, they try to claim they politically opposed it.

WP's "Solidarity with Solidarność Counterrevolution"

WP's road to Yeltsin's barricades was well prepared. As we have said:

> "While formally adopting a position of Soviet defencism in 1980 over Afghanistan, WP condemned the Soviet intervention against imperialist-backed feudal reaction as 'counterrevolutionary' (later also denouncing the Soviet withdrawal as 'counterrevolutionary'). In 1981, they 'critically' championed Solidarność even while admitting that Solidarność in power would mean capitalist restoration. In 1989, while claiming to be against the capitalist annexation of the former DDR by the Fourth Reich of German imperialism, Workers Power sided with counterrevolution at every crucial stage. The following year, they supported the anti-Soviet, fascist-infested nationalist movement in Lithuania and were caught out collaborating with Russian fascists in sponsoring a 'trade union' speaking tour by one Yuri Butchenko."
>
> —"Chickens Come Home to Roost Over Balkan Betrayal," *ASp* No. 157, Summer 1995-96

Today WP is particularly sensitive on the question of Polish Solidarność. In an anti-Communist lie that could just as easily have emanated from the "free trade unions" gang at ASIS [Australian Security Intelligence Service] or one of the CIA's labour fronts, WP says that we were in "support of the murder of Polish workers by Stalinists in 1981." By WP's lights, opposition to this capitalist-restorationist "union" (favoured by the CIA, the pope, Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher and then Labor prime minister Bob Hawke) could only be Stalinist. Acknowledging that all the "dominant tendencies" in Solidarność sought the restoration of capitalism, WP concluded that this did "not mean that we do not solidarise with Solidarność."

At its 1981 congress it was clear that Solidarność had consolidated around a program of clerical reaction and capitalist restoration. It took up the CIA-inspired calls for "free elections" and "free trade unions." We Spartacists said that this company union for the Vatican, CIA and Western bankers was now making an open bid for power based on a program for capitalist restoration. We said, forthrightly, "If the Kremlin Stalinists, in their necessarily brutal, stupid way, intervene militarily...we will support this. And we take responsibility in advance for this; whatever the idiocies and atrocities they will commit, we do not flinch from defending the crushing of Solidarity's counterrevolution" (*WV* No. 289, 25 September 1981).

While we stood militarily with the Polish government in spiking Solidarność' bid for power, we said that the Stalinist crackdown would only delay the day of reckoning, for Solidarność would have to be defeated politically within the working class. Thus our call to stop Solidarność counterrevolution was integrally linked to the need to forge a Trotskyist party that could lead a proletarian political revolution to oust the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy. WP is so warped by the pressures of bourgeois society that they scream bloody murder over our defence of Soviet tanks that were never sent to Poland, but they cheered the Yeltsin counterrevolution which has brought a real living hell to workers and especially women in the former Soviet Union and East Europe—the dramatic plunge in life expectancy, the rise of pogroms and communal fratricide, the rollback of abortion rights.

Centrist Confusionism and Cliffite Recidivism

WP originated in Britain in a 1975 split from Tony Cliff's virulently anti-Soviet International Socialists (now the Socialist Workers Party). Born of capitulation to the imperialists' genocidal war against North Korea, the Cliffites labelled the Soviet Union "state capitalist" to deny any basis for its defence. In 1980, a month after the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan, WP rejected "state capitalism" and characterised the USSR as a degenerated workers state, a step to the left. A classic example of what Trotsky called the "crystallised confusion" of centrism, WP wrote that "We oppose the invasion of Afghanistan" while opining that it would be "tactically wrong for revolutionaries...to demand the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops."

After a decade of Cold War anti-Communism, and especially now in this period of "death of communism" bourgeois triumphalism, WP has moved increasingly to the right. Hailing "an end to decades of Stalinist dictatorship," their statement that "All genuine revolutionaries rejoiced at the downfall of these bureaucratic, totalitarian monstrosities" is of a piece with the SWP's obscene gloating that "Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991).

In the spirit of its Cliffite heritage, the LRCI's August congress took up the question of "the nature of the state form in the degenerate workers' states" involving "the question of whether the state machine was smashed, in the Marxist sense of the term, during the post-war overthrow of capitalism in Eastern Europe, China, Indochina and Cuba, and the related question of whether the state machine had to be smashed to allow capitalism to be restored in the post-1989 period." In a word, their answer is, "No."

WP recognises that Cuba, China and Yugoslavia became workers states. Nevertheless, WP's long-standing position is that "Castro and co. like Mao and Tito before them, carried out a counterrevolutionary overthrow of capitalism" (*Trotskyist International*, Summer 1988). So imbued is WP with social-democratic horror of their own bourgeoisie's hue and cry about communist "totalitarianism" that they ludicrously claim that every overthrow of capitalism since the Russian Revolution has been "counterrevolutionary." And what could a counterrevolutionary overthrow of capitalism mean—except, perhaps, a return to feudalism?

Two years ago, WP's refusal to take a

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AP

Spartacist

Yeltsin on barricades of counterrevolution, August 1991 (left). ICL leaflet proclaimed: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" ICL supporters raised banner of Trotskyist Fourth International at November 1991 Revolution Day rally in Moscow.

Immigrants...

(continued from page 1)

new powers, allowing them to summarily exclude visitors and bar them from reentry for up to five years. So tight have the border restrictions become that even many Canadian citizens have been denied entry. Now airports have begun implementing new computerized procedures to screen for "potential terrorists," clearly targeting travellers from the Arab world, Africa and other regions who fit the government's racist "profile" for "terrorism."

Clinton's 1996 "Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act" greatly expanded not only the range of federal offenses punishable by the racist death penalty but also those offenses—some as minor as shoplifting—which can get legal residents deported. The draconian sweep of this law was recently spotlighted by the case of 43-year-old New York restaurant manager Jesus Collado, who moved here from the Dominican Republic when he was a youth. Collado was seized by the INS last spring and threatened with deportation on the grounds that *23 years earlier* he had been sentenced to one year's probation, for having had sex with a 15-year-old girlfriend! A victim of both state racism and the reactionary anti-sex witchhunt, Collado was locked up in an INS dungeon for six months before an outcry of protest won his release.

While the wretchedly chauvinist American labor bureaucracy joins with capitalist politicians in ranting against "foreign" workers stealing "American" jobs, the assault on immigrants has nothing to do with "saving" jobs. American capitalism has long relied on undocumented immigrants to provide the labor for physically demanding, dangerous jobs that others won't touch—an estimated 40 percent of the country's two million farm laborers are "illegal aliens." Indeed, one effect of militarizing the border with Mexico is to allow through only young, physically fit males who are capable of working in grinding farm labor, by keeping out women and children who can't cross through treacherous, hilly terrain. Moreover, under a 1990 law, rich people can literally *buy* legal residency by investing $1 million in a business here.

WV Photo

Watsonville, California march in support of strawberry workers' organizing drive, April 1997. AFL-CIO tops refuse to unleash union power to defend and organize immigrant workers.

Labor Must Champion Immigrants' Rights!

Campaigns against immigrants serve as an ideological weapon to further divide the American proletariat along race and national lines. To defend the jobs, wages and union rights for all workers, labor must champion the rights of immigrants and other minorities. Brutally exploited immigrants from Asia and Central America are forced to toil in garment sweatshops across the country for subminimum wages. And even many who are in unions and have legal residency work at wage and piece-work rates barely above the legal minimum.

We call for *full citizenship rights for all immigrants* and for *organizing the unorganized*, on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. But this perspective is anathema to the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO bureaucracy headed by John Sweeney, despite their occasional words about "organizing" immigrant workers and "solidarity" with Mexican workers. Far from defending undocumented workers against the savage repression meted out by *la migra*, in 1996 Sweeney's AFL-CIO called for "effective control of illegal immigration," including an additional 700 border patrol cops. Likewise, United Farm Workers (UFW) president Dolores Huerta and other AFL-CIO officials made a show of launching an organizing drive for California's brutally exploited, overwhelmingly immigrant strawberry pickers. But far from mobilizing union power to ensure victory in this struggle, the labor tops devote their efforts to opposing a Republican bill to bring in 25,000 more farm "guest workers."

The labor bureaucracy sees the world through the same lens as the capitalists and their government and embraces the goals of U.S. imperialism, chaining the workers to the capitalist class enemy through support to Clinton's Democrats. Indeed, about the only significant difference Sweeney & Co. have with Clinton is over "fast track" trade legislation—and earlier, NAFTA—which these labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie oppose from the standpoint of a protectionist crusade to bolster U.S. industry. In contradistinction to the chauvinist, job-trusting labor tops, we opposed NAFTA as a "free trade" rape of Mexico by U.S. imperialism and called for international labor solidarity *in struggle* by workers in the U.S. and Canada with Mexican workers—for example, those battling U.S. corporations for basic union rights in the *maquiladora* border factories.

Hathcox/USA Today

1986 clothing workers' rally: bureaucrats' chauvinist protectionism chains unions to U.S. capitalists' interests.

A real fight to organize immigrant workers would help reinvigorate the American labor movement, bringing into the unions workers from Central America and elsewhere with a history of bitter class struggle against U.S. imperialism and its local death squad regimes. Black and Hispanic workers, including a sizable number of immigrants, played a prominent role in last summer's Teamsters strike against the UPS bosses, the first significant victory for American labor in decades. To unchain labor's power requires above all a political struggle to oust the racist, pro-capitalist bureaucracy and to forge a revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed as part of the fight for socialist revolution.■

Workers Power...

(continued from page 9)

stand for military defence of the Bosnian Serbs under massive NATO bombing blew apart the LRCI as most of their New Zealand group and all of their Latin American supporters split away. Revealing a continuing political schism, Workers Power reports that "At the Fourth Congress, the former minority position secured a narrow majority. The Congress adopted the view that the bureaucratic Stalinist overturns took place without the smashing of the bourgeois form of state apparatus." Does this mean that capitalism was not really destroyed in East Europe, Cuba, etc. (à la Cliff)? Or does it mean that capitalism can be overthrown without smashing "the bourgeois form of state," an open repudiation of Leninism (à la Karl Kautsky)?

Specifically against the German Social Democrat Kautsky, who opposed proletarian revolution, Lenin said that "the proletariat cannot simply win state power in the sense that the old state apparatus passes into new hands, but must smash this apparatus, must break it and replace it by a new one" (*The State and Revolution*). By asserting that workers states could come into existence without smashing "the bourgeois form of state apparatus," the latter-day Kautskyites of Workers Power reveal their true program—pushing social-democratic parties like the Australian Labor Party (ALP) or the British Labour Party into getting rid of capitalism.

Indeed, WP's Stalinophobic support to every sort of counterrevolutionary scum in the former Soviet Union and East Europe is a reflection of, and capitulation to, the pro-imperialist social democracy, which since 1917 sought the destruction of the October Revolution. From Australia to Europe, wherever the social-democratic parties are fronting for the capitalist offensive, Workers Power can be found behind them. In Britain, they backed Tony Blair's Labour Party, while in the French elections last May they openly called for a vote to the class-collaborationist alliance of the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and various bourgeois formations—a popular front. In Australia, WP shores up the hold of the racist Labor Party on the struggles of the exploited and oppressed, claiming that workers' illusions in the ALP can only "be broken by putting Labor to the test of office," i.e., vote ALP, no matter what.

At root, the anti-Sovietism of WP expresses their acceptance of the "democratic credentials" of their "own" bourgeoisie as good coin. Indeed, they have deeply imbibed the values of the Australian ruling class, not least its profound anti-woman bigotry. At a large workers demonstration on 12 November in Melbourne, a Workers Power leader, Lloyd, responded with vile misogynist epithets to political debate about their position on the former Soviet Union and their Laborism, twice hurling the word "c--t" at our comrades. This illustrates that the leadership of Workers Power will try to use the most grotesque means to draw a blood line to seal off political discussion. We won't fall for it—we will continue to pursue open political debate because it is through the clash of opinion and test of competing programs in action that Leninist parties are forged.

Workers Power are counterfeit Trotskyists who deny in practice the necessity of building a revolutionary vanguard party to bring to the working class genuine class consciousness—the understanding that it is their historic mission to take state power in their own name. WP fatuously denies the devastating effects of the destruction of the Soviet workers state, saying "the worst of the counterrevolutionary effects of those defeats have already been experienced in the previous period, and do not lie ahead." That's easy for them to say from where they sit in comfort in the West!

On the contrary, we of the ICL recognise that this is a new period in world history, one conditioned by colossal defeats for the proletariat. As Leon Trotsky wrote in his 1937 article, "Stalinism and Bolshevism":

> "In these conditions, the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow: it must swim against the current. If an unfavorable relation of forces prevents it from holding the positions that it has won, it must at least retain its ideological positions, because in them is expressed the dearly purchased experience of the past. Fools will consider this policy 'sectarian.' Actually it is the only means of preparing for a new tremendous surge forward with the coming historical tide."

Workers Power members who seek Marxist clarity and a forward, revolutionary perspective, the fight for new October Revolutions, would do well to undertake a serious investigation of the Trotskyist politics of the International Communist League.■

Contents Include:

- Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! **Immigration and Racist "Fortress Europe"**
- **Farrakhan and the Sudan Slave Trade**
- Black Churches Torched Across the South **Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Smash Racist Terror!**
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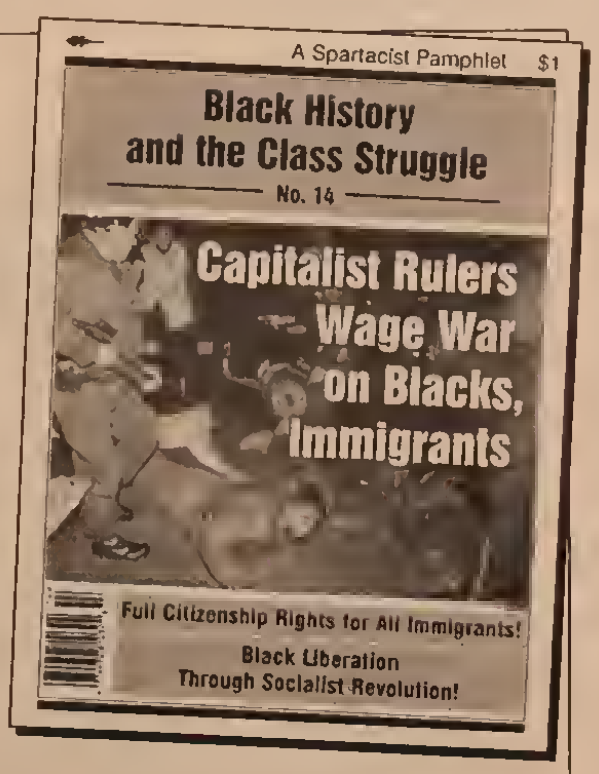

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ICL Statement...

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In Germany, Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats (CDU) are also waging war against that country's two million immigrants and refugees of Turkish and Kurdish descent. Their children—including those born in Germany—were forced last year to apply for visas in order to remain in the country. Turkish leftist and Kurdish nationalist groups, including the PKK (Kurdish Workers Party), are banned. Even showing the Kurdish national colors is illegal, as it is in Turkey. Having used its economic muscle to dictate the terms for the dismemberment of the former Yugoslav deformed workers state, which resulted in millions of refugees, Bonn moved last year to expel some 300,000 Bosnian immigrants—the biggest mass deportation since Hitler's Third Reich. Now, German interior minister Manfred Kanther enjoins Italy to "secure its borders," declaring that Germany will not accept a "criminally organized migration movement because of world conflicts like Bosnia" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 7 January).

Meanwhile, the Social Democrats (SPD) are attacking Kohl from the *right*, denouncing the CDU government for not pressuring Rome earlier to stop Kurdish immigration and calling for restoring strict border control between EU countries. SPD-ruled Hamburg has been turned into an anti-immigrant police state. The SPD election campaign there last fall was so obscenely racist that even the bourgeois press was forced to note that it was "one of the most xenophobic election campaigns conducted by the left in post-war Germany" (London *Independent*, 22 September 1997). In whipping up anti-immigrant racism, the SPD has also given a green light to Nazi thugs throughout Germany.

In Bremen, where the SPD governs together with the CDU, imprisoned Kurds facing deportation are waging a hunger strike against torture, overcrowding and other abusive conditions. Six of the protesters are said to be in imminent danger of dying. An SPD state justice ministry official was forced to resign, but his replacement contemptuously dismissed the hunger strike as taking place during the month of Ramadan "fasting time" (*Neues Deutschland*, 8 January). Meanwhile some 370 Kurdish prisoners are undertaking a hunger strike in a Turkish jail in the city of Erzurum. We say: Down with the ban on the PKK and the Turkish leftist Devrimci Sol! Free all leftist and Kurdish nationalist political prisoners! Down with the racist "laws on foreigners"! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

The frantic rush by Italy's European neighbors to impose border controls against Kurdish immigration fly in the face of the 1995 Schengen agreement by which the main European countries agreed to do away with passport checks at their respective frontiers. This points up the real purpose of Schengen: to consolidate racist "Fortress Europe" against refugees and immigrants fleeing the exploitation and inhuman conditions in backward countries under the boot of imperialism. Like the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, which envisioned a common European currency by the end of the century, Schengen was billed as a step toward melding the existing capitalist societies into a single supranational European state. But this is reactionary utopianism. The bourgeoisie, by its nature, is a nationally limited class, whose rise to power was closely associated with the consolidation of powerful nation-states, serving to protect the bourgeoisie's national market while competing internationally with rival capitalist states. As Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky wrote during World War II and on the eve of the Nazi Holocaust:

> "The world of decaying capitalism is overcrowded. The question of admitting a hundred extra refugees causes a major problem for such a world power as the United States.... Amid the vast expanses of land and marvels of technology, which has also conquered the skies for man as well as earth, the bourgeoisie has managed to convert our planet into a foul prison."
>
> —"Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution" (June 1940)

The racist policies being pushed by the capitalists and their social-democratic henchmen have greatly reinforced fascist bands throughout Europe, who feel they have a green light to carry out murderous attacks against immigrants and leftists. However, the ultimate aim of these racist shock troops of capitalist reaction is the eradication of the whole of the organized workers movement. Immigrant workers are a key component of the industrial proletariat, whether they be Kurds in Germany, North Africans in France or black Africans in Italy. French workers, in a series of mass demonstrations protesting the expulsion of *sans-papiers* over the past two years, have shown the potential for mobilizing the multiethnic proletariat against racist terror. In Germany, a number of protests and strikes have united ethnic German and foreign-born workers, as in last spring's powerful week-long miners strike. The crucial need is to break the workers from the reformist betrayers and the forging of revolutionary workers parties as part of a Leninist-Trotskyist international party.

The petty-bourgeois nationalist PKK calls on the UN and imperialist powers to broker a "political solution" to the Kurdish question in Turkey. The EU is as much an enemy of the Kurds as the Turkish government. A major reason for the recent rejection of Turkey's bid for EU membership was the fear by the German and other bourgeoisies of massive immigration by Kurds and Turks. Meanwhile, the Turkish bourgeoisie jockeys for support between U.S. and German imperialism, while forging a bloody alliance with the anti-Palestinian Zionist rulers of Israel. And when PKK leader Kani Yilmaz visited London three years ago to push for a "political solution," he was arrested and imprisoned for two years before being extradited to Germany, where he is now on trial for leading a "terrorist association." Freedom for Kani Yilmaz!

Spartaco

Italian Trotskyists initiated August 1993 protest in Milano to denounce racist cop terror, call for labor to champion full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

H. Cristoph

Aluminum factory in the Ruhr. Turkish and Kurdish workers are strategic component of industrial proletariat in Germany.

While the Near Eastern bourgeoisies are the immediate oppressors of the Kurdish people, there can be no self-determination for the Kurds without opposing imperialism and its repeated interventions in the area. Following the 1991 Gulf War, Iraqi Kurdistan was declared to be a "safe haven" for Kurds, to be policed by the U.S. and other imperialists under a UN fig leaf. Yet the Turkish regime, armed to the hilt by the U.S. and Germany, has repeatedly invaded this "safe haven" to round up and kill supporters of the PKK.

The national emancipation of Kurdistan requires the revolutionary overthrow of four capitalist regimes—Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria—among which the 25 million Kurds in the Near East are partitioned, and the throwing off of the yoke of imperialist domination. The allies and motor force for Kurdish emancipation are to be found in the proletariats of those countries, who have their own scores to settle with their exploiters. It is vital in those countries to forge revolutionary multinational workers parties committed to the national liberation of Kurdistan through socialist revolution. The Kurdish proletariat in diaspora—in the major industrial centers not only of the Near East but (together with Turks) of West Europe—represents the living bridge between the struggle for the emancipation of the Kurdish nation and proletarian revolution in imperialist West Europe.

This is the perspective of Trotsky's permanent revolution for countries whose capitalist development has been retarded by imperialism: the tasks of political democracy and national emancipation can only be achieved through the seizure of power by the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, linked to the fight for socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries. This perspective requires the construction of Leninist vanguard parties that combat every form of social and national oppression as an integral part of the struggle for working-class political power. For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan in a Socialist Federation of the Near East! Down with imperialist "Fortress Europe"! For a Socialist United States of Europe! For the reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International to fight for new October Revolutions worldwide! This is the task to which the International Communist League is dedicated.■

International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

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WORKERS VANGUARD

DPA

Piscitelli/Arcieri

Desperate Kurdish refugees from Turkey and Iraq have been thrown into concentration camps by popular-front government in Italy.

"Fortress Europe" Bars Kurdish Refugees

ICL Protest Statement

We publish below a January 12 protest statement by the International Communist League denouncing a chauvinist campaign against Kurdish refugees by the West European bourgeoisies. European sections of the ICL have distributed this statement in English, French, German and Italian under the headline: "Down With Racist 'Fortress Europe'! For a Workers Europe! Asylum for Kurds and All Refugees from Right-Wing Terror! Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!"

The Turkish regime's 13-year war against the Kurdish population has devastated Eastern Anatolia, totally destroying some 3,500 villages and forcing more than three million Kurds to flee their homes. Kurds in northern Iraq have also been repeatedly hit by military offensives—most recently last month—carried out by Turkey with the backing of its NATO allies, the U.S., Germany, Italy and France. This comes on top of the seven-year starvation blockade of Iraq following the massacres carried out by NATO/UN troops in the 1991 Gulf War. Yet, when 900 Kurds from Turkey and Iraq, along with other refugees fleeing right-wing terror, arrived last month off the Italian coast in two packed freighters, the European imperialist powers, with Germany in the lead, launched a hysterical, racist campaign against the "refugee flood." The racist masters of capitalist Europe are determined to keep out the victims of right-wing terror, racist persecution and desperate poverty generated by their drive for profit in the neocolonial Third World. The International Communist League demands: Down with the NATO/UN starvation blockade—Hands off Iraq! Turkish army out of Kurdistan! No deportations! Asylum for Kurds and all refugees from right-wing terror!

Capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe has sharpened interimperialist conflicts over the redivision of world markets. This has led to the creation or consolidation of rival trade blocs, such as the European Union (EU), which are reactionary attempts by the imperialists to compete for markets abroad while savagely attacking the working masses at home. The cutting edge of the capitalist offensive is racist terror against immigrants and refugees, who are scapegoated for the growing misery and unemployment created by the capitalist system itself. The ruling classes of Europe have deliberately fomented racist hysteria as the ideological preparation for new imperialist wars and to divide the workers and poison their class consciousness.

Throughout Europe, it is the social democrats and ex-Stalinists who, using their positions of leadership of the organized working class, are doing the racist dirty work for the imperialists. While reformists and centrists support them as a supposed "lesser evil," these parties are, in the words of Lenin, "bourgeois workers parties" based on the organized working class but sworn to protect the capitalist order. The parliamentary governments they form, whether in coalition with the bourgeois parties or alone, are *capitalist* governments, carrying out the anti-immigrant and anti-working-class policies demanded by their bourgeois masters.

In Italy, the coalition government of the ex-Stalinist Party of the Democratic Left (PDS) and various bourgeois politicians enforces one of the most vicious anti-refugee policies in Europe. With the support of Rifondazione Comunista (RC), the other by-product of the breakup of the reformist Italian Communist Party, this racist regime has passed laws that threaten up to 300,000 people with deportation. Last spring, the Italian navy sank a ship in the Adriatic packed with desperate refugees fleeing chaos and poverty in Albania, killing 89. With the blood of this massacre on its hands, Italian imperialism then sent troops to establish "order" in Albania. Meanwhile, thousands of Albanian refugees who made it to Italy were herded into concentration camps and quickly deported. Today, those same camps are used to imprison Kurdish refugees. Responding to German dictates that his government crack down on Kurdish refugees, a PDS minister—speaking on the eve of a meeting of police chiefs from Turkey and the EU—vowed to "fight with the most absolute firmness against illegal immigration."

The policies of the French coalition government of Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin have been as anti-immigrant as its Italian counterparts and as racist as its conservative predecessors. Jospin's popular front—a class-collaborationist coalition of the Socialists and the French Communist Party with bourgeois politicians—was elected on a wave of mass strikes and demonstrations against neo-Gaullist Alain Juppé's racist, anti-working-class policies. Yet the popular front has continued the racist "Vigipirate" campaign in which the army is used to terrorize immigrant ghettos. The government's "new" laws on immigration are in some ways even more restrictive than the reactionary laws of the previous regime! Meanwhile, the *sans-papiers* (undocumented workers) are to get the boot: Jospin toured Morocco, Senegal and Mali last month to prepare the mass deportation of over 100,000 people. And as hysteria was whipped up over Kurdish refugees, massive contingents of French police were sent to seal off the Italian border against Kurds.

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Action Press

Turkish government's war of terror in Kurdistan has forced more than three million Kurds from their homes.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 684 13 February 1998

Down With UN Starvation Blockade!

U.S. Bloody Hands Off Iraq!

FEBRUARY 10—As we go to press, the U.S. has announced the deployment of up to 3,000 more troops to the Persian Gulf. There is already more firepower concentrated in the region than at any time since the Gulf War seven years ago, including 20,000 airmen, sailors and Marines, scores of fighter-bombers and a huge flotilla of cruise missile launchers and other warships, including one British and two American aircraft carriers. Defense Secretary William Cohen threatens that any military strike "would be far more than what has been experienced in the past, certainly since the Persian Gulf war." The Spartacist League, section of the International Communist League, calls for unconditional military defense of Iraq in the event of a U.S. assault. *U.S. hands off Iraq!*

Once again, the American ruling class is intent on butchering Iraqi men, women and children as a show of "strength"—i.e., terror—to the rest of the world. The consequences of this imperialist arrogance are obvious. Yet it took Russia's besotted would-be tsar, Boris Yeltsin, to cut through the smokescreen and warn: "Clinton's actions could lead to a world war. He is acting too brazenly there." This rational observation prompted an uproar in U.S. ruling circles. The *New York Times* (6 February) denounced Yeltsin's "inflammatory words" as "not helpful." Nonetheless, Clinton spokesmen felt compelled to issue a formal disclaimer that "we are able to mount a devastating

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Women and Permanent Revolution in South Africa

Chris Qwazi

Mbuzeni Zulu

ANC neo-apartheid regime perpetuates superexploitation of black working masses and oppression of women: rural poverty (left), women workers at SA Dried Fruit protest racist and sexist degradation on the job.

The following article is based on a presentation at Spartacist League forums in Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay Area by comrade Karen Cole after her return from a visit to South Africa.

It is now nearly four years since Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) proclaimed a "non-racial" South Africa and assumed the reins of government. The election of the ANC-dominated government symbolized the formal end to the entrenched system of racist apartheid. But what exists today is neo-apartheid capitalism, a system which remains based on the brutal superexploitation of black labor. This neo-apartheid regime rules at the behest and in the interests of the white capitalist ruling class, which continues to lord it over the vast majority of black, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian people.

Assisting the bourgeois-nationalist ANC in this are the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the largely SACP-dominated leadership of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), who have joined together in a "tripartite alliance," a nationalist popular front in which the workers organizations are tied to the cart of bourgeois nationalism and, through that, to the capitalist exploiters. The expectations of the black African masses have been widely shattered.

Unemployment among black workers—ranging to levels as high as 50 percent—is, if anything, more severe today than it was before. The ANC's promises of housing for the millions who live in run-down shantytowns in the urban townships or in rural backwaters have proved to be a cruel hoax. Far from eliminating—or even substantially ameliorating—the brutal exploitation, oppression and poverty suffered by the mass of the population, the ANC in government has acted, as we warned it would, as black front men for the white capitalist rulers.

Nowhere is this clearer than in the condition of women in the "new" South Africa. While a February 1997 law legalizing abortion is quite broad on paper, the government won't and can't carry it out. The capitalist class, in general, opposes free access to abortion (except for its own daughters) because it allows women some freedom from total subservience to the family structure. The new law has faced an ideological backlash from the Afrikaner Dutch Reformed church, the Catholic church and traditional tribal leaders.

But the real obstacles to providing access to abortion are the material conditions—no equipment, no facilities, no doctors. Johanneshurg Hospital, the most modern hospital in the country's largest city, can only perform 4 out of the 44 abortions requested every day. In the name of eliminating apartheid "double" facilities, formerly segregated hospitals and clinics are being closed down. In the black townships, many clinics consist of trucking containers welded together. In the countryside, there is one doctor for every 10,000 to 30,000 people. Swamped by epidemic levels of tuberculosis and other diseases of poverty, as well as a sharp rise in the incidence of AIDS, overburdened health care workers can barely

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Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

response without using nuclear weapons," while *refusing to rule out anything*.

Over the past eight years, the U.S. and its allies have already wreaked massive devastation on the Iraqi people. Tens of thousands were slaughtered during the one-sided 1990-91 Gulf War, and many more in subsequent missile strikes against Iraqi population centers, including an attack ordered by Clinton shortly after taking office in 1993. On top of this, the economic embargo of Iraq carried out under the auspices of the United Nations has killed more than a million people—primarily among the poorest and most vulnerable layers—including *well over 600,000 young children*. Iraqi UN ambassador Nizar Hamdoon underlined the horrific impact of this ongoing economic warfare when he pointed out that a new bombing attack would not lead to "even 1 per cent of human casualties that the sanctions have caused. The sanctions are the silent bombardment of Iraq, but no one sees them on the television screens" (*Financial Times*, 4 February). We say: *Down with the imperialist starvation blockade!*

Imperialist Rivalries Heat Up

Various pundits have noted that Clinton's bluster toward Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein, Washington's favorite bogeyman, has increased in proportion to the burgeoning sex scandal at the White House. But that is not what drives American policy in the Gulf. As we wrote when the U.S. last threatened to bomb Iraq a few months ago:

> "Behind the U.S. military moves in the Persian Gulf is the intensified intercimperialist rivalry over Near Eastern and Central Asian oil fields and pipeline routes. The Gulf War was an attempt by the U.S. to secure control of the region through projecting its military power, ultimately aimed against Japan, Germany and other U.S. rivals. Following the collapse of the USSR, conflicting interests between the imperialist 'allies,' which had been subordinated to the anti-Soviet Cold War consensus, have increasingly come into the open."
>
> —"U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf!" (*WV* No. 679, 28 November 1997)

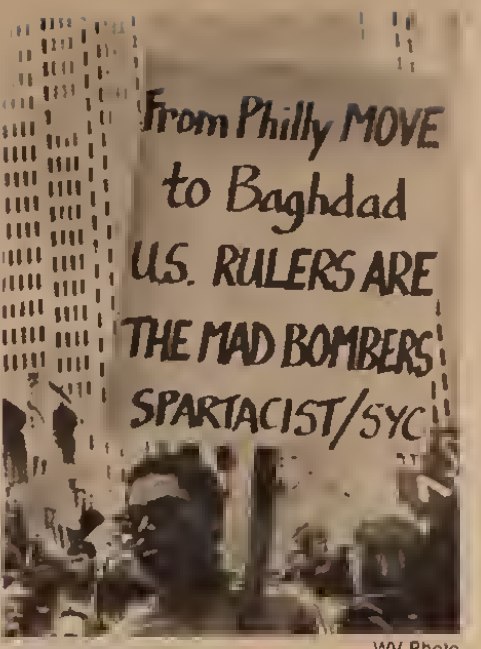
With the exceptions of Canada, Australia and Tony Blair's Britain, the other imperialist powers have made it clear that their support to a U.S. attack is tepid at best. France, whose oil companies along with Russian and Italian interests have signed agreements for a huge share of Iraqi oil production once UN sanctions are ended, has more or less openly opposed a new military attack.

The U.S. gave an example of how it treats its imperialist "allies" last week when an American "Prowler" jet, part of the U.S. expeditionary force stationed in Italy for use in the Balkans, sliced through a cable and sent 20 people hurtling to their deaths in a cable car. Washington initially responded to Italian expressions of outrage by dismissing charges that the pilot had been reckless and denying that it was bound by Italian laws requiring the jet—which had been flying as low as 150 feet—to have been at a minimum altitude of 2,500 feet. This triggered widespread calls by Italian politicians and the population at large for the removal of U.S. bases. While opposing illusions in "democratic" Italian imperialism pushed by the governing social democrats and their "communist" bloc partners, we support the demand for closing U.S. bases in Italy. *U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans! U.S. imperialism—Get your bloody hands off the world!*

Washington has also been unable to garner support for bombing Iraq from its Arab client states. Even the pliant Saudi regime has refused to allow U.S. bases there to be used for bombing runs, and Prince Sultan categorically declared: "We are against striking Iraq as a people and as a nation." For its part, Zionist Israel, which has been passing out gas masks to everybody but Palestinians as part of a war scare, firmly backs the U.S. Israeli troops in the occupied West Bank fired tear gas and rubber-coated steel bullets into a crowd of 500 Palestinians protesting the U.S. war moves against Iraq, injuring 15. And, as was revealed by Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu in 1986, the Zionist state has its own significant nuclear arsenal. For his courageous act, Vanunu was kidnapped and thrown into a windowless dungeon, where he remains to this day in solitary confinement.

As during all imperialist military adventures, the U.S. government and media are working overtime to churn out lies, demonizing "the enemy" and sounding the tocsin for war. Supposedly, the war moves against Iraq are aimed at forcing Saddam Hussein to allow UN "weapons inspectors" free rein in finding and eliminating purported stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons. In fact, there is little evidence that Iraq has such weapons. In any case, since the rudimentary technology needed to produce them is much the same as that needed to produce food supplies and other basic necessities, the U.S. would literally have to bomb Iraq back to the Stone Age to meet its stated goal. Indeed, it was with the justification of going after chemical weapons plants that Washington bombed an infant formula factory on the outskirts of Baghdad during the Gulf War.

Meanwhile, Congressional Republicans are pushing for an all-out assault to topple Saddam Hussein. But as the *New York Times* (6 February) noted, "the only sure way to remove Mr. Hussein is to invade Iraq, occupy Baghdad and either capture the Iraqi leader or force him into exile," entailing the risk of massive American casualties. And that is a risk the U.S. bourgeoisie has been fearful of taking ever since its humiliating military defeat in Vietnam. With the ranks of the military overwhelmingly composed of black, Hispanic and other working-class youth who have little in the way of ideological motivation and are merely looking for a steady income and some job training, an American ground invasion and occupation could be a risky proposition indeed.



WV Photo

During 1990-91 Gulf War, SL called for defeat of racist U.S. imperialism.

All the frenzy over Saddam Hussein's supposed weapons of mass destruction obscures the fact that the American capitalist class maintains not only the world's largest nuclear arsenal but also enormous stores of chemical and biological weapons. And it remains the only power to have used nuclear weapons in wartime, incinerating over 200,000 people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. U.S. imperialism also seriously considered the use of *chemical weapons* against Japan in World War II. The U.S. Naval Institute's *Proceedings* (January 1998) reports on a little-known plan called "Operation Olympic," which would have led to the murder of an estimated *five million* Japanese civilians by dropping nearly 60,000 tons of poison gas in 15 days, and then another 24,000 tons every month until Japan surrendered.

For Socialist Revolution to End Imperialist War!

During the Gulf War, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs raised the call: "Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!" In contrast, liberals and reformist "socialists" sought to pressure the American rulers to "bring the boys home" and pushed UN sanctions—themselves an act of war—as a supposedly "peaceful" alternative to direct American military action. The reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) claimed to oppose sanctions and declared that "in the case of the blockade and in the event of an actual war, we are on the side of Iraq" (*Socialist Worker*, October 1990). But in practice, they tailed the liberals. Thus, the ISO endorsed a January 1991 "Campaign for Peace" march in Washington, D.C. which joined the imperialists in condemning Iraq's annexation of Kuwait and called for UN sanctions. In other words, the ISO endorsed a call to starve the Iraqi people with a blockade backed up by aircraft carrier groups, troops and missiles (see "ISO in the Antiwar Movement," *WV* No. 520, 15 February 1991).

We fight for socialist revolution in the U.S. and internationally as the only way to end the threat of imperialist war. While unconditionally opposing imperialist war moves against Iraq, we give absolutely no political support to the capitalist regime there, which has secured its rule through anti-Communist massacres, anti-working-class repression and bloody subjugation of the Kurdish people. It is the task of the Iraqi proletariat, leading oppressed women and ethnic, national and religious minorities, to sweep away the bloody regime of Saddam Hussein through socialist revolution. The International Communist League is committed to reforging Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution, linking the struggle for the emancipation of the toilers of the Near East to the fight for socialist revolutions around the world, especially against the main enemy of humanity—U.S. imperialism. ■

Democratic Tasks and Permanent Revolution

TROTSKY

LENIN

The various "socialists" who support Nelson Mandela's African National Congress in South Africa implicitly or explicitly embrace the dogma of "two-stage revolution," which ties the proletariat to the bourgeoisie and puts off the struggle for proletarian power to an indefinite future. The October Revolution of 1917 confirmed the perspective of permanent revolution advanced by Leon Trotsky, who argued that the resolution of the historic tasks of the bourgeois revolution in backward Russia required the proletarian seizure of power. Stalin/Bukharin's revival of the Mensheviks' stagist formula paved the way for the bloody defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27. In the wake of this betrayal, Trotsky generalized the program of permanent revolution as applicable to all countries of belated capitalist development.

The peculiarities of a country which has not accomplished or completed its democratic revolution are of such great significance that they must be taken as the basis for the programme of the proletarian vanguard. Only upon the basis of such a *national* programme can a Communist party develop its real and successful struggle for the majority of the working class and the toilers in general against the bourgeoisie and its democratic agents.

The possibility of success in this struggle is of course determined to a large extent by the role of the proletariat in the economy of the country, and consequently by the level of its capitalist development. This, however, is by no means the only criterion. No less important is the question whether a far-reaching and burning problem "for the people" exists in the country, in the solution of which the majority of the nation is interested, and which demands for its solution the boldest revolutionary measures. Among problems of this kind are the agrarian question and the national question, in their varied combinations. With the acute agrarian problem and the intolerable national oppression in the colonial countries, the young and relatively small proletariat can come to power on the basis of a *national democratic* revolution sooner than the proletariat of an advanced country on a purely *socialist* basis....

A country can become "ripe" for the dictatorship of the proletariat not only before it is ripe for the independent construction of socialism, but even before it is ripe for far-reaching socialization measures. One must not proceed from a preconceived harmony of social development. The law of uneven development still lives, despite the tender theoretical embraces of Stalin. The force of this law operates not only in the relations of countries to each other, but also in the mutual relationships of the various processes within one and the same country. A reconciliation of the uneven processes of economics and politics can be attained only on a world scale. In particular this means that the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China cannot be considered exclusively within the limits of Chinese economics and Chinese politics.

It is precisely here that we come up against the two mutually exclusive standpoints: the international revolutionary theory of the permanent revolution and the national-reformist theory of socialism in one country. Not only backward China, but in general no country in the world can build socialism within its own national limits: the highly-developed productive forces which have grown beyond national boundaries resist this, just as do those forces which are insufficiently developed for nationalization.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution* (1931)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tlac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is February 10.

No. 684 **13 February 1998**

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

La Amistad and American Law

The film and publishing worlds are all abuzz over the controversy brewing around the Stephen Spielberg work, *Amistad*, and claims of plagiarism made by acclaimed writer, Ms. Chase-Ribauld. Not having seen it, however, the writer thinks it premature to offer an opinion at this time.

The story of the Spanish schooner *La Amistad* is a very real historical drama that provides some interesting insights into the struggle for freedom in an age of global white supremacy and unbridled capitalist greed that fed on Black misery and stolen labor.

In short, it is the story of how 49 captured and chained Africans, while being shipped from Havana, Cuba to Puerto Principe, escaped from their shackles, slew the crew of slave traffickers, including the captain, leaving alive two Spaniards (Ruiz and Montez) only on the condition that they navigate the vessel back east to Africa. Ruiz and Montez deceived the Africans, who were unfamiliar with navigation, by sailing east during the day, but west by night, thereby bringing the vessel into U.S. coastal waters. When the Africans went on shore for provisions they were met and seized by officers and crew of the U.S. Brig Washington. Once again, these Africans were shackled, this time by officers and representatives of the U.S. government. The schooner *Amistad* was seized for salvage, and Spanish diplomats filed a formal request for the return of their "pirated" property: the boat, its cargo, and 49 Africans, called "ladinoes" in their papers.

Most readers know that the Spanish diplomatic effort failed, and that the Africans prevailed in their suit for freedom, both in the Connecticut District Court and in the U.S. Supreme Court in 1841. Why? At the time of the decision, both America and the Spanish colony of Cuba were firmly held slave societies, each with millions of Africans in bondage. The case began less than 10 years after Nat Turner and his rebels rocked the nation with a slave revolt in Southhampton County, Virginia. Fifteen years after *Amistad*, this same court would rule in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857) that people of the "negro African race" were "regarded as beings...so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

How then, can one reconcile the seemingly liberating message of *The U.S. v. The Libelants, etc., of the Schooner Amistad* with the damning repression voiced in *Dred Scott*?

To read the actual opinion of the court offers us invaluable insights and answers this question. Justice Joseph Story, who wrote the opinion in the case, left little room for the popular illusion that the Amistad case was about slavery—it was really about international law:

> "If these negroes were, at the time, lawfully held as slaves under the laws of Spain, and recognized by those laws as property capable of being lawfully bought and sold, we see no reason why they may not justly be deemed within the intent of the treaty to be included under the domination of merchandise, and, as such, ought to be restored to the claimants:..." (*Amistad*, p. 591)

Having secured counsel, "Cinque" (his real name, Singbe-pieh) and the other captives argued that they were ***unlawfully*** seized in Africa, ***unlawfully*** taken to Cuba, and, as free-born Africans, fully entitled to resist slavery. The lawfulness of the Slave Trade was a crucial issue to the court, but international law was the determinant:

> "Nothing is more clear in the law of nations, as an established rule to regulate their rights and duties, and intercourse, than the doctrine that the ship's papers are but prima facie evidence, and that, if they are shown to be fraudulent, they are not to be held proof of any valid title." (p. 595)

The problem, Justice Story wrote, was that the "negroes"..."had been transported from Africa, in violation of the laws of the United States..." and the "law of Spain itself."

That "Cinque" (Singbe-pieh) and his fellow captives were finally freed from their American captivity by a court composed primarily of slaveowners was a remarkable, and unprecedented, achievement. We are rightly and justly inspired by their passionate struggle for freedom from Spanish and U.S. shackles, and their victory.

For Africans born in the U.S., however, it brought them no closer to freedom.

Unlike the captives of the *Amistad*, international law did not apply to their wretched condition, and for them, as well as those shackled Black millions in Cuba, there was little to celebrate with this decision.

1 January 1998

© 1998 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

To join the fight to free Mumia and for the latest updates on his case, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252. E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy, Waynesburg, PA 15370

A System of Barbaric, Racist State Murder

Abolish the Death Penalty!

We publish below a statement issued by the Partisan Defense Committee following the February 3 execution of Karla Faye Tucker in Texas.

The decision by Texas state officials to execute Karla Faye Tucker, in the face of an unprecedented array of protest both here and internationally, is a statement that the American ruling class will accept no constraints in implementing the ultimate weapon in its bloody arsenal of state repression. Tucker was the first woman to be put to death by the state of Texas since the Civil War. But in the three decades since executions were resumed in this country after a brief pause in the early 1970s, 144 men have been legally murdered in Texas alone.

As he has consistently, Governor George Bush once again refused appeals for clemency or even for a stay, making this the 59th execution he has overseen in his three years in office. But Texas is hardly alone. The death penalty is now the law of the land in 38 of the 50 states. Under Democratic president Bill Clinton, the federal government has extended the death penalty to scores of offenses and gutted the right of *habeas corpus*, paving the way for a massive acceleration of the assembly line of death. Clinton made his intentions clear in 1992, by personally presiding over the execution in Arkansas of Rickey Ray Rector—a brain-damaged, 38-year-old black man—as the centerpiece of his election campaign.

Since the death penalty was reinstituted in 1976, the U.S. Supreme Court has sanctioned the legal lynching of 438 people, including juveniles and the mentally ill and incompetent. In twice turning down Tucker's petitions for a stay, the Court has declared the death chamber to be the last bastion of equal opportunity in this increasingly raw and desperate capitalist society. Two more women await execution in the coming weeks: 54-year-old Judi Buenoano in Florida and Erica Sheppard, a 24-year-old mother of three in Texas.

Karla Faye Tucker was white, a woman and a "born again" Christian. These attributes drew to her cause even such rabidly racist and pro-death forces as right-wing Christian fundamentalist Pat Robertson. Liberal abolitionist Steven Hawkins, executive director of the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, said: "Miss Tucker has given us a human face again." Tucker's face was no more "human" than the nearly 3,400 other people crowding the country's death rows. The distinction is that they are overwhelmingly poor and black or Hispanic; they will never be granted "redemption" in the eyes of this racist capitalist system.

Chicago, 1995: Protest against threatened execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The Partisan Defense Committee is unequivocally opposed to the death penalty because we do not accord to the state the right to decide who lives and who dies. The system of official state murder intensifies the brutality and barbarity of society in all respects, and, in this deeply bigoted capitalist country, it is racist legal lynching, directly descended from the Slave Codes and the subsequent lynch law of Jim Crow which was used to terrorize the oppressed into submission.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal exemplifies what the death penalty in America is all about. A black man, an eloquent writer and radio journalist, a determined fighter against social oppression, Mumia was framed up and railroaded to Pennsylvania's death row on bogus charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman because of his outspoken defense of the tiny MOVE organization, because of his history as a leading activist in the Black Panther Party, because he was and remains a thorn in the side of the racist capitalist rulers and their armed guardians, the cops. Governor Tom Ridge has already announced he will sign a new death warrant immediately if Jamal's current legal appeal is rejected by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. If Texas is the capital of legal lynching, Pennsylvania is "gearing up to be the Texas of the North," as Pierre Sane, the secretary-general of Amnesty International, put it following a recent prison interview with Mumia. Sane added, "In the imposition of the death penalty, Philadelphia is the single most racially biased jurisdiction in the United States. Worse than Georgia. Worse than Mississippi. Worse than Alabama."

The struggle for Mumia Abu-Jamal's life and freedom must be taken up by the powerful, integrated labor movement as the rallying cry for the abolition of the death penalty as a whole. In acting for its own interests and those of all the oppressed, the working class must break the chains with which the labor bureaucracy ties it to the capitalist rulers and the Democratic Party in particular and fight for a workers government.

The death penalty combines the arbitrary cruelty and torture of an earlier era with the ruthless machinery of the modern capitalist state. The lethal injection which was used to kill Tucker is promoted as the sanitized, "civilized" way of death, but it is actually the essence of high-tech barbarity. We salute the simple decency and courage of inmates at the Louisiana State Penitentiary, the notorious hellhole at Angola, who, in 1991, carried out an integrated protest in solidarity with prisoners who refused to build a "hospital examination" table, destined to be used for future executions.

The death penalty is at the forefront of the bourgeoisie's drive for increased state repression to maintain its rule in a decaying system which offers working people fewer rights, fewer jobs, less housing, education and medical care. The rising curve of official executions parallels the unofficial street executions carried out by cops in the ghettos and barrios under cover of the so-called "war on drugs." The racism, barbarism and degradation fostered by the capitalist system will not be done away with this side of a socialist revolution.■

Young Spartacus

Enlightenment Rationalism and the Origins of Marxism

The first four parts of this series, based on two presentations given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour during an SL internal class series last summer on the origins of Marxism, were published in WV *Nos. 673, 674, 675 and 683 (5 September, 19 September, 3 October 1997 and 30 January 1998).*

PART FIVE

To understand the politics of the mature Hegel, it is necessary to understand the meaning of liberalism—both the term and, more importantly, the underlying concept—in the age of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic empire. Liberalism represented a middle ground between reaction and democracy, between right and left.

Reactionaries wanted to turn the calendar back to before 1789, to restore monarchical absolutism—backed by a state church—which would suppress all political and religious dissent. In a formal sense, democracy meant a republic with a government elected on the basis of universal male suffrage. However, democracy also had a strong connotation of social leveling shading into communism, a connotation reinforced by the course of the French Revolution. It was assumed on all points of the political spectrum that if the workers and peasants were allowed to vote in a government, that government would take from the rich to give to the poor. In short, "democrat" in those days was a soft-core term for "red."

Liberalism meant support for a constitutional monarchy in which the king shared power with a parliament representing men of property. Liberals generally favored religious tolerance, considerable freedom for intellectual discourse and government support for scientific investigation and technological progress. They opposed the legal privileges of the nobility and advocated equality before the law (but *not* equality in making the laws). In short, liberalism represented the interests of the bourgeoisie as against the landed nobility on the right and the workers and peasants on the left.

Liberalism in this sense did not come to Germany through revolution or even internally generated reform but through military conquest from without. In 1807, Napoleon defeated the Prussian army at the battle of Jena. He then occupied western and southern Germany, which he proceeded to reconstruct along the lines of post-revolutionary France. In a letter of instruction to his younger brother Jerome, whom he had installed as king of a newly created western German state, Napoleon wrote:

> "What German opinion impatiently demands is that men of no rank, but of marked ability, shall have an equal claim upon your favour and your employment; and that every trace of serfdom, or of a feudal hierarchy between the sovereign and the lowest class of his subjects, shall be done away with. The benefits of the Code Napoleon, public trial, and the introduction of juries will be the leading features of your government.... What people will want to return under the arbitrary Prussian rule, once it has tasted the benefits of a wise and liberal administration?"
>
> —quoted in George Rudé, *Revolutionary Europe 1783-1815* (1964)

When Napoleon wrote of winning over German opinion, he did not, of course, mean the opinion of workers and peasants but that of the bourgeoisie and its intellectual representatives, like Hegel. And to a large extent he succeeded in doing so, at least initially. A few years earlier, the great German composer Beethoven dedicated his Third Symphony, the *Eroïca*, to Napoleon, although he soon became disillusioned with the liberal emperor. Beethoven was more radical and idealistic than Hegel, who remained a loyal supporter of Napoleon to the end, and even after the end. Hegel edited a pro-French newspaper under the Napoleonic occupation and then became head of a prestigious *gymnasium*, equivalent to an elite prep school like Eton in England or Andover in the U.S.

Historia Photo, Bad Sachsa

F. Hirchenhein

Georg Hegel exercised a profound influence on younger generation of progressive German intellectuals as head of the philosophy department in the 1820s at University of Berlin (right), today Humboldt University.

Not all of Germany was incorporated into the Napoleonic empire. The Kingdom of Prussia, while stripped of its western provinces, remained an independent state in northeastern Germany, then a relatively economically backward region. This proved to be unfortunate, not only for Napoleon but for the future course of world history, in other words, for us as well.

Liberalism and Absolutism in Prussia

The defeat at Jena had a traumatic effect on the Prussian ruling class, the so-called Junkers. Dominant elements among them recognized they would have to reform and modernize the Prussian state if it was to survive in the Europe of Napoleon. One of the leading reformers, Prince Hardenberg, who later became Hegel's patron, wrote in 1807:

> "The illusion that one can resist the revolution most surely by holding fast to the old and by vigorously persecuting the principles that hold sway in such times has in fact resulted in producing the revolution and in giving it a steadily expanding influence. The authority of those principles is so great, they are so generally acknowledged and promulgated, that the state that does not adopt them shall be faced either with accepting them forcibly, or with its own downfall."
>
> —quoted in Jacques D'Hondt, *Hegel in His Time* (1988)

The so-called "era of reforms" did not change the class nature of the Prussian state. It remained an absolutist monarchy dominated by the Junker nobility. But the Prussian state acquired a liberal façade which was most visible in the sphere of education and intellectual life. State-funded public schools were provided at nominal fees for all young males, both Protestant and Catholic. This engendered in the educational system a climate of religious tolerance and respect for intellectual discourse.

Following Napoleon's downfall in 1815, Hegel sought to preserve and cautiously extend the liberal reforms and intellectual climate engendered by the French occupation. He denounced reactionary attempts to restore the institutions and conditions of the old Germany:

> "We must oppose this mood which always uselessly misses the past and yearns for it. That which is old is not to be deemed excellent just because it is old, and from the fact that it was useful and meaningful under the different circumstances, it does not follow that its preservation is commendable under changed conditions—quite the contrary.... The world has given birth to a great epoch."
>
> —quoted in Shlomo Avineri, *Hegel's Theory of the Modern State* (1972)

In 1818, Hegel accepted an invitation by the Prussian government to become head of the philosophy department at the University of Berlin, the most prestigious academic institution in Germany. In 1830, he was elevated to rector of the university. He was thus very much an establishment intellectual. It has become common to maintain that Hegel in his last years idealized the Prussian state as the very embodiment of reason in the Europe of his day. This is a distortion or, at any rate, an oversimplification of Hegel's views, one which Marx carefully avoided in criticizing Hegel.

Hegel believed that the Prussian state could organically evolve into one fully representing the principles of reason, not that it actually did so. His principal work of political philosophy, the *Philosophy of Right*, which was written in this period, is implicitly critical of the Prussian state from a liberal standpoint. It advocated a parliamentary-type body representing public opinion, which did not then exist in Prussia. It advocated civil rights for Jews, rights which did not then exist in Prussia. It advocated official tolerance for those Christian sects such as the Quakers and Anabaptists whose members opposed in principle serving in the Prussian army.

In short, Hegel was a liberal by the standards of the Germany of his day. Furthermore, the policies of the Prussian

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government in the 1820s, especially in education and intellectual life, were relatively liberal amid the extremely reactionary conditions of post-Napoleonic Europe. I am emphasizing this because it is necessary to understand the ***subsequent*** divisions and breakup of the Hegelian school after Hegel's death. Had Hegel been a reactionary supporter of monarchical absolutism and Christian orthodoxy, how could a significant current of his followers have become radical democrats, atheists and even communists?

There have been more than a few historical conjunctures over the past 200 years in which young liberal intellectuals have been propelled toward the radical left. The 1960s in the U.S. was such a conjuncture. Most of the older comrades in this room, myself included, began their political activism as liberals. On the other hand, I suspect very few of you, if anyone, first became involved in politics as a flag-waving American patriot, a hardline racist or a religious fundamentalist.

Historisches Museum, Frankfurt am Main

Bibliothèque Nationale

Battle of Leipzig, 1813: Napoleon's defeat by the Russian and Prussian armies ushered in a period of reaction throughout Europe.

Hegel's Philosophy

Hegel has a well-deserved reputation for being the most tortuously obscure, the most impossibly difficult to understand of any major thinker. Key terms in his philosophical system—spirit, reason, reality, existence—are invested with a meaning very different not only from our understanding of them but also from the understanding of other German philosophers in his own lifetime. After Hegel's major work, *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, was published in 1807, the German philosopher Schelling, his friend since their university days, complained in a letter to Hegel that the book made no sense to him. So if you've tried reading Hegel and given it up as hopeless, you have a lot of company.

There's another reason that Hegel is difficult for us to understand that has as much to do with us as with Hegel. When we consider the concept of god and religious ideas, we naturally have in mind the Judeo-Christian tradition. In this tradition, god is an all-powerful supernatural patriarch. God gives Moses the Ten Commandments on Mount Sinai; he destroys Sodom and Gomorrah to punish the sinfulness of their inhabitants. God is the big boss, the top honcho. As they say in the mafia, *il capo di tutti cappi*, the boss of all bosses.

But Hegel's god is not the great mafia don in the sky. His conceptual framework was rooted in ancient Greek philosophy. In a sense, he was the last of the ancient Greek philosophers and was regarded by his followers as the Aristotle of the modern age. It's no accident that as a young Hegelian philosopher, Marx chose to write his doctoral dissertation comparing two schools of ancient Greek philosophy.

In ancient Greek philosophy, the line between the profane and the divine is *not* between the natural and the supernatural but between the ephemeral and the eternal. The human body is regarded as profane because it is subject to decay and death. Mathematics, on the other hand, is divine because it embodies eternal and unchanging truths. The square root of four is always two, from the beginning of time to the end of time. Similarly, the value of pi as the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter is unchanging. Thus, for Plato, Aristotle and their followers the study of mathematics is divine not because it endows one with magical powers but because one thereby acquires knowledge of that which is eternal and unchanging. The same is true for philosophy and also astronomy, since the ancient Greeks believed that the heavenly bodies were fixed in space.

Hegel's conceptions are rooted in ancient Greek philosophy, especially neo-Platonism, and also in certain currents of Christian mysticism. A key element of this tradition is that god exists *through* man, through his consciousness and faith, not outside and independently of man. Thus the medieval German mystic Meister Eckhart wrote: "The eye with which God sees me, is the eye with which I see Him, my eye and His eye are one.... If God were not, I should not be, and if I were not, He too would not be" (quoted in J.N. Findlay, *Hegel: A Re-Examination* [1958]).

For Hegel, god—which he prefers to call "the absolute"—is *not* a supernatural entity but a process of formation. He thus gives divinity a historical character: there is a single, necessary chain of development from the primordial creation of matter to the highest level of human consciousness attained by philosophy. Nature is considered to be a lower phase in the self-development of the absolute, with spirit as the highest phase. Hegel writes:

> "Nature is by no means something fixed and finished for itself, which could also exist without Spirit; rather does it first reach its aim and truth in Spirit. Just so Spirit on its part is not merely something abstractly beyond nature, but exists truly and shows itself to be Spirit, insofar as it contains nature as subjugated in itself."
>
> —quoted in *Hegel A Re-Examination*

What Hegel means by "spirit" are those intellectual activities—art, religion, philosophy—by which man appreciates and seeks to comprehend the totality of existence.

For Hegel, lower levels of human culture and civilization give rise to higher levels marked by greater knowledge and spiritual maturity. This process culminates in what Hegel terms absolute knowledge, the point at which man comprehends the entire previous course of nature and spirit. The achievement of absolute knowledge by man is at the same time for Hegel the achievement of god's own self-consciousness: "God is only God if he knows himself; furthermore, his knowing himself is his self-consciousness in man and man's knowledge *of God* which leads to man's knowledge of himself *in God*" (quoted in Nicholas Lobkowicz, *Theory and Practice: History of a Concept from Aristotle to Marx* [1967]).

Hegel is not only tortuously obscure but is regarded as a very humorless guy. Well, Voltaire he ain't. Nonetheless, he seems to have had a bit of a sense of humor and even a capacity to make light of his own ideas. On one occasion, he concluded a lecture to his students with these words:

> "A new epoch has arisen in the world. Finite self-consciousness has ceased to be finite; and in this way absolute self-consciousness has, on the other hand, attained to the reality which it lacked before. This is the whole history of the world up to the present time.... I bid you a most hearty farewell."
>
> —quoted in Robert C. Tucker, *Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx* (1972)

So what are we to make of it all? In a sense, Hegel's concept of spirit is an idealization and generalization of human intellectual and cultural activity. A composer might think of a new piece of music before he writes the notes on paper or plays it on a piano. Beethoven was composing great music when he was totally deaf and couldn't hear it played on instruments the way other people heard it. A poet might compose a poem in his head before he writes it down on paper or recites it aloud. A computer programmer might have a new program in mind before he sits down at a keyboard and transforms it into electrical impulses. In intellectual activity, ideas often precede and determine their material and public manifestations.

For Hegel, man—in the natural, biological sense—is to thought what a piano is to music: man exists so that thinking can exist. For materialists, it's the other way around: thinking exists so that man can exist and survive. And let's not be human chauvinists about this. Thinking exists also so that wolves and cats can exist. Take my cat Bubula, for example. She thinks so that she can catch birds and swipe my lunch meat when I'm not looking. She does not catch birds and swipe my lunch in order to contemplate the world spirit. In fact, she doesn't think much about the world spirit at all since she can neither eat it nor play with it.

Europe in 1811: Napoleonic Empire reorganized western and southern Germany on a bourgeois-liberal basis, removing vestiges of the old feudal order.

Does History Have a Conscious Aim?

A modern student of Hegel, J.N. Findlay, accurately defined his philosophy as teleological idealism:

> "He employs throughout the Aristotelian notion of teleology or final causation, and he holds Mind or Spirit to be the final form, the goal or 'truth' of all our notions and the world.... Hegel's thoroughgoing teleology means, further, that nothing whatever in the world or our thought can have any meaning or function but to serve as a condition for the activities of self-conscious Spirit."

Teleological idealism ascribes to nature and/or history a purpose or goal of its own. Much human activity, especially labor, is teleological. What people do and the order in which they do it is often determined by what they want in the future. Before a carpenter builds a wooden table, he has a plan on a blueprint or a computer disc for what that table will be like. How he selects the wood, measures the wood, cuts the wood, treats the wood is determined by the desired end-product. If the table is to be three feet high, he'll cut the legs three feet in length, not two feet or four feet.

Human activity—whether individual or collective—can be teleological because men have a consciousness which enables them to link what they want in the future to what they do in the present and in the intervening period. But nature and history do *not* have the conscious capacity to plan and determine their own futures. In *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels scathingly criticized teleological idealists, for whom

> "later history is made the goal of earlier history, e.g., the goal ascribed to the discovery of America is to further the eruption of the French Revolution. Thereby

continued on page 6

Enlightenment...

(continued from page 5)

> history receives its own special goals and becomes 'a person ranking with other persons' (to wit: 'self-consciousness, criticism, the unique,' etc.), while what is designated with the words 'destiny,' 'goal,' 'germ,' or 'idea' of earlier history is nothing more than an abstraction from later history, from the active influence which earlier history exercises on later history."

Since Marx rejected and opposed teleological idealism, why then are Hegel's philosophical conceptions an important constituent element of Marxism? Centrally because Hegel was the first major thinker to maintain that human nature was social nature and that it therefore changed and evolved through the historical development of civilization. He rejected and opposed the prevailing Enlightenment view that human behavior was governed by unchanging biological needs and impulses such as the instinct for self-preservation. Similarly, he rejected and opposed the conception of society as a collection of atomized individuals whose behavior could be understood independently of their historically given culture. Here is the crux of Hegel's criticism of Enlightenment thought in this regard:

> "If one thinks away everything that might even remotely be regarded as particular or evanescent, such as what pertains to particular mores, history, culture or even the state, then all that remains is man imagined as in the state of nature or else the pure abstraction of man with only his essential possibilities left. One can now discover what is necessary in man merely by looking at this *abstract* image."
>
> —quoted in Lewis P. Hinchman, *Hegel's Critique of the Enlightenment* (1984)

In his "Theses on Feuerbach"—as we shall see, Feuerbach was a throwback to Enlightenment naturalism—Marx makes exactly the same point: "The essence of man is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations."

One of the most influential doctrines of the last period of the Enlightenment was utilitarianism, developed by the Englishman Jeremy Bentham. This doctrine held that the behavior of all men was motivated by the desire either to obtain pleasure or avoid pain. Hegel regarded utilitarianism as an empty and trivial truism, since what is pleasurable and painful for members of a given culture at a certain level of historical development is different than for members of another culture at a different level of development. Greenland Eskimos and German philosophy students both strive to attain pleasure and avoid pain. But Eskimos would find reading Hegel quite painful and German philosophy students are unlikely to take much pleasure in eating walrus blubber.

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Berlin factory in 1840s. Hegel's political doctrines represented the interests of the German bourgeoisie against both the conservative landed nobility and the working masses.

Hegel was the first major thinker to maintain that how men think and act is primarily governed by their own self-created culture and not by natural law.

Progress Publishers

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Ludwig Feuerbach (left) and David Strauss, leading figures in the Hegelian left.

As Marx wrote in one of his then-unpublished early works, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, "Hegel conceives the self-creation of man as a process.... He thus grasps the essence of *labour* and comprehends objective man—true, because real man—as the outcome of man's *own labour*." However, he then adds the important qualification: "The only labour which Hegel knows and recognises is *abstractly mental* labour"—that is, art, religion, philosophy.

The materialist understanding of the "self-creation of man" through labor is clearly and succinctly stated by Marx and Engels in *The German Ideology*:

> "History is nothing but the succession of the separate generations, each of which uses the materials, the capital funds, the productive forces handed down to it by all preceding generations, and thus, on the one hand, continues the traditional activity in completely changed circumstances and, on the other, modifies the old circumstances with a completely changed activity."

Hegel: Reason and Reality

Central to Hegel's political philosophy is the view that the actual course of history is governed by the self-development of the "world spirit." He writes: "A people has the constitution which corresponds to the consciousness which the world spirit realizes in that people." During the Napoleonic wars, Hegel asserted:

> "Through consciousness spirit intervenes in the way the world is ruled. This is its infinite tool—then there are bayonets, cannon, bodies. But the banner [of philosophy] and the soul of its commander is spirit. Neither bayonets, nor money, neither this trick nor that, are the ruler. They are necessary like the cogs and wheels in a clock, but their soul is time and spirit that subordinates matter to its laws."
>
> —quoted in Avineri, *Hegel's Theory of the Modern State*

Hegel's most famous aphorism is "what is rational is real and what is real is rational." This is not only ambiguous, but its two parts are implicitly contradictory. If what is rational is real, then what is not rational is fated to disappear. But if what is real is rational, then the world as it currently exists is by definition rational. Furthermore, world history is subject to major reversals. If Napoleon's victory over the Prussian army in the battle of Jena represented the progress of reason in history, as Hegel maintained at the time, then how could the victory of the Prussian army over Napoleon six years later at the battle of Leipzig also represent the progress of reason?

Hegel, however, did not regard the march of reason in history like it was the Prussian army on parade, one measured step forward after another. He allowed that there may be periods in which reason is thrown into a retreat, as well as sideways marches and a good deal of meaningless shuffling around. Here Hegel's terminology becomes very confusing because he distinguishes "reality" from "existence," the German words being *wirklichkeit* and *dassein* respectively. Reality is that which conforms to reason, while existence is merely that which happens to exist. As Hegel puts it: "All else, apart from this actuality established through the working of the concept itself, is ephemeral existence, external contingency, opinion, unsubstantiated appearance, falsity, illusion and so forth" (*Philosophy of Right*).

Since I was initially scheduled to give this educational first in Chicago, where some of the older comrades are into playground basketball, I figured I'd use playground basketball to explain the difference between reality and existence in the Hegelian sense. Say you're playing and the ball is kicked out of bounds and is picked up by a 12-year-old kid. He wants to play. He does his Michael Jordan imitation. He fakes left, he fakes right, he drives to the hoop. If Hegel were watching this, he'd say: "This is not a real basketball player but merely the unsubstantiated appearance of a basketball player." But let's say the kid hits a couple of outside jump shots. Then you'll say, "Hey, this kid's for real. Let him play."

So that's the problem. How do you know what's really real and what's merely existent? In a war between two major states, how do you know which side represents the progressive development of the world spirit and which is a dead remnant of the past? Here Hegel cops out with the most famous metaphor in philosophical literature:

> "One word more about giving instructions as to what the world ought to be. Philosophy in any case always comes on the scene too late to give it. As the thought of the world, it appears only when actuality is already there cut and dried after its process of formation has been completed.... When philosophy paints its grey in grey, then has a shape of life grown old. By philosophy's grey in grey it cannot be rejuvenated but only understood. The owl of Minerva spreads its wings only with the falling of the dusk."
>
> —*Philosophy of Right*

Minerva is the ancient Roman goddess of wisdom and the owl was her symbol. So what Hegel is saying is that the progress of reason in the world can be judged only in hindsight.

This political stance, which Hegel adopted in the 1820s, was possible only because that was a period of reactionary stabilization throughout Europe. There were no major wars, no revolutions, no serious threats of revolution. In Germany there weren't even any significant social or political conflicts. Minerva's owl could thus muse about the past in peace and tranquility.

But let's say that in 1825 a popular revolution in France overthrew the Bourbon monarchy, and revolutionary France then went to war with Prussia. The head of the philosophy department of the University of Berlin could hardly say, "I'm neutral. I'll wait for the outcome, think about it a while and then determine which combatant embodied the world spirit." Hegel's above-the-battle political posture was untenable except in the historical short term. Thus, within a decade of his death in 1831 his followers broke up into increasingly hostile factions.

Emergence of the Hegelian Left

The break first came on the religious front. Hegel considered himself to be a devout Christian of the Lutheran persuasion. He maintained that religion expressed in the language of symbol and metaphor the same truths which philosophy expressed in the language of logic. He believed that Jesus Christ represented that point in history when man became aware of his own divine nature. However, Hegel's philosophy was not really compatible with Christian orthodoxy. As a modern scholar, Nicholas Lobkowicz, put it in his *Theory and Practice*, Hegel claimed "that man has become capable of Knowledge in the most far-reaching and daring sense, that is, of an Absolute Knowledge ascribed by Christianity to God alone."

Even during his lifetime, Hegel's views were attacked as heretical by religious fundamentalists—the so-called pietists in Germany—and these attacks escalated after his death. At the same time, some of Hegel's followers argued after his death that his philosophy transcended Christianity. In 1835, David Strauss published *The Life of Jesus*, in which he maintained that Jesus was a mythological figure created by the Hebrew people, similar to other religious-mythological figures. More fundamentally, Strauss argued that the world spirit operated through human-

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Anti-Smoking Hysteria Against Teenagers

Government, Butt Out!

Undercover plainclothes cops stalk the alleyways and parking lots behind public schools. Hidden surveillance cameras monitor favorite hangout spots. Hordes of laboratory technicians analyze gallons of potentially tainted urine. The efforts of counterintelligence agents to uncover terrorist spy networks? A national dragnet to locate suspected serial killers? No, these are just the latest tactics being employed by local officials across the country to stamp out that traditional American rite of passage—teenage smoking.

In Gothenburg, Nebraska, where such police-state methods are now being used, anyone under 18 caught smoking a cigarette can be fined from $35 to $100. In Nashville, Indiana, an 18-year-old high-school athlete was barred from playing the season's final football game when traces of nicotine were found in the cup he was forced to piss in. And in five states across the country, being young and having a pack of Marlboro Lights can get your driver's license revoked, get you a fine of $1,000 or even a sentence of up to six months in a youth detention center!

As if being young in this country wasn't hard enough—with rotten schools, crummy jobs and a bleak future in general—now the government has decided to set its vicious cops and other agencies of state repression on those youth who get some enjoyment or relief out of smoking or chewing tobacco. America has a whole slew of repressive laws that are aimed at those the government labels as "minors." From the laws against underage smoking and drinking to the reactionary "age of consent" laws governing consensual sexual activity to state regulation of what is "acceptable" clothing or "appropriate" artwork for youth, the bourgeoisie wants youth to be submissive, complacent and totally subservient to the institutions of capitalist society—the state, the church and the family. The last thing that the racist rulers of this country want is a generation of "spoiled" youth who somehow believe that they have any right to make decisions concerning their own lives and who question official religious and political creeds. Public high schools are increasingly making it against the rules—often punishable by suspension or expulsion—to engage in *off-campus* activity that they deem wrong, including smoking and drinking within the privacy of students' own homes.

In the United States, before you're old enough to legally consume alcoholic beverages, you still have to register for Selective Service. Which is probably not coincidental. Behind these latest attacks, which even the *New York Times* (7 December 1997) labeled "draconian," lies the ruling class' desire for a new generation of an obedient and regimented population which will unquestioningly follow orders. For those kids unable to find decent jobs in America's deindustrialized economy, there will always be a place open in the army as efficient cannon fodder to be expended in the Balkans, the Korean peninsula, Iraq or wherever else American imperialism wants to stage its next bloody slaughter.

Solomayor/NY Times

Ban on teen smoking is part of increasing social regimentation of youth by capitalist rulers. At NYC high schools, cops subject students to metal-detector checks.

The anti-smoking crusaders see attacking the rights of youth as their way to intensify their general attack on the rights of anyone to smoke. Youth, who in most states are legally barred from smoking until their eighteenth birthday, are generally considered to have no rights and to be the property of their parents. Thus, they are easy targets in the sights of the health-nut yuppies and medical industry cost-cutters. As we wrote in "Anti-Smoking Tyranny: Bourgeois Hypocrisy and 'Health Fascism'," (*WV* No. 612, 9 December 1994): "In the last few years, the beansprout totalitarianism and 'health fascism' nurtured among California La La Land yuppies has mushroomed into a nationwide big-business crusade aimed at turning the country's 50 million smokers into pariahs and criminals." Now California has introduced even more repressive laws. There, they want to ban smoking from all public buildings including the last public refuge of the smoker: bars.

These latest triumphs in the campaign of the "health fascists" really have nothing at all to do with the health or welfare of the general public. As both Democrats and Republicans go after social services and health care programs with their budget-slashing axes, they turn around and blame the sick for the diseases they contract and deny them access to medical benefits. As well, the insurance companies would love to save a lot of money by reducing the number of smokers on their rolls. And if they can get people to stop smoking while still young, all the better. Like most things in this society, it all boils down to capitalist profits.

We don't deny the harmful effects that smoking can have on the smoker. However, this is quite beside the point. As Marxists who are fighting for a world of social abundance and individual freedom, we think it is a simple democratic right that all people, whether or not they happen to be 18 years old, should be able to read, eat, drink, smoke and enjoy whatever other consensual activities that they want without the cops, courts, employers or health-fanatic totalitarians interfering. We say: Government, butt out! ■

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ity as a whole and not merely through those who embraced Christ as savior. "Is not the idea of the unity of divine and human natures a real one in a more lofty sense," he asked rhetorically, "when I regard the entire human race as its realization than if I select one man as its realization?"

It was Strauss who first used the terms left, center and right to describe the divisions within the Hegelian school. He was referring to the respective attitudes toward Christianity, not toward the Prussian state. But since Prussia was officially a "Christian state," repudiation of Christian orthodoxy necessarily had political implications. Even though he was not at all a political radical, Strauss was subjected to such fierce denunciations by the ecclesiastical and academic establishment that he emigrated to Switzerland.

While Strauss repudiated Hegel's Christianity in the name of his philosophical principles, other Hegelians repudiated Hegel's political quietism, symbolized by the night-flying owl of Minerva. In 1838, August von Cieszkowski, a Polish count, published *Prolegomena zur Historiosophie*, which translated means "A Foreword to the Wisdom of History." Cieszkowski maintained that Hegel was wrong and inconsistent in asserting that man could acquire knowledge only of the past but not of the future. By studying past history and current developments, Cieszkowski claimed, one could project the future—not in specific detail, to be sure, but in broad outline. Hence men could and should actively support the progressive development of the world spirit, not merely contemplate it after the fact. Thus Cieszkowski declared that man need no longer be a "blind instrument either of chance or of necessity" but had become the "conscious master builder of his own freedom." "Humanity," he maintained, "has become mature enough to make its own determinations perfectly identical with the Divine Plan of Providence" (quoted in Lobkowicz, *Theory and Practice*).

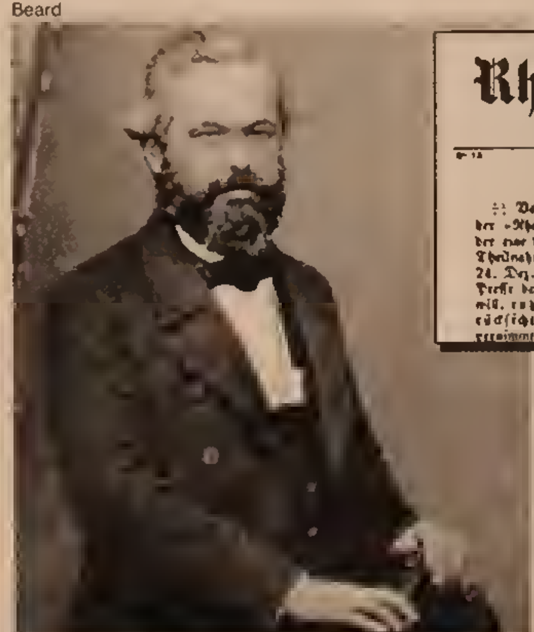
Cieszkowski was a left Hegelian as that term was then used, but he was not a leftist in the political sense. Like Hegel, he was a moderate liberal and therefore opposed to democracy, not to speak of social revolution. He was also a Polish nationalist. The belief that intellectuals should involve themselves in politics in order to realize their principles and ideals is not inherently leftist or even liberal. After all, religious fundamentalists and fascists, too, are very hostile to the existing state of affairs and want to change the world in accordance with their ideals.

Why then did most of those Hegelians who favored political activism rapidly evolve toward the left, toward radical democracy and even communism? Initially, the left Hegelians shared Hegel's liberal political outlook and respect for the Prussian state. In 1838, Arnold Ruge, a key figure in this movement, declared: "If the state contains within itself, as does Prussia, a reforming principle, then there is neither the necessity nor the possibility of a revolution" (quoted in David McLellan, *The Young Hegelians and Karl Marx* [1969]). This statement had important implications for the future. First, it implies that the Prussian state needs to be reformed, and second, that if it proves unreformable, then revolution is both necessary and possible.

In 1840, the old king died. His son and successor was a religious fundamentalist who was more active in imposing his monarchical authority. Thus both government policy and general ideological climate moved to the right. Censorship was tightened. The left Hegelians were purged from their teaching posts in the universities; even the moderate Hegelians lost their former high status in the German academic establishment. This academic "red" purge directly affected the young Marx, whose expectation of a university appointment was dashed.

The rightward shift in political conditions adversely affected not only the left-Hegelian intellectuals but also the liberal bourgeoisie, which was strongest in the Rhineland, then the most economically developed region of Germany with the closest cultural affinities to France. For a brief period, the left-Hegelian intellectuals became spokesmen and publicists for a bourgeois-liberal opposition. The main expression of this collaboration was a newspaper, the *Rheinische Zeitung*, subtitled "For Politics, Industry and Commerce." The paper's chief financial backer, Ludolf Camphausen, would later be named Prussian prime minister during the revolution of 1848.

Beard



Rheinische Zeitung

Politik, Handel und Gewerbe.

Deutschland.

Von der Mosel, im Jan. Die Nro. 346 und Nro. 348 der «Rheinischen Zeitung» enthalten zwei Artikel von mir, wovon der eine die Holznoth an der Mosel, der andere die besondere Theilnahme der Moselaner an der Königl. Kabinetsordre vom 24. Dez. 1841 und der durch sie bewirkten freieren Bewegung der Presse betrifft. Der letzte Artikel ist in groben und wenn man will, rohen Farben gemalt. Wer unmittelbar und häufig die rücksichtslose Stimme der Noth in der umgebenden Bevölkerung vernimmt, der verliert leicht den ästhetischen Takt, welcher in den

Karl Marx first entered the political stage in the early 1840s as editor of the bourgeois-liberal *Rheinische Zeitung*, a newspaper "For Politics, Trade and Industry."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

take care of upper respiratory illnesses and paraffin fuel poisoning from dangerous primitive stoves. Only a revolutionary overthrow of the existing capitalist system can even *begin* to address the health needs of women and remove this murderous degradation and misery.

Another burning issue is the migrant labor system, which forces families to separate, so men working in the cities take city wives and country wives, while men in the rural areas may simply take multiple wives as personal slaves and more sources of income. Yet the migrant labor system remains a key underpinning of neo-apartheid capitalism. Mandela cannot dismantle it because these institutions assist in making labor-intensive gold mining so profitable for the imperialists. Today, some ANCers sit on the boards of directors of these companies. A revolutionary vanguard party would expropriate the mine owners and industrialists without compensation.

The growing discontent of the masses, including women workers, is evident in South Africa. One of the first strikes to challenge the ANC-led government was a strike of nurses in September-October 1995, and it was also one of the first to be smashed (see "Mandela Regime Cracks Down on Black Labor," *WV* No. 637, 19 January 1996). The nurses denounced Mandela as the "driver of the gravy train." The "gravy train" is the shorthand derogatory name for the thin layer of blacks who have made it in the "new" South Africa. The nurses were abandoned by the SACP and the COSATU bureaucrats, who called the strike "counterrevolutionary." In the aftermath of the strike, 60,000 nurses were fired in the Eastern Cape, where the local government was headed by the SACP. This is the strikebreaking face of nationalism. More recently, COSATU has postponed and canceled protests to demand family leave and childcare provisions which it supports on paper.

The Spartacist group of South Africa, section of the International Communist League, seeks to forge the Bolshevik workers party which is desperately needed there. We fight for a black-centered workers government that would take power from the "Randlords" in Johannesburg and Cape Town and their imperialist backers in the City of London and Wall Street. Only then will there be genuine national and social liberation for the black majority, and democratic rights for coloureds, Indians and other Asians as well as those whites who would accept a government centered on the black working class.

Spartacist

Government fired 60,000 nurses after September 1995 wildcat in which strikers carried signs reading "Away with Mandela." Below: desperately understaffed and underfunded clinics are incapable of providing decent health care for black masses.

Gisèle Wulfsohn/Impact Visuals

Combined and Uneven Development

To provide a theoretical cover for its participation in the strikebreaking capitalist government of the racist South African rulers, the reformist SACP preaches the Menshevik program of "two-stage revolution"—"democratic" capitalism today and socialism some time in a future that never comes. This program has historically been a recipe for bloody defeats. What two-stage revolution has meant from China in 1925 to Indonesia in 1965 and Chile in 1973 is the mass murder of communists and workers.

If there were ever a country crying out for socialist revolution, South Africa is it. The black masses have suffered decades of apartheid terror and murder, and continue to be ground down by the industrial and mining magnates, the Randlords, and by the Wall Street and City of London financiers, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The intense contradictions of South Africa exemplify what Leon Trotsky called "combined and uneven development." Everywhere you see aspects of advanced capitalism side by side with abysmal backwardness. This is the country that performed the first heart transplant in 1967. Now the hospital unit where this happened is shutting down for lack of funds, while millions have no access to any health care at all. The militant, unionized black miners extract the gold and precious metals which are traded by the world's wealthiest people on the capitalist markets, and then these same workers, when they get a day or two off from their murderous labor, return to visit their wives, who mostly live in homes with no electricity or water.

We traveled from the modern, fortress-like white-flight suburbs north of Johannesburg to Soweto, center of anti-apartheid struggle for years, at the far opposite end of the city. Huge mounds of mining waste separate Johannesburg from Soweto. There are miles of identical tiny four-room houses with no indoor plumbing on red dirt streets with no signs and no stores of any kind. On one side of the street, you can see a coloured township; on the other, the black township. Interspersed with what is called "formal housing" is the "informal housing"—huge squatter camps made up of bits and pieces of scrap wood and corrugated metal—whose residents are taxed even for outdoor waterspouts. You can also see the "hostels," bleak all-male workers' barracks. Crowds of unemployed youth hang out on the main roads.

As we drove along the highway toward the border of Swaziland in the northeast, we saw squatter huts and leantos littering the roadside. One rural youth said to me, "Soweto is as good as it gets for black South Africans." The white farmers have been expelling black farm laborers en masse, in fear that the government will offer the laborers legal rights to the land they work, and that they will bring their families with them. The dispossessed continue to pour into the cities, as do thousands of others from the impoverished rural areas, driven by illusions that under the ANC there would be jobs and housing. In one squatter town in the West Rand—perched, like a number of others, on dolomitic ground containing massive, dangerous sinkholes—some 80,000 residents are served by seven water taps.

Having undertaken an extension of electrical wiring, the government now considers this effort a big mistake. People can't afford electrical appliances, can't repair them and many can't even read the directions on how to use them. Meanwhile, whole townships have had their electricity cut off for nonpayment —by some of the same people who led the township protests in the 1980s. These cuts have provoked widespread protests, but the government argues that apartheid is over and now you have to pay your bills. The logic of the ANC's bourgeois-nationalist program requires the repression of struggle to maintain an "investor-friendly environment" for their imperialist masters.

South Africa confirms in an exceptionally clear way Leon Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution. What we mean by "permanent revolution" was shown by the victorious 1917 Russian workers revolution. In the backward countries in this century, the epoch of imperialist decay, the democratic gains achieved by the earlier European bourgeois revolutions can no longer be carried out by bourgeois nationalists like the ANC, who are weak and dependent on their imperialist masters. Having already divided up the world for exploitation, a handful of the most powerful bourgeoisies economically strangle the masses of the former colonial countries. Neither national independence nor agrarian revolution is possible within the constraints of the capitalist system. Only a socialist revolution, with the proletariat at its head, can begin to liberate the working class, the peasantry and all the oppressed, particularly women. The fight for proletarian power in the backward countries must be linked to a perspective of workers revolution in the imperialist centers.

Under British rule, South Africa's tribal laws were codified to suit the colonial administrators' need to control the population in order to allow for profits to be reaped unchallenged. Under apartheid, tribal chiefs like Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Zulu-based Inkatha—party of the tribal chieftains who continue to hold sway in the old rural areas—were groomed as collaborators and agents of the racist regime. Today, Mandela continues conciliating Buthelezi and Goodwill Zwelithini, who are considered constitutional monarchs in the new nation. In fact, the abortion bill was held back a year so as not to alienate Inkatha, which opposes abortion.

From its inception in 1912, the ANC has always had a nationalist program —albeit with more "socialist" rhetoric when it was in opposition—promoting the false ideology that all people who live within the borders of South Africa have a common interest which stands higher than class divisions. In the "new" South Africa, the tiny white ruling class continues to own 87 percent of the land and 90 percent of the productive wealth. And the ANC is committed to maintaining the capitalist status quo, whose bedrock has always been and *continues to be* the superexploitation of black labor.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

As Marxists, we understand that the productive forces constitute the skeleton, the economic structure of society. All the legal, political, religious and cultural relations are aspects of the superstructure resting on top of the productive forces. Capitalist exploitation is enforced by the state—an organ of class oppression made up of the cops, the courts, the prisons and the army. Women are specially oppressed through the institution of the family, an economic and social unit which is a mainstay of social reaction along with organized religion. Poor and working-class women are the slaves of the slave and serve the purpose of raising a new generation of exploited toilers.

Far from alleviating the condition of women, the introduction of capitalism by the imperialists led to the perpetuation and reinforcement of the most retrogressive aspects of tribal culture—for example, *lobola*, the bride price. The system of enforced polygamy, an institution for the enslavement of women, is also an example of a barbaric ancient custom—a remnant from an agricultural and slave culture—which was reinforced by apartheid capitalism. The process of inculcating these customs starts early: girls are kidnapped at a young age and forcibly

Der Spiegel

Zulu migrant workers near Johannesburg are forced to live in bleak barracks separated from their families.

held in so-called "ritual schools," where older women instruct them in total subservience to men and how to be the bearers of traditional culture to the next generation.

Men purchase wives—who are often still children—traditionally paying for them with livestock, now usually with cash. When the wife bears children, they become the man's property as well; so the woman loses her children if she leaves him. This system—in which women are totally subservient appendages of the male laborer—suits the modern mine and factory owners. And by pitting low-paid women workers against their class brothers, modern capitalism seeks to undermine wage gains achieved through union struggles. This generates hostility against working women. It is no surprise that rape and other violence against women are widespread in South Africa today.

The fate of women and their struggle for full emancipation is tied to the proletarian class struggle against capitalism. We fight to end patriarchal practices oppressive to women, like the polygamy system and the bride price—legacies of social backwardness which are upheld by tribal reactionaries in league with the capitalist rulers. Since the beginning of class society thousands of years ago, the institution of the family has been the fundamental source of the subjugation of women as dependent domestic slaves. In a socialist planned economy, the family as a social unit will be replaced by socialization of childcare and household duties. Only then can relationships be entered into freely and without economic compulsion.

We champion full equality for women and their full integration into the workforce. We call for equal pay for equal work and free, safe abortion on demand as part of free, quality health care for all. The elimination of women's oppression requires a tremendous leap from the existing material conditions—and this can *only* be achieved through socialist revolution, not only in South Africa but through the creation of an ***international planned economy*** based on elevating human production for the needs of all. In other words, the liberation of women cannot be carried out apart from the emancipation of the working class as a whole. We seek to build an internationalist revolutionary party, a tribune of all the oppressed, which leads the proletariat in sweeping away the capitalist system worldwide.

T Dollaart

Mozambicans scramble across border into South Africa. ANC-led government enforces deportations of immigrant workers, refugees.

From Apartheid Police State to Neo-Apartheid "Democracy"

Those who became politically conscious in the 1990s may not fully appreciate just how grotesque was the racist system which twentieth-century capitalism created in South Africa. Apartheid was not just an extreme case of the sort of Jim Crow segregation seen in the American South. African blacks, who make up about 80 percent of the population, as well as the smaller groups of coloureds and those of East Indian origin, were all made foreigners, pariahs in their own land. Black landowners were evicted from all areas deemed to be "white," i.e., from any piece of land worth anything. Nonwhites had no ownership rights; all movement was controlled by pass laws; intermarriage was forbidden.

Human beings were reduced to "labor units"—that was the term commonly used—and stored in workers' barracks. The Riotous Assemblies Act and the Suppression of Communism Act banned all political activity which created "feelings of hostility between European inhabitants...and the Coloured and Native inhabitants." Violators could be instantly expelled from the district or even the entire country. Many were, and many were simply assassinated by the police.

The Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and many other laws were aimed at completely separating the races: 90 percent of coloureds were restricted to the Western Cape and 90 percent of Indians were restricted to Natal in the east. Every urban area had separate enclosed residential sections, whose creation required massive forced population transfers. Any integration and tribal mixing, which was natural in an increasingly urban population, was consciously reversed. Whole towns that had been integrated were leveled. At the museum now, you can see remnants of Cape Town's integrated District 6, which was bulldozed. It was a fact of life to be jailed repeatedly for pass-law violations, and jail often meant torture and death.

The Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act prohibited all sexual contact between the races. The Abortion and Sterilisation Act of 1975 was aimed at controlling the black population. Women laborers and Soweto schoolgirls were forced to take contraceptive injections, and there were many forced sterilizations and IUD fittings. Meanwhile, back-street abortions killed thousands of black women. Black women could not sign contracts nor inherit any property.

So-called "bantu homelands" were carved out of the least arable, desolate land where there was no economic means of support. The idea was that men would migrate to the mines, live in barracks, work nearly to death, and then return to their "homeland" when they were no longer productive. Women and children remained in the bantustans hundreds of miles away unless a woman managed to escape—leaving her children behind for other family members to raise—to become a domestic servant for some white family. In the white residential suburbs of Johannesburg, you still see groups of uniformed black maids and nannies sitting on the street curbs during their breaks.

After the 1994 elections, the most liberal bourgeois-democratic constitution in history was penned. Here's a sample quote: "The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth." But these fine words *cannot be carried out* because achieving even these elementary democratic rights requires smashing the rapacious profit system, which has been left untouched. In fact, the constitution is also explicit about defending the right to private property—just in case someone should take the ANC's past socialist rhetoric seriously.

AP

"Power-sharing" for racist capitalist rulers: Nelson Mandela (center) joins Thabo Mbeki, successor as head of ANC, and former apartheid leader F. W. De Klerk in applauding new constitution, 1996.

Imperialism and ANC Nationalism

With the exception of the Spartacists, all self-proclaimed socialists in South Africa support, in one form or another, the ANC-led "tripartite" government, a *bourgeois* regime. In the 1994 elections, we opposed a vote to the ANC or any of the other components of the nationalist popular front, calling instead for proletarian class independence. The ANC's "rainbow nation" and "nation-building" rhetoric provide a cover for continued capitalist immiseration and anti-immigrant terror, as well as for the South African bourgeoisie's regional imperialist aspirations. When the Congo's Laurent Kabila made some noise about a rail nationalization, it was Nelson Mandela himself who intervened to object because the railroad was partly owned by imperialist interests. Thabo Mbeki, who recently replaced Mandela as head of the ANC, wines and dines with billionaire Bill Gates and oversees the capitalist austerity measures that the World Bank demands.

The nationalist ANC defends the same state borders that the British colonialists arbitrarily drew in 1910 for the old Union of South Africa, borders which have no relationship to tribal or ethnic groupings. Immigrant workers from across these borders are horribly abused; for example, white farmers recruit Mozambican laborers, then call the cops on payday to have them deported. The cops, courts and military that enforced apartheid have remained intact. Now top ANC women government ministers run a profit-making deportation center filled with desperate immigrant workers. The ANC touts this as an example of blacks seeking "a stake in the economy"—women get to take part in cutting the throats of the South African and immigrant working masses.

Another "nation-building exercise" is Desmond Tutu's ongoing Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings, where vicious apartheid murderers are amnestied. These hearings are intended as a safety valve to defuse the just anger of those whose families and comrades were murdered, tortured or imprisoned by the bloody apartheid regime. What's important here is that the murderers and torturers are ***still in power!***

Some may ask, "Why can't the Mandela regime change this?" Reformists and liberals hail the ANC for leading the "liberation" struggle and claim that the victory against apartheid was ensured by the economic sanctions imposed by the Western imperialist powers. This is a fraud. How, then, did Nelson Mandela come to be catapulted from the horrors of imprisonment in Robben Island to the pinnacle of government in Cape Town?

Increasingly, the rigid structures of apartheid had begun to collide with the need for skilled black labor to increase profits. At the same time, the growth of a powerful and organized black proletariat posed an ever-sharper challenge to the entire system of apartheid capitalism. The township revolts and mass stayaway strikes of the mid-1980s cracked the apartheid state's rigid controls over the urban black working masses. In 1985, the powerful COSATU labor federation was formed, combining many of the burgeoning black industrial unions. The level of social ferment was reflected in the fact that many black workers and youth openly espoused the cause of communism and were drawn—mistakenly—to the SACP.

The installation of the ANC-dominated government in 1994 was also directly

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ICL Pamphlet

Letters and articles presenting the Marxist position on key questions of debate on the South African left: for revolutionary proletarian opposition to the "neo-apartheid" government of the now bourgeois-nationalist ANC; the debate over a "mass workers party"; the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution vs. the doctrine of "nation-building" in colonial and neocolonial countries.

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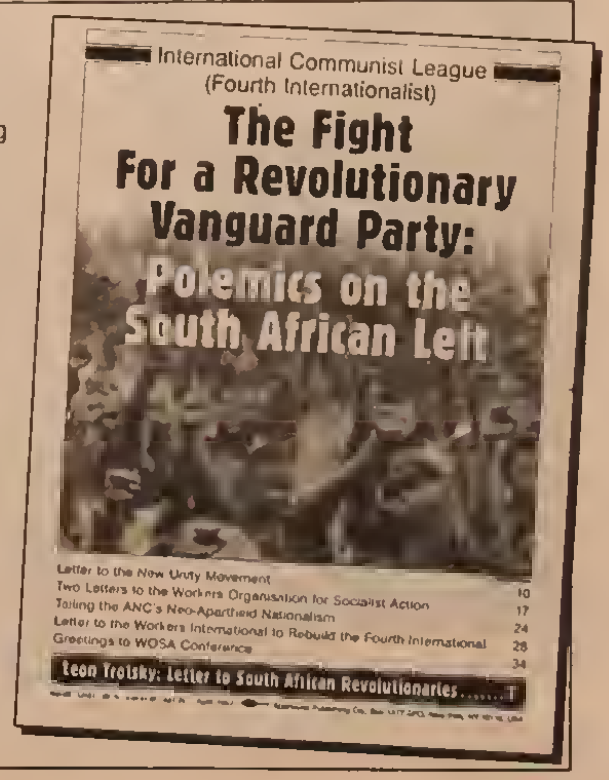

South Africa...

(continued from page 9)

connected to the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union earlier in the decade. The Soviet Union had sponsored the ANC and the closely allied SACP. Like other petty-bourgeois nationalist movements in the "Third World," the ANC sought to maneuver between Moscow and Washington. But with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR, Mandela & Co. went pleading to the U.S. and other imperialist powers. His imperialist sponsors brokered the "power sharing" deal between the ANC and the apartheid Nationalist Party, and celebrated in every Western financial center when it succeeded.

Women and the Anti-Apartheid Struggle

Historians who try to write about the struggles of black women in South Africa have noted that this history is difficult to reconstruct because writing about it was banned. Nonetheless, there is a long history of black women activists organizing against apartheid pass laws, boycotting high rents, mobilizing against transport fares and defending the right to brew beer.

Until 1913, only men had to carry passes. From 1913 through 1920, black women carried out one of the only successful early protest campaigns against the pass laws. Women in the Orange Free State refused to carry passes, and hundreds were thrown into jail. The jails in small rural towns grew so full of women resisters that many were carted or marched to jails elsewhere. The government finally backed down, and women did not carry passes until the 1950s, when they moved to the cities in increasing numbers. In 1956, a march on Pretoria to protest the pass laws drew 20,000 women—mainly black, but also including coloured, Indian and white. As protests continued around the country, the apartheid rulers responded by burning homes to the ground and carrying out beatings, shootings, arrests and banishment. In the Sharpeville massacre of March 1960, police opened fire on thousands of blacks demonstrating against the pass laws, killing 69.

As growing numbers of coloured, Indian and black women became part of the modern proletariat after World War II, women workers also began to play a leading role in labor struggles. In the 1940s and '50s, food and canning workers in the fruit-growing areas of the Western Cape were largely led by women, both coloured and black. In the Transvaal, black women were driven into the cities because of growing impoverishment, and over half were employed in the clothing industry. The garment workers union there organized a branch for black women even before it allowed in black men. In 1954, unionized black women in Johannesburg protested racist pay reductions in the face of constant attempts by the employers to pit white, black and coloured workers against each other. Two years later in Port Elizabeth, the cannery owners were forced to back down as black women led factory-based protests against the pass laws.

The pass laws were part of the increasingly draconian laws about residence requirements, movement restrictions and exclusions from union organization which drove women out of the urban areas—and out of employment. For many, all that was left in the cities was domestic service. Nevertheless, black women continued to enter industry, and the 1970s and '80s marked a rise in militancy. Massive strikes in Durban from 1972 to 1974 nearly brought the city to a halt. These strikes were very significant. They shattered the atmosphere of intimidation and enforced silence that had been imposed on the country in the wake of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. In some textile mills, African women were the first to down tools.

In 1973, women rag sorters in Pinetown came out on strike. By the end of the day, every factory of one of the largest multinational corporations in Natal had been shut down by strikes which lasted up to seven days and ended in wage concessions. Strikes spread through 1974 in the Eastern Cape mills where black and Indian women were concentrated. By 1980, when more massive strikes broke out, women made up 70 percent of the workforce in the mills. In Port Elizabeth, coloured women fighting for union recognition sparked an international boycott of Eveready batteries in 1978. In the South Cape, black and coloured women led the most significant strike in the food and canning industry in the 1970s, achieving victory after seven months and a national boycott.

Forge a Bolshevik Workers Party!

Political groups which are simply the left wing of the existing capitalist order cannot liberate women, or anyone else for that matter. Petty-bourgeois nationalists like the Azanian People's Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress, as well as the reformist and centrist left, all play the role of pressure groups on the ANC and project some long period of capitalist stability for South Africa. For its part, the reformist SACP is the chain that binds the most militant and class-conscious workers to their class enemies through the nationalist popular front. As part of the fight for a revolutionary proletarian party, we seek to split the most politically advanced workers from the SACP.

The Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA), linked to the reformist Socialist Action group here in the U.S., was behind the "Workers List Party" (WLP) which ran in the 1994 elections. We extended critical support to the WLP because it ran *against* the ANC and drew a crude class line against bourgeois nationalism. But while claiming to pose a working-class alternative, it never directly criticized the ANC as a capitalist party. In fact, WOSA consistently echoes the ANC's "nation-building" rhetoric and denies the reality of the ethnic and tribal conflicts that are being exacerbated under the bourgeois ANC government. More recently, WOSA has been trying to put together an anti-Leninist lash-up which dismisses the continuing relevance of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution (see "'Death of Communism' Confab in South Africa," *WV* No. 682, 16 January).

Rand Daily Mail

Women played heroic role in anti-apartheid struggles: 1957 Johannesburg protest against pass laws (above), 1959 women's demonstration in Cato Manor near Durban subjected to bloody assault by apartheid cops.

Laurie Bloomfield

Gubb/J8 Pictures

Reformist SACP betrays aspirations of pro-communist workers, carries out capitalist dictates as part of new government.

The reformist Socialist Workers Organisation, which is the counterpart to Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain and the International Socialist Organization in the U.S., supported the ANC in 1994. The hallmark of this outfit was its capitulation to Cold War imperialism, refusing to defend the remaining gains of the Russian Revolution and cheering the capitalist counterrevolutions which destroyed the Soviet degenerated workers state and the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe.

The October Revolution showed the way forward for countries like South Africa. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, the capitalist class was expropriated and a workers state was erected on the foundations of a planned, collectivized economy—the precondition for an egalitarian socialist society. This happened in a country with a small but socially concentrated working class, a large, backward peasantry and many national minorities. The Bolshevik Revolution was the greatest defeat for world imperialism and the greatest victory for the world working class. It represented an enormous leap particularly for women.

The Bolsheviks understood that you cannot simply abolish the economic functions of the family, you must replace it. The Soviet government immediately removed all impediments to legal equality, giving women the right to vote, breaking the hold of the church over marriage and divorce by making them simple matters of civil registration. The Bolsheviks legalized abortion, set up literacy schools, outlawed discrimination against homosexuals, abolished the concept of illegitimacy, established day-care facilities, communal dining rooms and laundries. In an isolated, backward country, their efforts could only hint at the possibilities for women had socialist revolution spread to the advanced industrial countries. The consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy, whose nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" glorified the backwardness of the young Soviet state and opposed international extension of the revolution, led to a reversal of many of the Bolsheviks' policies in regard to women as well. We stand in the revolutionary ***internationalist*** tradition of the Bolsheviks.

For South African workers, revolutionary internationalism is a matter of life and death. A proletarian revolution there would immediately face the imperialists, particularly America's ruthless rulers. One obvious and central ally of a black-centered workers government in South Africa would be class-conscious black workers in the U.S. American blacks have always seen in South African apartheid an image of their oppression as a race-color caste here, and a revolutionary party in the U.S. will have a large black component. These links can only be forged through the construction of internationalist vanguard parties in South Africa and the U.S. And it is only through the fight for Trotskyist parties as part of a reforged Fourth International that the struggle for women's emancipation everywhere can go forward, because only such a vanguard party has a program to liberate them. For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For a Bolshevik workers party, a tribune of the people! For world socialist revolution!■

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"Family Values"...

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censorship laws justified in the name of "protecting" children from pornography, while access to abortion for poor and rural women in particular has actually decreased.

"Family values" based on religiosity, chastity and the like constitute a conservatizing ideology to regiment the population and prop up bourgeois "law and order," aimed at justifying the family, the key institution for the oppression of women in class society. This entails glaring hypocrisy: mothers are supposed to stay home and care for their kids—unless they're on welfare, in which case they're supposed to leave their kids at home with no babysitter and go out to work. For the bourgeoisie, the family is of value in ensuring that property is transmitted from one generation to the next through "legitimate" heirs. The proletariat, for its part, is meant to produce future generations of workers to be used as fodder for capitalist exploitation. But what meaning do "family values" have when applied as a normative prescription to those who have no property to transmit? For the idealized "middle class" (which, according to America's bourgeois ideologues, is defined to mean everyone with a job), the moral injunctions of this never-never land amount to: sell your daughters only in marriage and only for a pittance.

In countering the attacks on her husband, Hillary Clinton pointed, with some plausibility, to a "vast right-wing conspiracy." Whitewater "special prosecutor" Kenneth Starr is a former Bush appointee who has already spent over $30 million, fielding an army of FBI agents, in his search for something, anything to hang on the Clintons. The Rutherford Institute, a far-right Christian "think tank" headed by an anti-homosexual bigot, is sponsoring Paula Corbin Jones' sexual harassment suit against Clinton. Former Nixon dirty trickster Lucianne Goldberg, who spied on George McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign, set up "Monicagate" by getting a disgruntled low-level Bush administration leftover to secretly tape Lewinsky's rambling confidences about her crush on "Schmucko" Clinton. Goldberg is the "literary agent" for Mark Fuhrman, the fascistic former LAPD detective who came to symbolize the whole system of racist cop frame-up when his repeated spewing of bigoted epithets and blatant set-up methods emerged during the criminal prosecution of O. J. Simpson.

There are certainly plenty of right-wing Republicans itching to get even with the Democrats for the Watergate investigation which blew Nixon out of the White House in the 1970s. But by the time he was forced to resign, "Tricky Dick" had become a liability to the ruling class. He had not only been caught ordering break-ins against the bourgeois opposition party but had come to embody U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat on the battlefields of Vietnam. Even then, the bourgeoisie was loath to go for impeachment, fearful that this would damage the "sanctity" of the imperial presidency.

Italian magazine *Panorama* caricatures "Sex and Power" in puritanical America with parody of poster for movie about *Hustler* publisher Larry Flynt.

But Clinton has been a competent and reliable servant for the American ruling class—vastly expanding the racist "war on crime," axing welfare, launching the assault on Social Security and generally causing immense misery and human suffering in order to keep profits soaring. At the same time, his popular support has been cushioned by the much-touted "boom" economy. Still, in this deeply irrational country, there's plenty of room for irrational cabals by far-right Christian yahoos. Several days into the Lewinsky scandal, the New York *Daily News* blared from its front page, "Out of Control."

It was Democrat Jimmy Carter, a "born again" Christian, who helped propel Bible Belt Moral Majority types like Jerry Falwell into mainstream respectability within the Republican Party. Beating the pulpit for racist "ethnic purity" and confessing to "lust in his heart," Carter launched a drive for "moral rearmament" aimed at burying the Vietnam syndrome and socially regimenting the population in preparation for Cold War II. Religious reaction at home—and abroad, witness U.S. support to the *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan—was a handmaiden of the imperialist offensive to foment capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union.

Aiding and abetting the Moral Majority reactionaries were right-wing feminists like anti-porn demagogue Andrea Dworkin, who augmented the fundamentalists' arsenal against "sin" and "lust" with rhetoric against "women's degradation." Dworkin now whines: "Women of Hillary's age—my age—have a responsibitity not to let the men who are our peers exploit and destroy younger women" (London *Guardian*, 29 January). Echoing the sexist myth of women as eternal victims, Dworkin and her ilk provide ideological ammunition for reactionary "age of consent" laws, whose latest victim is Mary Kay Letourneau, a Seattle teacher who will spend the next seven years of her life behind bars, charged with "statutory rape" for a love affair with a 14-year-old student. Joining Dworkin & Co. are dyed-in-the-wool liberals like *New York Times* columnist Bob Herbert. Herbert's loyalty did not waver even when the Democratic president signed the anti-welfare law consigning millions of black women to homelessness and hunger. But now he is up in arms because Clinton may have had "sex with a 21-year-old intern"—the ultimate disenchantment.

Falling in step behind these disillusioned feminists and liberals is the social-democratic International Socialist Organization (ISO), which declaims, "Rarely has the bankruptcy of politicians been so clear." The New York City ISO has been advertising meetings with titles like "Caught in Sex Scandal! What About the Crimes Clinton Gets Away With?" and "Clinton: Sex, Lies and Broken Promises." Does the ISO consider sex in the White House a crime? And what are the "broken promises"? Clinton came through on his promises to *his* class—to "end welfare as we know it," to escalate imperialist military intervention against Bosnia and Iraq in the name of "humanitarianism" and "democracy," to try to strangle Cuba. Liberals with a thin veneer of socialist rhetoric, the ISO promotes illusions in reforming the Democratic Party of U.S. imperialism, and the capitalist system it upholds.

It is notable that the legal basis for sexual harassment suits is an amendment added by a Dixiecrat Congressman to Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act with the aim of getting the whole bill voted down. Since then, particularly through the efforts of Dworkin sidekick Catherine MacKinnon, this has been used to deem virtually any sexual innuendo or consensual relationship involving an employee and a superior at the workplace as harassment. On the campuses, this has been manifested in the "date rape" witchhunt and a proliferation of *in loco parentis* anti-sex "conduct codes," including outright bans on *any* sexual contact between teachers and students. A particularly vindictive case in point is that of Yale math professor Jay Jorgenson, a talented teacher and researcher who was hounded out of his job and any teaching position after a female student claimed she'd had a *consensual* sexual relationship with him (*New Yorker*, 9 February).

As communists, we fight against any manifestation of the racist abuse and victimization routinely meted out to women, blacks and other minorities. The anti-sex witchhunt serves to ideologically reinforce the deep oppression and exploitation suffered by the vast majority of women in this country. We oppose all laws against so-called "crimes without victims"—e.g., drugs, prostitution and the numerous anti-homosexual statutes still on the books. Down with reactionary "age of consent" laws! Government out of the bedroom!

Throughout much of the world, the U.S. is seen as downright weird for its obsession with the private lives of its public officials. The French press made a point of recounting how former president François Mitterrand's widow and mistress grieved together at his funeral bier. When conservative columnist George Will warned sternly of Clinton's supposed lack of "moral authority" to send young people into battle against Iraq, liberal Alexander Cockburn dismissed this as absolute nonsense, noting: "During the first World War, when 7000 British soldiers a day were dying on the Western front, the British prime minister was David Lloyd George, aka 'the Welsh goat,' who was consorting openly with his secretary, Frances Stevenson, and jumping every woman incautious enough to come within arm's length of him."

Sex is no crime. The real crimes of the American ruling class and their political ringmasters in the White House are monstrous and murderous. Bill Clinton won his spurs to represent the U.S. bourgeoisie during his first run for the presidency, when he returned to Arkansas to personally oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man, Rickey Ray Rector, just as the Gennifer Flowers affair was emerging. And in April 1993, Clinton and his attorney general Janet Reno unleashed the biggest government slaughter of American civilians in the 20th century, ordering the incineration of nearly 100 men, women and children at the racially integrated Branch Davidian commune near Waco, Texas. Today, Clinton yearns for his own "desert slaughter" against the Iraqi people. These are the crimes for which Clinton and his class will be condemned in the court of the victorious world proletarian revolution. ■

Abortion Rights...

(continued from page 12)

rights, particularly for teens—has led to a sharp decline in the availability of abortion. This is especially true in the South, but throughout the U.S., 84 percent of all counties do not have abortion facilities.

As part of the fight for free abortion on demand, we call for mass, militant defense actions, backed up by the social power of the labor movement, to disperse the rightist mobs which besiege the clinics and provide cover for deadly terror attacks. In contrast, liberal feminists like the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League—tailed by various reformist "socialists"—have demobilized clinic defense by placing their faith in the Democratic White House and the capitalist cops and courts. Yet Clinton has repeatedly expressed his willingness to sign legislation outlawing late-term abortions, the current spearhead of the drive to ban all abortions.

Speaking at a February 2 protest called by NOW in New York City against the Birmingham bombing, a Spartacist League spokesman counterposed a class-struggle program to the feminists' reliance on Clinton's Democrats:

> "It's important to understand that these bomb-by-night terrorists and killers are encouraged by the war on the poor, minorities, immigrants and other oppressed people carried out by both capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans, who are starving women and children. Clinton has overseen a sharp assault on poor and minority women. He's axed welfare, he's cut health care and childcare, and there are no abortions allowed at all on military bases. The fight to defend abortion and women's rights can't be separated from the struggles of all working people and minorities against the all-sided attacks of the capitalist class. That's why we call for the building of a revolutionary workers party. Defend the clinics—Take a stand! Free abortion on demand!" ■

Spartacist Forum

Break with the Democrats—For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Mobilize the Integrated Power of Labor to Fight for Black Freedom!

Wednesday, February 18, 7:30 p.m.

New York University—Loeb Student Center, South Lounge Theater
La Guardia Place and Washington Square South, Manhattan

NEW YORK CITY For more information: (212) 267-1025

WORKERS VANGUARD

"Right to Life" Killers Bomb Birmingham Clinic

The heinous bombing of the New Woman, All Woman Health Care Center in Birmingham, Alabama on the morning of January 29 underscored the growing—and deadly—threat to the right to abortion. The attack left one person dead and another seriously injured. Amid the scorched wreckage, nurse Emily Lyons was found lying in a pool of blood—blinded in one eye and with major leg wounds—as was the mangled corpse of a security guard, Robert Sanderson. The bombing came only one week after the 25th anniversary of the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion nationwide, and one year after an abortion clinic in Atlanta was struck by two bombs.

The Birmingham clinic is a key facility because it serves women from the entire region. A week before the bombing, 500 "right to life" thugs had tried to shut it down. Similar mobs have blockaded the clinic for years, threatening patients and clinic workers. In claiming responsibility for the attack, a right-wing outfit called the "Army of God" ominously threatened "anyone" in the United States associated with the manufacture or distribution of the French abortion pill RU 486. This group also claimed to have carried out the 1997 bombings of the clinic in Atlanta and a lesbian nightclub there. These night-riding terrorists are a deadly threat not only to women and gays but to all minorities, particularly blacks. Recall that Birmingham was where KKK killers murdered four young black girls in a church in 1963!

Reuters

WV Photo

February 2 protest in New York City against bombing of Birmingham, Alabama women's clinic by anti-abortion bigots.

Defend Abortion Rights!

The latest bombing is part of an escalating wave of attacks against clinics and abortion providers, the deadly auxiliary to the efforts to roll back abortion rights in Congress and the courts. In 1993 and 1994, two abortion doctors and an escort were shot dead in Pensacola, Florida by gunmen linked to the KKK. Also in 1994, two clinic workers were murdered in a barrage of gunfire in Brookline, Massachusetts. These murderous attacks and the daily harassment of abortion-seekers and clinic workers—combined with the imposition of "waiting periods" and other severe legislative restrictions on abortion

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"Family Values" Reaction, Sex and the White House

For weeks now, the media have breathlessly retailed reams of gossip about what President Clinton did (or did not do) in the privacy of the Oval Office with enthusiastic White House intern Monica Lewinsky. This farcical media circus, which had *Nightline*'s Ted Koppel solemnly wondering whether oral sex really constitutes adultery, has its dark side. *Wag the Dog*, the new movie about a president faking the invasion of a small country as a diversion from a sex scandal, is Hollywood fantasy. But large numbers of very real human beings are soon likely to be slaughtered, as Clinton prepares to unleash his genuinely criminal lust to bomb Iraq back to the Stone Age.

While this country is increasingly soaked in religious (and other) backwardness, the population at large has seemed far less perturbed about a *Melrose Place* presidency than the pundits and politicos; Clinton's approval rating has soared. It's worth noting that beneath all the public puritanism, pornography is a multibillion-dollar industry which dwarfs the returns from Disneyland, Broadway and major league baseball combined. Moreover, the notion that even the president of the United States could be brought down by sex snoops does not sit well with many people. Voicing a widespread sense of repugnance at this prying, one woman in Illinois told the *New York Times* (3 February): "I don't want people asking questions about the President's sex life because I don't want anyone asking about mine."

When Democrat Gary Hart was forced to withdraw from the presidential primary races in 1987, we observed: "Government has no business interfering in private life, which means basically sex. The corollary is that the private life of people in government should be nobody's business either. Interesting, perhaps, but a little screwing around is no crime against humanity, unlike the vicious imperialist wars—both open and secret—against everyone and everything that interferes with capitalism's profits" ("Bush in the Bushes? Bedroom Snoops Sink Gary Hart," *WV* No. 428, 15 May 1987).

Clinton won the presidency in '92 largely because millions of women were repulsed by the Republicans' anti-abortion platform. But the reactionary "family values" crusade which has now engulfed the White House has been amply promoted by Clinton and his party—from the "don't ask, don't tell" sham which has led to even wider persecution of gays in the military to the ever more ominous

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Action Press

Aral/Sipa

Anti-sex liberals, feminists amnesty capitalist chief Clinton's crimes: Branch Davidian commune near Waco, Texas incinerated by federal agents, 1993; Baghdad residential district flattened by U.S. missile strike.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 685

27 February 1998

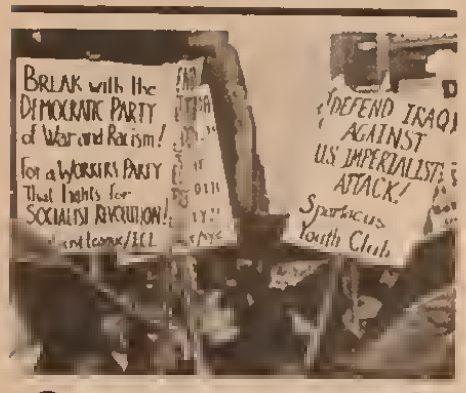
Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Class Struggle!

Down With U.S. War Moves in the Persian Gulf!

Defend Iraq Against Imperialist Attack!

We publish below a February 24 statement by the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S.

U.S. president Clinton yesterday announced conditional acceptance of the deal worked out by United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan and Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. The Iraqi leader has reportedly offered to comply fully with imperialist dictates for "weapons inspection," eliminating the pretext for Washington's threat to carry out a renewed round of mass murder against the Iraqi people. But the threat of a massive military slaughter is far from over. Clinton immediately warned Iraq of "serious consequences" if Washington does not get what it deems to be full "compliance."



Spartacus Youth Club Protests

SEE PAGE FIVE

Washington emphasized that it is not about to withdraw the massive array of firepower it has assembled in the Persian Gulf—over 300 warplanes, 32 ships and 30,000 troops. Should bombing and missile strikes go ahead, the International Communist League proclaims forthrightly, as we have in protest statements and demonstrations around the U.S. and internationally over the last two weeks: *Defend Iraq against imperialist attack! Down with the UN starvation blockade!*

The grudging American response to the latest deal exposes the utter cynicism of Clinton's pratings about desiring a "peaceful," "diplomatic" resolution to this crisis manufactured by U.S. imperialism. The bellicose threats and the deployment of a huge armada are not about inspections or an alleged Iraqi arsenal of biological and chemical weapons or even about Saddam Hussein, who was installed in power with the help of Washington and London. As we wrote last issue, "Once again, the American ruling class is intent on butchering Iraqi men, women and children as a show of 'strength'—i.e., terror—to the rest of the world."

Behind the war buildup in the Gulf is the drive by U.S. imperialism to assert its "right" to ride roughshod over the colonial and semicolonial peoples of the world and to demonstrate to its imperialist rivals that the massive American arsenal of destruction continues to make it top dog. In a military conflict pitting U.S. imperialism against semicolonial Iraq, it is the duty of the proletariat internationally to stand militarily with the Iraqi people. The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the ICL, fights to forge a revolutionary party of the multiracial proletariat to *defeat U.S. imperialism through class struggle*. Workers revolution is the only road to peace!

Whether or not America's capitalist rulers decide *this time* to *yet again* rain death and destruction on Iraqi men, women and children does not change by one iota the rapacious and murderous character of this imperialist system. The liberals, pacifists and reformist "socialists" who are again, as they did at the time of the 1990-91 Gulf slaughter, pleading "No blood for oil" and begging the imperialist rulers to "let Iraqis live" betray thereby their illusions in the possibility of a "peaceful" and "humane" capitalism. Even under conditions of "peace," over a million Iraqis, including more than 600,000 children, have died in the past eight years as a result of UN sanctions. The UN is, as Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin called its League of Nations predecessor, an imperialist den of thieves, whose purpose is to police the oppressed of the world on behalf of the capitalist masters.

War is the continuation of politics by other means, wrote the German military strategist Clausewitz in the 19th century. Imperialist war is the concentrated expression of the "normal" brutal workings of the capitalist system, which daily condemns countless numbers of people around the world to death by malnutrition, lack of medical care and industrial "accidents." The threat to bomb Iraq into the Stone Age is of a piece with the use of the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund to impose misery and starvation on the workers of Southeast Asia, Mexico and elsewhere in order to keep interest payments flowing into the coffers of Chase Manhattan and Citibank.

AP

Massive military buildup in Persian Gulf is show of terror by U.S. imperialism. Below: Iraqis protest U.S./UN starvation blockade which has killed over a million people, mostly children.

Le Nouvel Afrique-Asie

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, a world-historic defeat for the international proletariat, sharply intensified interimperialist competition, leading to a renewed scramble among the three major powers—the U.S., Japan and Germany—to redivide markets and spheres of exploitation. In the drive to increase their profit margins, the capitalist rulers have also escalated attacks on workers, minorities

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The Spectre of Spartacism?

The following letter was submitted for publication on February 20 to the New York Times, *which has not yet deemed it fit to print.*

To the Editor:

The frenzied reaction of White House officials in the face of questions and opposition at the Ohio State town hall meeting—which would have been considered a tame day in the British Parliament—is a measure of the government's intolerance of any dissent against their plans to terror-bomb Iraq. Instead of a controlled meeting in the American "heartland" to support the bombing of Iraq, Clinton's war cabinet got an uncensored taste of public opinion questioning why the U.S. was going to blast away Iraqis for no credible reason.

So now the White House spin doctors are trying to turn the crowd at Ohio State—which ranged from war veterans to antiwar protesters—into "Marxists." A front-page article in today's *New York Times* (20 February) titled "Clinton Sets Out to Revive Support for Stand on Iraq" quotes an anonymous White House aide arguing that there wouldn't have been any opposition if there had been better White House advance people who "wouldn't have given tickets to the Spartacist League."

The Spartacist League forthrightly opposes the U.S. war moves and imminent terror bombing of Iraq. Although we had no direct presence at the Ohio State town hall meeting, we stand with those who voiced their opposition to the bloody war plans of the U.S. government. At speakouts and protests around the country we have rallied in defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack and in opposition to the UN's starvation embargo which has killed over one million Iraqi people, including over 600,000 children. While standing foursquare on the side of the Iraqi people against U.S. attack, we say it is the business of the Iraqi working class to get rid of the capitalist regime of Saddam Hussein.

Behind the reaction of the White House to the Ohio State meeting lies the not-so-veiled threat of clamping down on any opposition. This is of a piece with the continued erosion of the most elementary democratic rights of the population directed at squelching any protest against the capitalist rulers' war on the working class, the poor, blacks, immigrants and others "at home." Just look at the government's vendetta aimed at destroying the powerful Teamsters union in the aftermath of last August's successful strike by United Parcel Service workers.

Since the destruction of the former Soviet Union, the U.S. rulers have been braying that "Communism is dead." Thus, it is rather remarkable that the White House singles out the Spartacist League/U.S., a small Marxist political party, as the source of the opposition which met Clinton's war cabinet at Ohio State University. In our over 30-year existence in this country, we have openly disseminated our Marxist views that this system based on the exploitation of the many by the few can only produce war, unemployment, racism, poverty and other brutal depredations for the majority of the population. Perhaps the U.S. rulers fear that this understanding might find real resonance among the working class and oppressed who are being increasingly ground down at home while being pressed to serve as cannon fodder for war abroad.

Sincerely,
Len Meyers
for the Spartacist League

Pacifism, Marxism and Imperialist War

TROTSKY

LENIN

The American rulers' aim of mass murder against the Iraqi people, intended as a show of terror to the rest of the world, is a harbinger of a future full-scale imperialist war. In the face of these war moves, various pseudo-socialists seek to pressure U.S. imperialism to be more "humane" and "peaceful." Against such liberal-pacifist appeals, we call for defense of Iraq and the defeat of U.S. imperialism through workers revolution. In the years before interimperialist World War II—as the social-democratic Second International and Stalinist Third International promoted illusions in the League of Nations, predecessor to the United Nations—Leon Trotsky fought to build the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution and emphasized that the struggle against war could only be carried through by sweeping away imperialist capitalism.

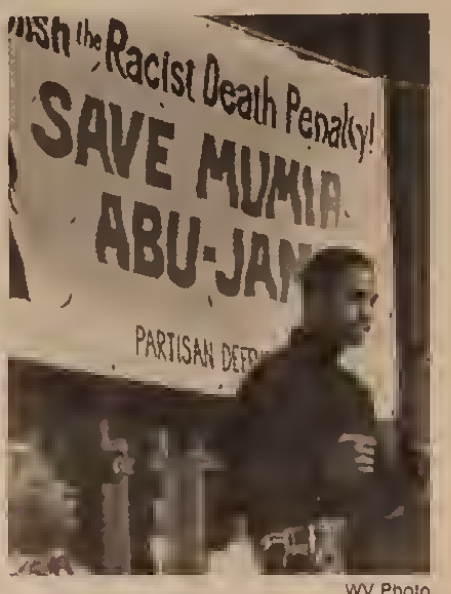
We revolutionary Marxists reject absolutely those prescriptions against war that are issued by the leaders of the Second and Third Internationals. They preach "disarmament" and "accord" through the League of Nations. This means that they believe in the possibility of changing the *nature* of capitalism through peaceful reforms, since the armed struggle between capitalist states applies just as much to the nature of capitalism as the competition between individual capitalists or their trusts. There are people who call themselves Socialists or Communists who characterize the capitalist state as a thoroughly imperialist set-up but at the same time believe in the *League of Nations*, that is, in the stock exchange of the imperialist states.

For Marxists the struggle against war coincides with the struggle against imperialism. The means for this struggle is not "general disarmament" but the arming of the proletariat for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a workers' state. Our slogan is not the League of Nations, but the Soviet United States of Europe and of the entire world!

—Leon Trotsky, "To Young Communists and Socialists Who Wish to Think"
(July 1935)

Free Jamal Hart!

On February 18, Jamal Hart, the 26-year-old son of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, received a mandatory prison sentence of 15-1/2 years for his conviction on bogus firearm possession charges. Hart is not eligible for parole. The transparent frame-up of Jamal Hart, a prominent participant in the campaign to free his father, continues the deadly state vendetta against Mumia. At the announcement of the verdict in a Philadelphia federal District Court, Jamal's half-brother Chris exploded in outrage: "You already railroaded my father, now you're railroading my brother." Chris was dragged from the courtroom and turned over to New Jersey authorities for prosecution on "drug charges."



WV Photo

Mumia's son Jamal Hart at 1995 NYC rally initiated by Partisan Defense Committee.

While federal prosecutors argued that Hart should receive a *20-year* sentence because of his alleged "consistent criminal behavior," even the trial judge was forced to observe that the prosecution and probation report "overstated Jamal's criminal history." In fact, Jamal Hart's passionate defense of his father put him in the cross hairs of the racist Philadelphia cops. Jamal Hart was a featured speaker at a number of rallies initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal. The front page of the *Philadelphia Daily News* pictured him with Jesse Jackson on 7 August 1995, the day a death warrant issued by Pennsylvania governor Thomas Ridge was stayed.

The targeting and monstrous persecution of Jamal Hart is another state provocation aimed at Mumia Abu-Jamal, the former Black Panther, MOVE supporter and noted journalist, whose case has sparked an international outcry against the racist death penalty. In 1995, outside a fund-raiser for his father in New York City, Hart was harassed and baited by a gang of Philadelphia FOP bigots. Last October, Hart's car was stopped for allegedly rolling through a stop sign on a Philadelphia street. The arresting cops put a gun to his head, stomped on him while he was on the ground and then claimed to have found a .357 magnum in his waistband. The cop who "found" the gun was the same one who had taken down a report on the theft of this very same gun...three and a half years earlier. After Hart was released without bail, an official police "wanted" poster with Hart's photo and arrest information was circulated, making Hart fair game.

When Hart appeared for trial in state court, federal marshals summarily announced the case was being taken over by the feds. Had Hart been convicted in state court, he is likely to have only received probation. The feds' move against Hart is but one example of the ominous expansion of federal jurisdiction over a vast array of crimes, almost all of which carry mandatory penalties enormously greater than those specified by corresponding state laws, and indicates that the vendetta against Mumia extends well beyond local jurisdictions.

Even on death row, Mumia Abu-Jamal remains one of Philadelphia's "most wanted" by the cops and the racist capitalist state. In the face of this flagrantly vindictive persecution we demand: Free Jamal Hart! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mindy Sanders
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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is February 24.

No. 685 **27 February 1998**

Black History Month

Mobilize the Integrated Power of Labor to Fight for Black Freedom!

Break with the Democrats—
For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

BOSTON

Saturday, February 28, 7:30 p.m.
Harvard University
Sever Hall, Room 101
(Take the Red Line to Harvard Square)
For more information: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

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University of Chicago
Reynolds Club, South Lounge, 2nd floor
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Finish the Civil War! For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Amistad, Capitalism and the Slave Trade

Library of Congress

Schomburg Collection

Slaves seized control of Spanish ship *Amistad* in 1839, demanding freedom. Right: Joseph Cinque, leader of the rebellion.

A Film Review by Amy Rath

No one who has seen Steven Spielberg's *Amistad* can ever forget its portrayal of the Middle Passage, the grim voyage across the Atlantic of imprisoned Africans being sent into slavery in the Americas. Chained, stripped naked, packed into a dark hold, the captives scream, starve and die, as a few jolting moments of celluloid show what history books cannot say in pages of facts and statistics. A whip strips the flesh off a man, his blood spattering those who are forced to watch. A despairing young mother jumps overboard, clutching her baby. When the ship runs short of food, dozens of men and women are chained to weights and thrown into the ocean. Amid this horror, the dignity and courage of Cinque (played by Beninese actor Djimon Hounsou), leader of the slave rebellion, shines like a beacon.

Amistad is a powerful anti-slavery film based on the true story of an 1839 mutiny aboard a Spanish slave ship, *La Amistad*. En route to a sugar plantation in Cuba, over 50 newly enslaved Africans seize control of the ship, killing most of the crew and demanding that the two remaining alive sail them back to Africa. The ship instead ends up off the shores of Long Island, where the rebels are captured by the U.S. Navy and imprisoned in Connecticut on charges of murder, mutiny and piracy. After two years of court cases, in which the Africans' defense was taken up by American abolitionists, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that they are not legally slaves and are thus immediately free. Along the way, we see some famous figures from American history, such as former president John Quincy Adams (in a splendid performance by Anthony Hopkins); abolitionist Lewis Tappan, a founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and John C. Calhoun, a Congressman from South Carolina who had been vice president under Adams. Probably more than any other politician at the time, Calhoun spoke for the Southern slavocracy, and South Carolina was later dubbed the "soul of secession."

The movie ends with the British Navy blasting to smithereens the notorious slave fortress of Lomboko in Sierra Leone, where Africans were imprisoned to be sold to slave-traders. Such an end is gratifying to the gut-wrenching loathing of slavery the film inspires. But the movie rests on some fundamental historical falsehoods. The small liberties Spielberg takes with the facts—for example, Roger S. Baldwin was no unknown real estate lawyer, but the son of a Connecticut governor and grandson of a prominent Revolutionary War patriot—are not important; it's the larger lies that count.

Andrew Cooper

Steven Spielberg's *Amistad* searingly portrays horrors of Atlantic slave trade.

As captured by its mawkish invocation of the Declaration of Independence (written by slaveowner Thomas Jefferson), the film falsely portrays the American government as open to anti-slavery arguments. In fact, as William W. Freehling documents in *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay, 1776-1854* (Oxford University Press, 1990), from the Revolutionary War to the Civil War, the weak government in Washington was mostly dominated by the slaveowning South.

The Supreme Court's decision in favor of the *Amistad* captives reflected not its commitment to the "inalienable rights" of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," as Adams' speech in the film would lead you to believe, but the "free trade" interests of the American slavocracy and British merchants. When the Civil War broke out, Britain's official neutrality was simply a cover for support to the Confederacy against the Union; the South grew the cotton which fed the profits of Britain's largest industry, textiles. And until its abolition in 1807, profits from the British slave trade provided much of the capital used to develop Britain's mills and thriving ports like Liverpool. In *Myths of the Slave Power: Confederate Slavery, Lancashire Workers and the Alabama* (Coach House Press, Liverpool, 1992), Tony Barley notes:

> "By the 1850s, wealth from banking, from emigration, from imported timber, sugar, and cotton (together with riches from a score of other imported commodities), had taken the place of slave-trade profits, but the banking sector and the sugar-trade had been sustained by slavery, and of course, the American cotton-trade was still dependent upon slave labour."

As historian Eric Foner commented, "The truth is that the Amistad case revolved around the Atlantic slave trade—outlawed by international treaty long before 1840—and had nothing to do with slavery in this country" (*New York Times*, 20 December 1997). The court system served the interests of the Southern planters. In 1841, the Supreme Court was headed by Justice Roger B. Taney of Maryland. This was the same Taney who, 16 years later, read out the infamous 1857 Dred Scott decision that blacks were "beings of an inferior order" with "no rights which any white man was bound to respect." Scott was returned to slavery after suing for his freedom on the grounds that his master had taken him to Illinois and Wisconsin, where slavery was illegal.

The *Amistad* captives were freed because they had not been born slaves. "We are rightly and justly inspired by their passionate struggle for freedom from Spanish and U.S. shackles, and their victory," wrote black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal in a commentary on Spielberg's film (*WV* No. 684, 13 February). "For Africans born in the U.S., however, it brought them no closer to freedom." Indeed, the *Amistad* ruling changed nothing for the three million black slaves laboring in the brutal Southern cotton and tobacco fields. In the film, we never even see the plantation slaves; Spielberg doesn't show their pain and despair as their families are torn apart and they are sold "down the river."

With several characters' hints of war and a final shot of Union and Confederate soldiers meeting in battle, the film implies that the 1841 *Amistad* decision was an immediate precipitant of the

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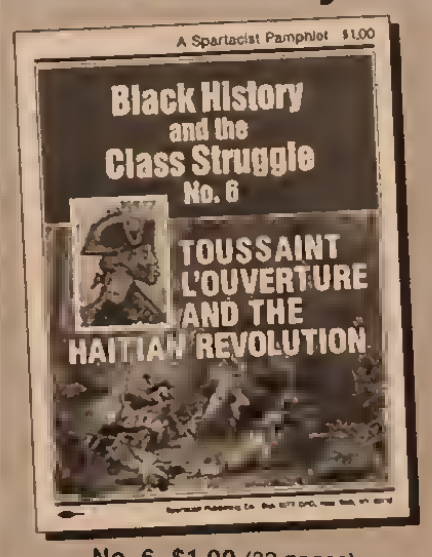
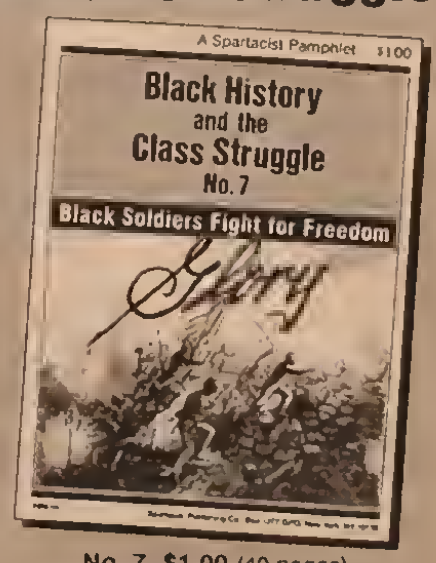
Black History and the Class Struggle





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Amistad...

(continued from page 3)

American Civil War. In fact, the two decades between these events were marked by fierce debate throughout American society, increasingly centered on the issue of slavery vs. free labor and fueled by the growing divergence of interests between the industrial North and the plantation South. North and South clashed over westward expansion and whether new states would be admitted as slave or free; over free trade vs. a national tariff protecting Northern manufactured goods from European competition; over states' rights and the power of the federal government.

The Confederate volleys fired at Union-held Fort Sumter in 1861 were the opening shots in a war which precipitated a social revolution and marked an irreconcilable break with the preceding period of compromise. In an article titled "The Civil War in the United States," Karl Marx wrote later that year: "'*The South*' is neither a territory closely sealed off from the North geographically, nor a moral unity. It is not a country at all, but a battle slogan." Marx continued:

> "The present struggle between the South and North is...nothing but a struggle between two social systems, the system of slavery and the system of free labour. The struggle has broken out because the two sides can no longer live peacefully side by side on the North American continent. It can only be ended by the victory of one system over the other."

And it was the participation of 200,000 black soldiers in the Union Army which was one of the most decisive factors in the North's victory against the slavocracy.

Library of Congress

Frederick Douglass House

Black troops in Union Army played decisive role in defeat of Southern slavocracy in Civil War. Right: Frederick Douglass, revolutionary abolitionist.

The Middle Passage and the Atlantic Slave Trade

Spielberg's movie is dead accurate in its portrayal of the brutality of the slave trade. For example, the deliberate drowning of dozens of captives—mocked as unbelievable by the prosecutor in the film—is known to have occurred on other slave ships. In *American Slavery, 1619-1877* (Hill and Wang, 1993), Peter Kolchin describes another such instance: "In 1781, running short on water, the captain of the *Zong* ordered 132 Africans thrown overboard, because his insurance covered death from drowning but not from starvation."

But moral outrage, however justified, does not explain the events of history nor provide the lessons for future struggle against exploitation and oppression. The Atlantic slave trade—developing out of a well-established slave trade on both the West and East coasts of Africa—came into being to supply the colonies of the New World with a labor force. In particular, the African slaves were employed on the vast sugar plantations throughout the Caribbean, which made the islands among the most profitable colonies in the world. In North America, the bulk of labor needs through most of the 17th century was met by indentured servants, mainly white, who were treated little better than slaves. (There were many, complex reasons why the Native Indians were not forced into servitude, including mass death from European diseases.)

The social system of slavery, its restriction to blacks and its ideological reflection in the racist worldview of the slaveholders developed as the cultivation of Southern tobacco and cotton with slave labor proved profitable (sugar cane cannot grow in most areas of North America). The invention of the cotton gin in 1783 solved the problem of deseeding short-staple cotton, the only cotton that can be grown on the American mainland, and opened the way for cotton to become the main export of the United States. This clinched a common economic interest between the plantation owners of the South and the Northern bankers and merchants who profited from the export of King Cotton and its manufacture into goods.

Leslie's Illustrated Weekly

Federal troops unleashed on great rail strike of 1877, the same year that Northern bourgeoisie sealed defeat of Reconstruction, betraying promise of black freedom.

The Atlantic slave trade as practiced by the *Amistad* and *Tecora* in the film was banned by the U.S. in 1808, and by many other countries in the same period. (Of course, it continued anyway, carried on by ships—including American ones—sailing under the flags of Portugal and Spain.) Seeking to defend Britain's mercantile domination of the Caribbean, Prime Minister William Pitt had begun to agitate for an end to the slave trade in order to cut off the supply of labor to the French colonies. As it waged war against Napoleon on the continent and at sea, Britain sought to secure naval control of the Atlantic against France and the U.S. Indeed, Britain ruled the seas and dominated world commerce throughout much of the 19th century. Lord Palmerston, British foreign secretary at the time of the *Amistad* events, described the role of the Royal Navy: "These half-civilised governments all require a dressing down every eight or ten years to keep them in order" (Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440-1870* [Simon and Schuster, 1997]).

But the interests of the European and American merchant trade and the plantation owners were not the only forces at play in this period. Inspired in part by the watchwords of liberty and brotherhood of the French and American Revolutions, the Haitian Revolution of 1791-1804 overthrew slavery there and established a black republic, touching off a wave of slave revolts in the Caribbean and galvanizing blacks in the American South. Historians Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene Genovese describe how,

> "One after another, the southern states closed the [slave] trade after the Revolution in response to the moral pressure of the time and, probably much more important, to the panic engendered by the great revolution in Saint-Domingue [Haiti] and the renewed awareness of the explosive potential of heavy ratios of blacks to whites and of African-born to American-born slaves."
>
> —*Fruits of Merchant Capital: Slavery and Bourgeois Property in the Rise and Expansion of Capitalism* (Oxford University Press, 1983)

As we wrote in "Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian Revolution": "The Haitian Revolution was a beacon in the fight against slavery and for national independence throughout the 19th century" (*WV* Nos. 446 and 447, 12 February and 26 February 1988; reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 6). In abolishing slavery through a social revolution surging up from the very bottom of society, it struck fear into the slavemasters and men of property. America's rulers responded to the Haitian Revolution with the same treatment U.S. imperialism metes out to Castro's Cuba today.

The U.S. immediately sent arms to put down the black uprising, as George Washington declaimed, "How regrettable to see such a spirit of revolt among the Negroes." In 1806, under Thomas Jefferson, the U.S. imposed a trade embargo against Haiti; economic sanctions isolated the young black republic and contributed to its impoverishment. In 1825, Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton declared, "We receive no mulatto consuls or black ambassadors from [Haiti]. And why? Because the peace of eleven states will not permit the fruits of a successful Negro insurrection to be exhibited among them." It was not until after the Civil War, when the great black abolitionist Frederick Douglass was appointed to serve as U.S. Consul in Port-au-Prince, that the U.S. finally recognized the Haitian government.

The Struggle for Black Freedom in the United States

While John Quincy Adams did play a part in the struggle against slavery in the United States, it was confined mainly to debates in Congress and reflected the North's overall acquiescence to political compromise with the Southern slavocracy. The real heroes of the anti-slavery struggle were the thousands of militant abolitionists, men and women, white and black, who risked their lives to take on the "Slave Power" in the U.S. Many of them were escaped slaves, like Douglass and Harriet Tubman, a conductor on the Underground Railroad.

By the 1850s, the revolutionary-democratic wing of the abolitionist movement—personified by Douglass and John Brown—recognized that it was going to take a bloody civil war to crush the slave

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Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Clubs Protest U.S. War Moves

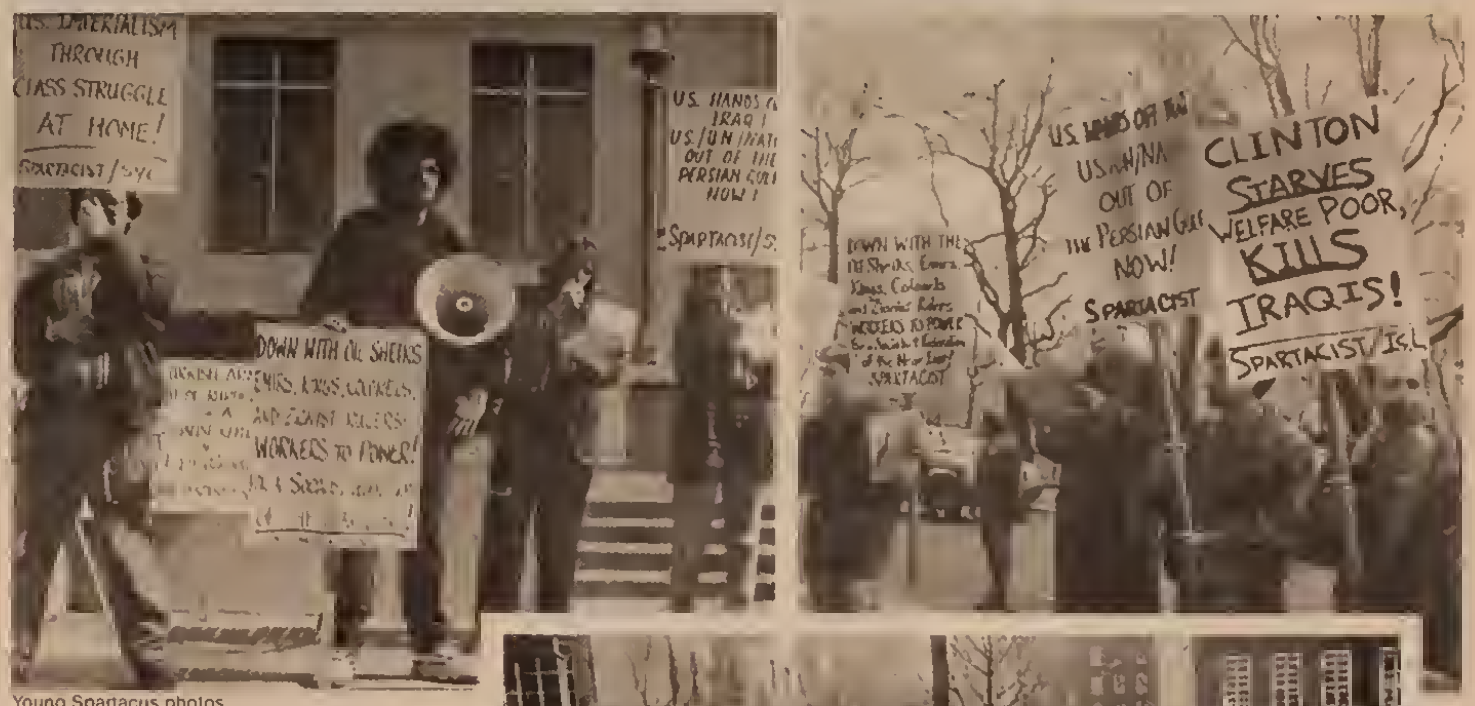
"Defend Iraq Against Imperialist Attack!"

As the U.S. imperialists arrayed their armada of death in the Persian Gulf, the Spartacus Youth Clubs held campus speakouts across the country last week calling to "Defend Iraq Against U.S. Imperialist Attack!" From New York University (NYU), Columbia and Harvard to the University of Chicago and the University of California at Berkeley and Los Angeles, we called for revolutionary opposition to U.S. war plans, with placards demanding: U.S./UN/NATO Out of the Persian Gulf! Down With the UN Starvation Blockade of Iraq! Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Class Struggle at Home! International Communist League comrades also held speakouts and participated in protest demonstrations in London, Paris, Toronto and elsewhere.

Democratic president Clinton's threatened terror bombing was not some aberration but a direct product of the imperialist system, where America's capitalist rulers seek to project their military might in order to secure spheres of exploitation. At Berkeley on February 18, an SYC speaker pointed out:

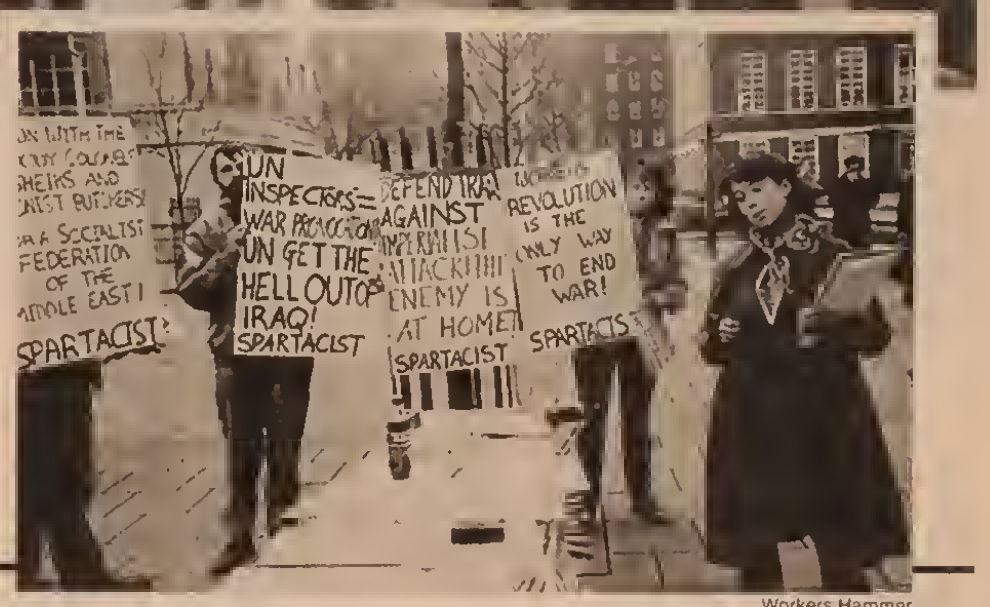
> "We recognize that neither the Republican nor Democratic Party is the party of 'peace,' as both serve the interests of the capitalist ruling class. In 1991 it was Bush and the Republicans, today it is Clinton and the Democrats. Their imperialist wars and massacres are not simply a question of misguided policy—they are the essence of the racist capitalist economic system. To fight simply in the name of 'peace,' or to merely put pressure on the Democratic Party of war and racism, is to ignore the fundamental class nature of the state. The state is, at its most basic level, special bodies of armed men that defend the property of a handful of capitalist exploiters. Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home!"

In reporting on our demonstration at NYU, the daily *Washington Square News* (19 February) quoted an SYC spokesman: "The United Nations has been enforcing a blockade against Iraq since the Gulf War, starving it and condemning it to misery. Sanctions are an act of war, and sanctions have probably killed more people than the actual Gulf War." Our speaker also pointed out: "While we oppose imperialist war moves against Iraq, we give absolutely no political support to the capitalist regime there, which has secured its rule through anti-Communist



Young Spartacus photos

SYC fights to win youth to revolutionary perspective against imperialist war. Campus speakouts (clockwise from above): University of California, Berkeley; New York University; University of London.



Workers Hammer

massacres, anti-working-class repression and bloody subjugation of the Kurdish people." We raised the call: Down with the Oil Sheiks, Emirs, Kings, Colonels and Zionist Rulers—Workers to Power! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Also active on the campuses in organizing protests against the threatened attack on Iraq was the International Socialist Organization (ISO), with its pathetic pleas to Clinton, "Don't bomb Iraq!" The reformist ISO's touching faith in the ability to pressure Clinton's Democrats to pursue a more "peaceful" imperialist policy was made abundantly clear at its February 19 protest at NYU, where the ISO objected to an SYC chant denouncing the Democratic Party of racism and war.

That same day, the ISO sent a sales team to the SYC speakout at Columbia but refused our invitation to address the crowd. The clash of opinion and test in action of the various forces claiming to be socialist is a crucial element in raising the consciousness of working people and youth. But this is exactly what the ISO doesn't want. All too frequently, the ISO resorts to physical thuggery to resolve the glaring contradiction produced by its socialist pretensions and its abjectly reformist practice. At San Francisco State University last week, four ISOers surrounded a female SYC member and threatened to break her ankles if she spoke to any of them again! When the SYC energetically protested this cowardly threat, we found many students repulsed by the ISO's vile antics.

In the tradition of revolutionary Marxism, we say: Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military! After being driven off many campuses during the Vietnam War protests of the 1960s and '70s, the Reserve Officer Training Corps has been reinstituted to help bolster skilled cadre for the imperialist military. At UCLA last year, ROTC staged a "mock occupation," replete with armed, black-hooded thugs invading the campus. At our February 19 speakout at UCLA, a speaker from the Los Angeles SYC noted:

> "We oppose the use of the universities for military training and recruitment, and so we demand: ROTC off campus! The nucleus of the military is the officer corps which regiments and polices the ranks. ROTC is designed to provide specialized training for the next generation of imperialist butchers, to produce an educated officer caste which will plan and execute the capitalists' war drives while working-class and minority youth are hurled to the front lines to serve as cannon fodder in their wars of profit."

As long as capitalism exists, there will be imperialist wars. The Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to win youth who oppose the brutal exploitation and terror of this capitalist system to join the side of the working class in the struggle for communism. Join us!■

Spartacist Forum

China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?

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Enlightenment Rationalism and the Origins of Marxism

F.G. Noidmann

Workers' barricades in Berlin, 1848. Fearing the rising proletariat, the bourgeoisie refused to carry through the Revolution of 1848. In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels outlined the role of the proletariat as the gravedigger of class society.

We publish below the concluding part of this series, which is based on two presentations given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour during an SL internal class series last summer on the origins of Marxism. The first five parts were published in WV *Nos. 673, 674, 675, 683 and 684 (5 September, 19 September and 3 October 1997, 30 January and 13 February 1998).*

PART SIX

Karl Marx first enters political history as a contributor, staff writer and finally editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in the early 1840s. He was at that time in the political mainstream of the Young Hegelians, being a radical democrat but not a communist. There was a circle of left Hegelian communists, centered in Berlin, who called themselves *die Freien* (the Free). They included, among others, the young Friedrich Engels and a young Russian nobleman, Mikhail Bakunin. Marx rejected the communism of "*die Freien*" as theoretically vacuous and given to empty phrasemongering. In a letter to Arnold Ruge, he joked that he had thrown out more contributions by them than had the government censor. Nonetheless, the views that Marx did publish in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, his own and others, proved too much for the Prussian authorities to stomach, and the paper was officially suppressed in early 1843.

Unable to publish his views in Germany, Marx emigrated to France in the fall of that year. On arriving in Paris, he moved into a kind of commune for German radicals which included a leader of the Paris branch of the League of the Just. Marx attended meetings of the League and also of its French counterparts. This experience had a profound effect on him, as he recorded at the time in his *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*:

> "When communist *artisans* associate with one another, theory, propaganda, etc. is their first end. But at the same time, as a result of this association, they acquire a new need—the need for society—and what appears as a means becomes an end. In this practical process the most splendid results are to be observed whenever French socialist workers are seen together.... The brotherhood of man is no mere phrase with them, but a fact of life, and the nobility of man shines upon us from their work-hardened bodies."

In late 1843, Marx declared himself in favor of communism and proletarian revolution. There are two points I want to emphasize in this regard. First, Marx's transition from radical democrat to communist was conditioned by his actual encounter with a communist workers movement in France; it was *not* a self-contained intellectual development. Second, Marx's theoretical and political views in 1843-44 were very different—I would say fundamentally different—than in 1847. In the first period he still operated within the theoretical framework of Hegelian philosophy in its left interpretation. Communism was for Marx what absolute knowledge was for Hegel: the final stage in the self-development of man's intellectual maturation, in which all previous contradictions are resolved. Thus he writes in his 1844 *Manuscripts* that communism is

> "the complete return of man to himself as a *social* (i.e., human) being—a return accomplished consciously and embracing the entire wealth of previous development. This communism, as fully developed naturalism, equals humanism, and as fully developed humanism equals naturalism; it is the *genuine* resolution of the conflict between man and nature and between man and man—the true resolution of the strife between existence and essence, between objectification and self-confirmation, between freedom and necessity, between the individual and the species. Communism is the riddle of history solved, and it knows itself to be this solution."

Communism is here presented as a synthesis of certain abstract categories, such as existence and essence, which were regarded as antagonistic in Hegelian and earlier philosophies. There is no consideration of the historical and economic preconditions for communism. There is no consideration of the actual socioeconomic structure of European society, its class divisions, the state of the class struggle, the consciousness of the proletariat and the like. Furthermore, the notion that history sets men riddles to solve implies that history has a consciousness of its own ends, a view that Marx would soon totally reject.

Similarly, Marx's view of the proletariat in this period is framed by a left-Hegelian outlook. In his 1844 "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law: Introduction," (Marx and Engels, *Collected Works* Volume 3 [1975]), he writes:

> "The *emancipation of the German* is the *emancipation of the human being*. The *head* of this emancipation is *philosophy*, its heart is the *proletariat*. Philosophy cannot be made a reality without the abolition of the proletariat, the proletariat cannot be abolished without philosophy being made a reality."

The proletariat is here regarded as a kind of ready-made instrument to realize the goals set for mankind in Hegel's philosophy. In a sense, the proletariat is for Marx at this point what the state was for Hegel: the material manifestation of reason in the contemporary world.

Historia Photo, Bad Sachsa

Progress Publishers

Georg Hegel (far left) and Ludwig Feuerbach, the first of Hegel's followers to criticize his idealist philosophy from a materialist standpoint.

The Impact of Feuerbach

In the development of Marx's thought toward historical or dialectical materialism, two other left Hegelians played crucial, albeit very different, roles: Ludwig Feuerbach and Friedrich Engels. Prior to Feuerbach all Hegelians accepted the axiom that what is rational is real. The left Hegelians maintained that since the Christian church, the Prussian monarchical state and, for some, the capitalist market economy were not rational, these institutions were soon fated to disappear.

Feuerbach challenged the central premise of Hegel's teleological idealism: the notion that the self-development of spirit governs the actual conditions of mankind. He argued that Hegel's spirit is simply a metaphysical version of god, to which real living men are supposed to be subordinate. Men are not subordinate to thought as an independent entity, said Feuerbach, rather thought serves the interest and needs of men: "The new philosophy deals with being as it is for us, not only as thinking, but as really existing being.... It is the being of the senses, sight, feeling and love" (quoted in David McLellan, *The Young Hegelians and Karl Marx* [1969]).

Feuerbach's general worldview is essentially similar to that of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, though there was no direct influence. Like Rousseau, Feuerbach believed that man is naturally good and has

a natural affinity with other members of his species. Indeed, the term "species" is central to Feuerbach's conceptual framework. What property was for Rousseau, religion is for Feuerbach: that point where mankind turned down the path of error leading to all the wretchedness and evils of the modern world.

In Feuerbach's view, men ascribe to a supernatural entity called god the actual and potential powers which they themselves possess. Men ascribe to an otherworldly place called heaven the happiness and social harmony which is possible on earth. Feuerbach advocated what he called the "religion of humanity." He called on all men to give up their illusion in an otherworldly god as well as their individual egoism and live for the collective well-being of the human species. "Only community constitutes humanity," he insisted, "that the thou belongs to the perfection of the I, that men are required to constitute humanity" (quoted in John Edward Toews, *Hegelianism: The Path Toward Dialectical Humanism, 1805-1841* [1980]).

Feuerbach was an extremely contradictory thinker in that he was simultaneously more advanced and more backward than Hegel. He rejected Hegel's idealism in favor of a thoroughgoing materialism. But in doing so, he also rejected Hegel's understanding of the dialectical development of man's social nature. Instead, Feuerbach reverted to a crude version of Enlightenment materialism based on the notion of an unchanging human nature.

In later years, Marx would point to both the progressive and retrogressive influence of Feuerbach on German intellectual life. In the 1860s, he wrote to the German workers' leader and radical J. B. Schweitzer: "Compared with Hegel, Feuerbach is certainly poor. Nevertheless he was epoch-making *after* Hegel because he laid *stress* on certain points which were disagreeable to the Christian consciousness but important for the progress of criticism, points which Hegel had left in semi-obscurity" (Marx and Engels, *Collected Works* Volume 20 [1984]). However, a few years later Marx commented in a letter to Engels: "The gentlemen in Germany (with the exception of theological reactionaries) believe Hegel's dialectic to be a 'dead dog.' Feuerbach has much on his conscience in this respect" (*Collected Works* Volume 42 [1987]).

The difference between Marx's dialectical materialism and Feuerbach's naturalistic materialism is clear in their respective views of religion. Here is Marx's justly famous position on this question:

> "*Religious* distress is at the same time the *expression* of real distress and also the *protest* against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the *opium* of the people.
>
> "To abolish religion as the *illusory* happiness of the people is to demand their *real* happiness. The demand to give up illusions about the existing state of affairs is the *demand to give up a state of affairs which needs illusions*."
>
> —"Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law: Introduction"

The key phrase here is a "state of affairs which needs illusions." For Feuerbach and the entire tradition of Enlightenment rationalism, there are no conditions which need illusions. Illusions are deemed always and everywhere unnecessary and harmful, and can always be dispelled by scientific evidence and rational argument.

Marx understood that life, alas, is not so simple. Religion is what Engels later called false consciousness. False consciousness is a distortion or denial of objective reality necessarily conditioned by a given stage of social development. All ruling classes operate with some form of false consciousness. Thus slaveowners in the American South believed that blacks were innately inferior to whites. And they had to believe that in order to own and operate their slave plantations. White slaveowners could no more be convinced

Dietz Verlag Berlin

Friedrich Engels

of racial equality through rational argument than they could be convinced to emancipate their slaves and devote their own lives to the well-being of humanity. Therein lay the basic fallacy of a "religion of humanity" which would be embraced by the oppressors as well as the oppressed, the exploiters as well as the exploited.

Marx's Early View of the Proletariat

Feuerbach's influence on Marx was partial and transient. But in 1845 Marx entered into a political and intellectual partnership with Friedrich Engels which would last for four decades and alter the course of world history. As previously noted, Engels was initially part of "the Free," a coterie of extreme left-Hegelian radicals. Like Marx, his political and theoretical views underwent a significant change when he was forced to leave the hothouse atmosphere of German academia and confront the real world of the class struggle. In 1843, Engels was sent by his father to learn the family business in a textile factory in Manchester, England. He thus acquired firsthand experience of an advanced industrial capitalist economy and of a mass movement of the industrial as well as artisan proletariat, the British Chartist movement.

It was Engels who introduced Marx to the importance of bourgeois economic theory (mainly British) in understanding the class structure of modern Europe and the struggle between labor and capital. However, I want to discuss another aspect of Engels' contribution to the development of scientific socialism because it is not generally recognized. As I've already indicated, upon becoming a communist Marx still viewed the proletariat through the prism of left-Hegelian idealism. In his first published work as a communist, the "Introduction" to his critique of Hegel's philosophy of law, he described the proletariat as

> "a class with *radical chains*, a class of civil society which is not a class of civil society, an estate which is the dissolution of all estates, a sphere which has a universal character by its universal suffering and claims no *particular right* because no *particular wrong* but *wrong generally* is perpetrated against it...which does not stand in any one-sided antithesis to the consequences but in all-round antithesis to the premises of the German state; a sphere, finally, which cannot emancipate itself without emancipating itself from all other spheres of society and thereby emancipating all other spheres of society."

Here the revolutionary role ascribed to the proletariat is presented entirely in negative terms, as the antithesis of existing society. Such a view was by no means unique to Marx but was then current in the left wing of the Hegelian left. For example, Edgar Bauer, a leading figure in "the Free," wrote at that time that the "poor, working and laboring classes of humanity" were destined to "destroy the present condition of the world" and "establish a new form of life" (quoted in Nicholas Lobkowicz, *Theory and Practice: History of a Concept from Aristotle to Marx* [1967]). For Marx at this point, just as for Edgar Bauer, there was no consideration of the *objective* condition of the proletariat in Germany, its relative social weight, its relation to other, more numerous classes such as the peasantry, its political consciousness.

In fact, the term "proletariat" is quite ambiguous as applied to Germany in the 1840s. Only a minority of wage laborers worked in factories. The majority worked in small shops. Many owned the tools of their trade and intended to go into business for themselves. Thus aspiring and potential members of the petty bourgeoisie made up a sizable proportion of the German proletariat. When the political situation opened up for a time during the Revolution of 1848, the mass of the German working class did *not* embrace the communist cause but rather supported economic policies, such as trade protectionism, intended to *arrest industrialization* and preserve a small-scale manufacturing sector. It was not until the 1870s that the socialist program acquired mass support among the German proletariat.

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British textile mill in mid-1800s. Rapid growth of industrial proletariat shaped the development of scientific socialism by Marx and Engels.

To better understand why Marx's initial attitude toward the proletariat was left-Hegelian, not materialist, it is useful to consider a contemporary young European radical intellectual, Alexander Herzen, the founder of Russian populism. Herzen, then living in St. Petersburg, read Hegel and left Hegelians like Cieszkowski. He dubbed Hegelian philosophy "the algebra of revolution." But since there was no proletariat to speak of in Russia at the time, Herzen assigned to the peasantry the revolutionary role of overthrowing the tsarist autocracy and, on the morrow, establishing a new socialist society. Had a left-Hegelian intellectual lived in the American South of the time, he doubtless would have seen in the black slaves the force destined to emancipate not only themselves but all of humanity.

All leftist radicals who adhered to or were influenced by Hegelian philosophy sought to locate that social group which corresponded to the "negation of existing society." However, the fact that a group of people are exploited and oppressed does not in itself imbue them with the capacity to overthrow the existing oppressive social order, much less to reconstruct society on a just and egalitarian basis.

Class Struggle and Communist Consciousness

Engels' experience in England was of critical importance in moving from left-Hegelian idealism to a materialist and dialectical understanding of the proletariat. Because British Chartism was a genuine mass workers movement, it reflected the political *heterogeneity* of the actual proletariat, with factions ranging from moderate reformers on the right to Jacobin communists on the left. Many workers were devoutly religious, respectful toward the monarchy and supportive of the British empire, while others were "red republicans" who commemorated the French Revolution. Workers with such different outlooks might well be employed in the same factory and even work side by side.

The revolutionary capacity of the proletariat is not simply given by the condition of exploitation but is a product of its historical development in which consciousness plays a central role. It may seem odd and unnecessary to quote at length from a work as famous and widely read as the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, but it is not generally appreciated or recognized how different the treatment of the working class is in the *Manifesto* than in Marx's first writings as a communist. Here the analysis of the proletariat is genuinely materialist and dialectical, sketching out the interrelation between its objective and subjective development:

> "The proletariat goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie. At first the contest is carried on by individual labourers, then by the workpeople of a factory, then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality, against the individual bourgeois who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks not against the bourgeois conditions of

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Illustrated London News

Chartist demonstration in London, 1848. Engels was actively involved in British Chartism, the first mass movement of the industrial proletariat.

Enlightenment...

(continued from page 7)

production, but against the instruments of production themselves; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labour, they smash to pieces machinery, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the Middle Ages.

"At this stage the labourers still form an incoherent mass scattered over the whole country, and broken up by their mutual competition....

"But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more.... The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades' Unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts....

"Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers."

It was in the *Manifesto* that Marx for the first time defined the ***main obstacles to communist consciousness*** among an industrial proletariat which no longer had illusions about restoring small-scale artisan production:

> "The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole."

One hundred and fifty years later this is still a pretty good definition of the difference between us communists and all other working-class tendencies.

Marxism Is Not Teleology

I want to conclude by discussing a common misconception about Marxism. The reason that it's common is that it represents the convergence between the falsification of Marxism by bourgeois ideologues and by Stalinist ideologues. This is the notion that Marx held communism to be the necessary final stage of social development, that Marxism is a socialist version of Hegelian teleology. Thus the Scottish Hegel scholar J.N. Findlay asserts: "There is certainly also a strong strain of teleological idealism in the supposedly scientific *m*aterialism of Marx."

While Stalinist intellectuals would never have described Marx as a teleological idealist, in substance that is how they presented his views. The English-language *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels was edited by a team of high-level Soviet, British and American Stalinist academics and intellectuals. The preface to Volume 5, which contains *The German Ideology* and was published in 1976, informs us "that the development of the class struggle must necessarily lead to a communist revolution carried out by the proletariat." What makes this statement especially ironic today is I'm dead certain that all of those Soviet academics involved in this project who are still alive now think that communist revolution is a utopian fantasy and that capitalism is forever.

E. Schaumann

Marx at 1864 inaugural meeting of International Workingmen's Association in London. The First International marked the recovery of European workers movement after defeated Revolutions of 1848.

From their first writings to their last, Marx and Engels rejected the idea that proletarian revolution leading to communism was guaranteed in advance, so to speak, by some impersonal and transcendent law of history. Their first joint work, *The Holy Family*, written in 1845, states:

> "*History* does *nothing*, it 'possesses *no* immense wealth,' it 'wages *no* battles.' It is *man*, real, living man who does all that, who possesses and fights; 'history' is not, as it were, a person apart, using man as a means to achieve *its own* aims; history is *nothing but* the activity of man pursuing his aims."

The Holy Family was and remains an obscure and little-read work. But one of the most famous passages in Marx's most famous work, the *Communist Manifesto*, states that while the class struggle is inevitable its outcome is not:

> "Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes."

During the late 19th century, a vulgar misinterpretation of Marx's theory of historical development gained widespread currency. According to this notion, Marx supposedly held that all peoples had to go through certain fixed stages of development: primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism. In the 1870s, a Russian populist intellectual, M.K. Mikhailovsky, denounced Marx for maintaining that Russia had to go through a prolonged period of capitalist development before reaching socialism.

In a letter to a Russian populist journal, Marx repudiated any such position and any such methodology. He criticized Mikhailovsky for metamorphosing "my historical sketch of the genesis of capitalism in Western Europe into an historico-philosophic theory of the general path every people is fated to tread, whatever the historical circumstances in which it finds itself, in order that it may ultimately arrive at the form of economy which ensures, together with the greatest expansion of the productive powers of social labour, the most complete development of man." Marx went on to dismiss Hegelian-type teleology as "a general historico-philosophic theory, the supreme virtue of which consists in being super-historical" (Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence* [1965]).

Engels, who survived Marx by 12 years and died in 1895, was a keen student of the developments in *m*odern technology; he was one of the first people in London to get a telephone. By the late 1880s, Engels recognized that new military technology meant that a major European war would be qualitatively more destructive than in the past. He predicted:

> "The only war left for Prussia-Germany to wage will be a world war, a world war, moreover, of an extent and violence hitherto unimagined. Eight to ten million soldiers will be at each other's throats and in the process they will strip Europe barer than a swarm of locusts. The depredations of the Thirty Years' War compressed into three to four years and extended over the entire continent; famine, disease, the universal lapse into barbarism...."
>
> —Marx and Engels, *Collected Works* Volume 26 (1990)

With the development and deployment of nuclear weapons, it is obvious that an all-out war between capitalist states would likely destroy civilization and might well lead to the annihilation of the human race. There is no god, there is no natural law, there are no laws of history which ensure the victory of communism or even the survival of mankind. That's up to us, nothing and no one but us. With that uncomforting truth, I'll conclude. ■

Novosti

1917: Revolutionary soldiers march through Moscow under the banner of Communism. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia marked the first successful conquest of political power by the proletariat.

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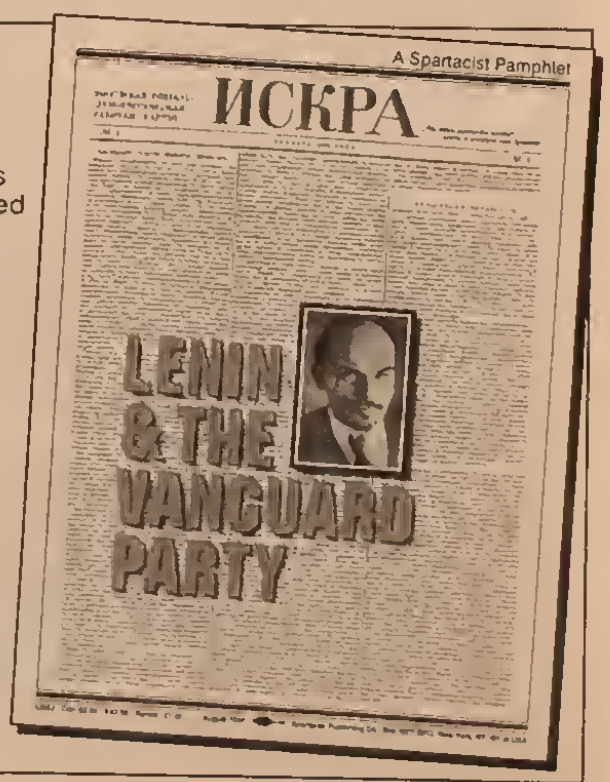

Castro...

(continued from page 12)

in one country" was a lie in the Soviet Union—which encompassed one-sixth of the globe—"socialism" on one small Caribbean island was far more so. The anti-working-class Havana regime has blocked the possibilities to extend social revolution outside Cuba's shores—from Castro's embrace of Chile's popular-front government in the early 1970s, which paved the way for a bloody military dictatorship, to his admonition a decade later to the petty-bourgeois Nicaraguan Sandinistas not to follow the "Cuban road" of expropriating the bourgeoisie. To place the working class in political power and open the road to socialist development in Cuba requires a supplemental *political* revolution led by a Trotskyist party.

It was only under exceptional circumstances that Castro's petty-bourgeois forces were able to smash capitalist property relations. With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, the narrow historical opening in which such forces were able to overturn capitalism has been closed. This underscores the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution for semicolonial and backward countries: that national liberation and agrarian revolution can only be achieved through the seizure of power by the working class, which must proceed toward the socialist reorganization of society, fighting to extend proletarian revolution to the advanced capitalist countries.

The collapse of the Soviet Union cast Cuba into a deep crisis from which it has not emerged. In 1990, as he was pushing toward capitalist restoration in the USSR itself, Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev cut back the amount of oil that the Soviet Union sold to Cuba and drastically raised the price to world market levels while slashing the price that Moscow paid for Cuban sugar. Following Gorbachev's ouster, the pro-imperialist Yeltsin regime canceled all economic and military aid, leaving Cuba completely isolated against U.S. imperialism.

Canadian Press

Empty pharmacy in Havana. Ever-tightening U.S. embargo has increased deprivation for Cuban masses.

In response, the Castro regime has gone ever further down the road of capitalist "market reforms." The country now has $5 billion in foreign investment, and one American businessman told *Time* magazine (25 August 1997), "It is actually easier to do business in Cuba than in the free world." A recent article in *Time* (26 January) reported:

> "Today Havana blooms with chicly renovated hotels, neon signs, crowded restaurants and nightclubs. The U.S. dollar has swallowed the Cuban peso. Farmer's markets and mom-and-pop entrepreneurs fuel a production boom of sorts. Cars outnumber bicycles again in Havana, and many of them are 1990s Nissans, not 1950s Chevys. Foreign investors not only share ownership of new projects but also own some outright and ship much of their profits home."

The newfound prosperity described by *Time* is largely reserved for the small minority of the 10 percent of the Cuban population now dependent on tourism for their livelihoods. The rest have to get by on a diet of rice and beans.

While the harsh economic rigors of the "special period" imposed after the collapse of the Soviet Union—and the loss of some $4 billion annually in aid—have eased somewhat, this has been accompanied by galloping inequality in Cuban society. The average Cuban worker paid in pesos earns the equivalent of about $6 a month, but a taxi driver can make *$50 a day*. Women and blacks have been among those hardest hit by the "dollarization" of the economy. Black Cubans are far less likely to have relatives in the U.S. who send them greenbacks. Meanwhile, thousands of women desperate to feed themselves and their families have been forced into prostitution at the edges of the booming tourist industry. Up to 400,000 people have migrated from the provinces to Havana and other tourist areas in search of dollars in recent years.

Gamma-Liaison

Lech Walesa with Vatican sponsors of Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland.

The "market reforms" have not only deepened racial divisions in the country but have also sown desperation and demoralization among much of the population while fueling the forces of capitalist restoration. Castro's accommodation of the Vatican only further strengthens internal counterrevolutionary forces. The Cuban Communist Party (CCP) helped organize large outdoor audiences to hear the Pope rant against abortion, contraception, atheism and materialism, while Castro warned CCP members to "not express the slightest manifestation of disgust at any phrase that displeases us or seems unjust." While the Catholic church doesn't have the social or political weight it had in Poland even before the counterrevolution there, it nonetheless provides a focus for reactionary opposition to the regime.

Cuban Revolution at the Crossroads

Over nearly four decades, U.S. imperialism has tried every "dirty trick" in the CIA's books to undermine and overthrow the Castro regime, from the failed 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion to a *gusano* provocation in Cuban airspace two years ago. CIA papers released last year documented not only the numerous assassination attempts against the Cuban leader himself, but also plans for U.S. forces to shoot down civilian aircraft or sink boatloads of Cubans bound for Miami and then blame the atrocities on Cuba in order to justify an American military attack. And since taking over the White House, Clinton has twice tightened the economic embargo aimed at squeezing Cuba into submission, which was first imposed in 1962 under another Democratic president, John F. Kennedy.

While such measures play well with die-hard reactionaries like South Carolina Senator Jesse Helms and the hard-bitten *gusano* rabble in Miami, significant sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie now favor the development of capitalist market forces to destroy the Cuban Revolution from within. The Bay of Pigs fiasco continues to haunt America's capitalist rulers—witness the release of a 36-year-old CIA document which describes the operation as "unmitigated and almost willful bumbling and disaster" (*New York Times*, 22 February). When *gusano* godfather Jorge Mas Canosa died last fall, the *New York Times* (25 November 1997) used the occasion to argue that "Helms-Burton has done more harm to the United States than to Mr. Castro." Even Helms has now endorsed a legislative proposal to loosen the embargo by allowing U.S. companies to sell food and medicine to Cuba. Opponents of sanctions today include the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and hundreds of other corporate spokesmen. Various reformist "socialists" who focus solely on opposition to the embargo effectively tail such bourgeois forces.

The ex-Trotskyist and now eccentrically reformist SWP of Jack Barnes seeks to attract radical-minded youth by posing as the "best defenders" of the Cuban Revolution. But far from advancing a program to defend the gains of the revolution, the Barnesites are simply press agents for the Castro bureaucracy which is pushing Cuba to the brink of capitalist restoration. Typically, the SWP's *Militant* (9 February) headlined its report on John Paul II's visit, "Confident Revolutionary Gov't Hosts Pope in Cuba"! Avoiding even a hint of criticism of the dyed-in-the-wool Polish counterrevolutionary, the SWP lambasted the "big-business media" for daring "to portray the Pope's visit as a blow to the Cuban revolution."

Such treachery masquerading as pollyannaish idiocy is nothing new for the SWP, which proclaimed that the U.S. had "lost" the Cold War after the USSR had collapsed! About the only times the Barnesites have disagreed with "comrade Fidel" was when they stood to his right in championing capitalist-restorationist forces arrayed against the Soviet degenerated workers state, including Pope Wojtyla's favorite "union," counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność. The SWP also hailed Boris Yeltsin's pro-imperialist countercoup in 1991, which ushered in the destruction of the Soviet Union. Now the Barnesites are helping grease the way for the restoration of capitalism in Cuba.

Seemingly on the other end of the spectrum from the adulatory SWP is the social-democratic International Socialist Organization (ISO), which opposes the Castro regime from the standpoint of virulent anti-communist hostility to the Cuban workers state itself. The ISO's British mentor, Tony Cliff, broke from Trotskyism at the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 over his refusal to defend the North Korean deformed workers state against imperialist attack. The Cliffites' American forebear was Max Shachtman, who repudiated the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union at the start of World War II and went on to earn the epithet "State Department socialist" by endorsing the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion.

This characterization applies perfectly to the Cliffites, who cheered Polish Solidarność and hailed Yeltsin's counterrevolution as the "New Russian Revolution." Now the Canadian *Socialist Worker* (28 January) gives full vent to the Cliffites' hatred for the Cuban Revolution, exulting how the Pope's call for freeing counterrevolutionary "political prisoners" in Cuba "met with enthusiasm from tens of thousands who listened to him." And, as we reported in "ISO: Gusano Socialists?" (*WV* No. 606, 16 September 1994), a few years back the Canadian Cliffites hailed a counterrevolutionary riot in Havana as a sign that "Cuban workers and peasants have begun to break the hold of a repressive regime" (*Socialist Worker* [Canada], September 1994). The same issue of their paper echoed the *gusano* scum in claiming that Cuban "refugees" are "desperate for a taste of freedom." As we have noted before, the Cliffites' "third camp" is nothing other than the camp of "democratic" imperialism!

The Cuban Revolution today stands at a crossroads. Revolutionaries in the U.S. have a special duty to defend Cuba against capitalist restoration and rapacious American imperialism. This is integrally tied to the struggle for socialist revolution to sweep away the racist capitalist U.S. rulers. The Spartacist League is dedicated to building the Leninist vanguard party needed to lead that struggle to victory. ■

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Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

and immigrants in their own countries, ratcheting up the rate of exploitation, slashing social programs, stepping up racist repression. In statements issued by other national sections of the ICL denouncing the threatened bombing of Iraq, our comrades have stressed the need to mobilize the proletariat of each country in struggle against *its* enemy, its "own" national bourgeoisie.

The outlines of the world political situation are more and more coming to resemble those before the first interimperialist world war of 1914-18. The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, whose final undoing is the work chiefly of the social-democratic and Stalinist misleaders, pointed the way out of this system of exploitation, racism and war. Amid the slaughter of World War I, as the social-democratic Second International wallowed in national chauvinism, Lenin's Bolsheviks persevered in forging a workers party committed to the program of world socialist revolution. In his 1915 pamphlet, *Socialism and War*, Lenin wrote:

> "Without a series of revolutions, what is called a democratic peace is a philistine Utopia. The purpose of a real programme of action can be served only by a *Marxist* programme which gives the masses a full and clear explanation of what has taken place, explains what imperialism is and how it should be combated, declares openly that the collapse of the Second International was brought about by opportunism, and openly calls for a Marxist International to be built up without and *against* the opportunists."

The threat to blow away countless Iraqi civilians as a display of America's military might, like the enormous "desert slaughter" perpetrated seven years ago, is a harbinger of future, even bloodier conflicts—ultimately including the spectre of nuclear war—if capitalism is not swept away.

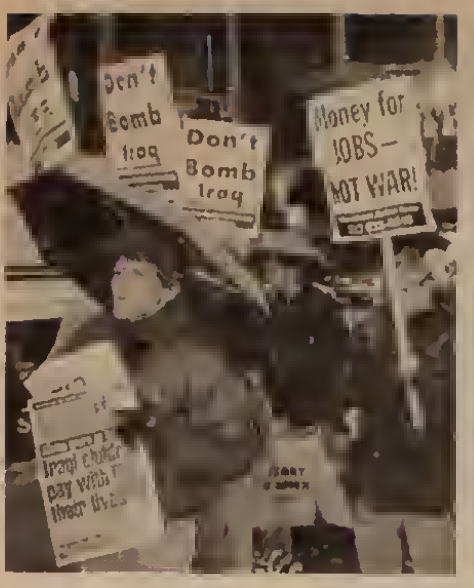
Big Lies for Mass Murder

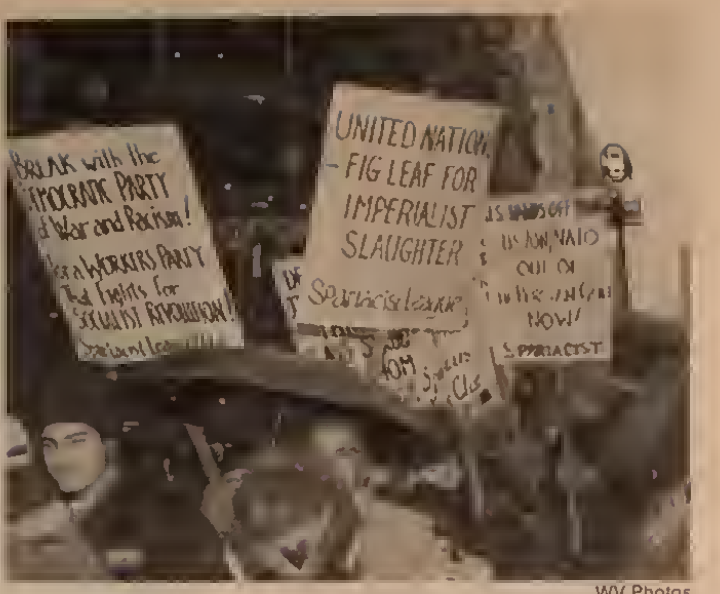
The Ohio State "town hall" meeting which turned into a public relations fiasco when Clinton's spokesmen were barraged with chants, jeers and embarrassing questions manifested the absence of even a threadbare ideological fig leaf for the threatened terror bombing of Iraq. Having proclaimed that "communism is dead," the U.S. rulers no longer have that ideological standby to justify imperialist military adventures. Instead, the White House has thrown up a smokescreen of cynical and contradictory lies. Claims that air strikes were needed to open up Iraq's "presidential palaces" to UN inspectors were a farce from the beginning. Even before Annan had gone to Baghdad, Saddam Hussein had opened up those areas to UN teams. U.S. plans for a four-day, around-the-clock onslaught were drawn up months ago, complete with a "body count" target of 1,500 Iraqi dead.

Moreover, American spokesmen conceded that an air assault would not be capable of eliminating Iraq's supposed chemical and biological warfare capacity. And since the technology for making such weapons is very rudimentary, similar to that needed to produce food supplies and other basic products, eliminating Iraq's ability to produce them would require leveling the country's entire economic infrastructure. Furthermore, the U.S. and Britain have long supplied the Iraqi regime with such materials, as recently as 1992. During the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s, Washington approved sales to Baghdad of the germs that cause anthrax, botulism, gas gangrene and other diseases. The U.S. leads the world in manufacturing and stockpiling chemical and biological weapons, not to mention a nuclear arsenal capable of destroying humanity many times over. And only the U.S. has used nuclear weapons, when it incinerated over 200,000 Japanese and Korean civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

Republican Congressional leaders have tried to one-up the Democratic president by demanding that the aim of any military action be to topple Saddam Hussein. "Time To Off Saddam?" asked *Time* (16 February). It is a measure of the imperialist arrogance of America's capitalist rulers that they openly moot the assassination of foreign leaders. But the ground invasion likely needed to "off" Saddam Hussein would risk massive American casualties, something the U.S. ruling class has feared ever since its humiliating defeat by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. Such a military operation could have explosive consequences throughout the Near East, as well as within the U.S. military itself, which is overwhelmingly composed of black, Hispanic and other working-class youth with little ideological motivation for conquering and occupying Third World countries.

There is another reason why the U.S. didn't "finish the job" in 1991 by getting rid of the Iraqi leader. As the British ITN World News (17 February) reported: "Policy makers fear that if they fatally weaken Saddam Hussein, the country could fragment" with the Kurdish north and Shi'ite south breaking away, destabilizing the entire region. Washington has favored a military coup to install a more amenable junta of colonels—just as Saddam Hussein himself came to power. But the CIA and British MI6 are hardly likely to enlist any Iraqi military officers in another such venture after their last bungled attempt almost two years ago ended in the execution of as many as 80 conspirators.





New York City, February 17: Reformist left pleads to murderous U.S. ruling class to be more "peaceful"; Spartacists fight for class struggle to defeat U.S. Imperialism.

WV Photos

Near East Cockpit

What is really behind the U.S. military buildup in the Gulf is the growing competition among the imperialist bourgeoisies. This is particularly evident in the Near East, where the U.S. vies with other capitalist powers for control of oil fields and pipeline routes. The destruction of the USSR has not only heightened these tensions in general but particularly so in this region, as vast natural gas and oil reserves in the former Soviet Central Asian republics are opened to capitalist exploitation and Russia joins with France, Germany and other powers in seeking to expand oil operations to Iran and Iraq. It is no accident that the last U.S. buildup in the Gulf, in November, began only days after the French oil giant, Total, joined with Russia's Gazprom and a Malaysian firm in signing a $2 billion contract with Iran to pump offshore natural gas.

In 1990-91, Washington not only managed to strong-arm other capitalist governments to join its war "coalition," but had them foot the bill for the onslaught. Today, among the major imperialist powers, only Britain (joined by Canada and Australia) has fulsomely backed Clinton's moves. Among the cynical calculations at work here is that Britain, after the U.S., is the world's largest arms exporter; the murder of its former colonial slaves in Iraq is seen as a way to showcase its goods and boost international sales.

The extent to which the imperialists are beginning to openly clash was seen in U.S. threats last fall to embargo Japanese cargo vessels in American ports in a trade dispute. Now the *New York Times* (22 February), under a headline denouncing Tokyo as the "New Villain in Asia Crisis," quotes leading U.S. government spokesmen lecturing imperialist Japan as though it were an American semicolony and warning that it is fomenting "protectionist pressure"—i.e., sharpened trade war. Germany reluctantly endorsed the latest plan to bomb Iraq only after the U.S. threatened to pull its "peacekeeping" troops out of the Balkans. And following Annan's deal, a German (Social Democratic) spokesman said bluntly: "This deal must be accepted. The Americans would find themselves in dangerous isolation if, pointing to some trifling detail or another, they insisted on a military strike."

At the same time, there are significant differences within the American ruling class itself over Near East policy. Many American corporations have chafed at the prospect of their international competitors closing deals with Iran and Iraq while U.S. firms are constrained by economic sanctions. An editorial in *Business Week* (16 February) declared bluntly, "Bombs Can't Make Up for a Bankrupt Mideast Policy."

This also reflects widespread frustration, from the Clinton White House on down, with America's chief ally in the Near East, Zionist Israel. As usual, the Zionist rulers enthusiastically support U.S. threats against an Arab regime. But the Netanyahu government's provocative flouting of the U.S.-sponsored "peace process" with Yasir Arafat's Palestinian Authority threatens to derail Washington's designs in the region. Even normally pliant Arab client states like Egypt and Saudi Arabia have opposed the U.S. over Iraq. Referring to the Pentagon's euphemism for civilian casualties, one Jordanian woman legislator remarked bitterly, "I feel insulted and baffled when I hear these American generals talk of 'collateral damages' as though it is a few pieces of furniture that will be damaged" (*New York Times*, 20 February). At the same time, the Arab bourgeois regimes fear the rise of Islamic fundamentalist movements, which have been fueled by the growing impoverishment of the worker and peasant masses combined with the patent bankruptcy of "secular" Arab nationalism and Stalinist reformism. Tapping into "anti-Zionist" and "anti-American" sentiment, the fundamentalists promote vile anti-woman and anti-Semitic reaction.

At the time of the 1990-91 Gulf War, the U.S. tried to whip up support by shedding tears for the multibillionaire oil sheiks of "poor little Kuwait" and hypocritically proclaiming the rights of the Iraqi Kurdish minority brutally subjugated by Saddam Hussein. Even then, when the treacherous Kurdish nationalist misleaders took Washington at its word, not for the first time, and tried to stage an uprising in northern Iraq, the U.S. effectively invited the Iraqi strongman to put it down. Today, White House spokesmen do not even talk about Iraq's Kurdish population. Meanwhile, U.S. ally Turkey, which has slaughtered hundreds of thousands in a war of annihilation against Kurdish nationalists within its own borders, has subjected Iraqi Kurdistan to one bloody invasion after another in recent years. Yet now even Turkey has expressed opposition to a new U.S. military assault, fearing that this could weaken Saddam Hussein's hold and encourage Kurdish separatism.

While calling for military defense of Iraq against an imperialist attack, we oppose any political support to Saddam Hussein's capitalist regime. He came to power through anti-Communist massacres with the blessing of the imperialist capitals, and he has stayed in power through savage anti-working-class repression and brutal oppression of the Kurdish people (see "Iraqi Rulers' Bloody Road to Power," *WV* No. 511, 5 October 1990; "Saddam Hussein's War on Kurds, Leftists," *WV* No. 517, 4 January 1991). It is the task of the Iraqi proletariat, leading all the oppressed—women and ethnic, national and religious minorities—to oust Saddam Hussein's bloody regime. Ours is the perspective of permanent revolution, the understanding that social justice and national emancipation for the workers and the myriad national minorities of the region will only come about by sweeping away all the murderous colonels, sheiks and Zionist rulers through proletarian revolution, linked to the struggle for workers power in the imperialist centers. Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Turkey out of Kurdistan! For a socialist republic of united Kurdistan in a socialist federation of the Near East!

OPA

Turkish troops stand over slaughtered Kurdish guerrillas. U.S.-backed regime has waged war of annihilation against Kurdish nationalists.

Reformists Beg Clinton for "Peace"

At speakouts and protests across the country, we have fought for the Marxist understanding that the struggle to defeat U.S. imperialism means fighting for socialist revolution against this

Amistad...

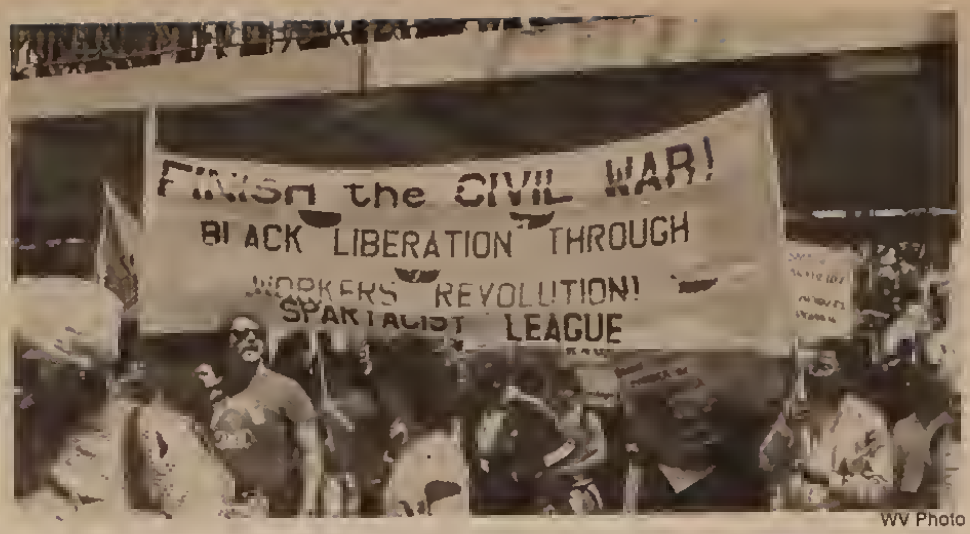
(continued from page 4)

system and break the chains of black oppression. When Brown and his men seized the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry in 1859, they were aiming to gather the forces to begin a guerrilla war against the Slave Power. The federal government hanged Brown for his insurrectionary action. For the majority of the Northern capitalist class, represented by Abraham Lincoln, the aim of the Civil War was not to end slavery but to put down the secession of the South and establish its class rule from coast to coast.

When the war came, Douglass tirelessly organized around the calls to allow black soldiers to fight and to immediately declare the emancipation of the slaves. The Republican Party was split on these issues, but battle losses gave the radical wing of the party a political advantage. "With every reverse to the national arms," declared Douglass in 1863, "with every exulting shout of victory raised by the slaveholding rebels, I have implored the imperiled nation to unchain against her foes, her powerful black hand" (see "John Brown and Frederick Douglass: Heroes of the Anti-Slavery Struggle," *WV* No. 319, 10 December 1982; reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 1).

The Civil War was the second American Revolution, the last of the great bourgeois-democratic revolutions. It took four years and the deaths of some 600,000 Americans—more than have died in all other U.S. wars—to at last break the Slave Power. The North's victory in 1865 ushered in the most democratic period of U.S. history. Enforced by the occupying Union Army and directed by the left wing of the Republican Party, Reconstruction opened up a vista of equality for blacks, who for the first time were able to go to school, to vote, to run for office. The establishment of public education and other measures vastly benefited poor whites in the South as well.

The promise of black equality was betrayed by the Northern capitalists. The Compromise of 1877, under which the last Union Army troops were withdrawn from the South, closed the door on the tumultuous era of Radical Reconstruction. The Northern capitalists were certainly not about to take any action which would threaten the dominance of private property, North or South. Even minimal land distribution to the freedmen was stopped and the large plantations maintained, with the former slaves becoming impoverished sharecroppers and tenant farmers. Instead of policing Reconstruction in the South, federal troops were used, for example, to suppress the 1877 railway strike, the first major national strike. Aside from its radical wing, the Republican Party was interested solely in pursuing the economic advantages of the victory over the Confederacy, not in advancing black rights. By the end of the century, the vicious segregation of the Jim Crow legal codes was imposed. Meanwhile, the bourgeoisie moved from the consolidation of power nationally to the pursuit of imperialist power abroad.



WV Photo

It took the Civil War to wipe out chattel slavery. Socialist revolution will put an end to wage slavery and racist oppression.

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Spielberg wants us to buy the lie that a good lawyer is all you need for freedom, claiming that the story of *Amistad* "is about American history not just African history.... The courtroom was really the heart of it" (*Newsweek*, 8 December 1997). Slavery was smashed not in the courtroom but on the battlefield, just as all social progress is the product of the class struggle.

A climax of the movie is Cinque's dramatic outcry in the courtroom, "Give us free!" But the freedom won by Cinque and his comrades begs the question of the subsequent history of exploitation and oppression. A social revolution broke the chains of chattel slavery, only to be replaced by capitalist wage slavery. With their migration to the Northern cities, particularly around the time of World Wars I and II, black workers became integrated into the capitalist economy while remaining forcibly segregated at the bottom as a doubly oppressed race-color caste. The color bar remains a fundamental dividing line in American class society, key to both obscuring and reinforcing the irreconcilable class divide between capital and labor.

As veteran Trotskyist Richard Fraser, who devoted much of his life to the study of the fight for black freedom in America, wrote in "The Negro Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution" (reprinted in "In Memoriam—Richard S. Fraser," *Prometheus Research Series* No. 3 [August 1990]):

> "The race concept itself arose out of the need to demarcate the Negroes as slaves and to build upon that difference in skin color a wall separating them from the rest of society. Without racial separation in the United States, there would be no possibility of maintaining the discriminatory social and economic practices which are fundamental to the economic and social well-being of American capitalism....
>
> "Although [prejudice] is directed immediately against the Negro, its object is the working class as a whole. Through discrimination and segregation, Negro labor is degraded and its wage falls to the bare subsistence level. But this sets the pattern and controls the conditions of labor as a whole."

"Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded"—that statement by Karl Marx at the time of the Civil War resonates loudly today as the capitalist rulers' brutal attacks on the black population are wielded to drive down the wages and erode the living conditions of all working people. The fight for black freedom requires a third American Revolution, a proletarian revolution, to break the chains of wage slavery and finish the tasks of the Civil War through the full integration of blacks into an egalitarian socialist society. The power to do that lies in the hands of the multiracial working class—of which black workers are a powerful component. The means to mobilizing that power lie in building a revolutionary internationalist leadership of the working class.

Liberals like Spielberg cannot tell the truth about the struggle to end slavery because they see it as a moral quest for "freedom" and "democracy." This fits neatly with Democratic president Clinton's cynical charade of "healing" the racial divide in America even as he condemns millions of black women and children to starvation by ending "welfare as we know it."

All the same, it's hard not to like *Amistad*. With racist filth like *Gone with the Wind* and *Birth of a Nation* hailed as among Hollywood's greatest films, it's gratifying to see a film that shows blacks fighting for their freedom. We highly recommend the film *Glory*, a moving account of the heroic black Massachusetts 54th regiment in the Civil War which doesn't contain the fundamental falsification of the American ruling class which flaws *Amistad*. However small the consequences of their victory, at least the *Amistad* fighters did win. The question urgently posed today is that of shattering this capitalist system—to which racist oppression is fundamental—through victorious proletarian socialist revolution. ■

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capitalist system. Addressing 300 people at a February 19 protest meeting at New York University, a Spartacist League floor speaker declared:

> "There is a banner of revolutionary struggle in the belly of the beast of U.S. imperialism that says forthrightly, unequivocally that we defend Iraq against imperialist attack. We do not counsel the United Nations on how to better carry out its colonialist policies in the Third World. We do not call for different compositions of inspectors to violate the sovereignty of Iraq. We say: U.S., UN, NATO, all of them—Out of the Persian Gulf! Lenin had it right: the United Nations *is* a den of imperialist thieves and their victims. We say: Down with the UN starvation blockade of Iraq!
>
> "We have to say: Defeat U.S. imperialism through class struggle at home! That's why we say: Break with the Democratic Party of war and racism! For a workers party that fights for a socialist revolution! As internationalists, we side with the toilers of the Near East in saying: Down with the oil sheiks, emirs, kings, colonels and Zionist rulers! Workers to power! Israel out of the occupied territories! For a socialist federation of the Near East! The U.S. imperialists who waged the war in Vietnam, who waged one war after another for capitalist profits, must be brought down through workers revolution."

This revolutionary perspective stands in sharp contrast to reformist groups like the Workers World Party (WWP) and International Socialist Organization (ISO), which have engaged in liberal-pacifist hand-wringing, begging the U.S. imperialists to "end the sanctions" and "don't bomb Iraq." For its part, while specializing in ultra-revolutionary rhetoric, the Progressive Labor Party rejects even the elementary duty of calling for the defense of semicolonial Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack.

WWP's abject liberalism and its belief that there can be a "peaceful" wing of U.S. imperialism is captured by the fact that its chief public spokesman against the threatened bombing of Iraq is none other than Ramsey Clark. Clark was attorney general in the Democratic Party administration of Lyndon Johnson when it was raining napalm down on the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. As head of the Justice Department, Clark was the boss of J. Edgar Hoover's FBI as it was carrying out its murderous COINTELPRO operation against black radicals. Following the 1967 Detroit and Newark ghetto rebellions, Clark instructed Hoover to "use the [FBI's] maximum resources, investigative and intelligence" to look for "a scheme or conspiracy by any group of whatever size, effectiveness or affiliation to plan, promote or aggravate riot activity" (quoted in Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *The COINTELPRO Papers* [1990]).

The ISO, which took its cues from the imperialists and their AFL-CIO labor lieutenants throughout the Cold War, promoted the vilest anti-Communism and hailed one counterrevolutionary movement after another aimed at the destruction of the Soviet Union. Likewise, they echo the imperialist masters over Iraq. At the time of the 1990-91 Gulf War, the ISO parroted George Bush's rantings that Saddam Hussein was "another Hitler." Today, in the face of the most ruthless imperialist power on the face of the earth mobilizing for war against Iraq, an ISO flyer at San Francisco State University complains, "With all of the ruthless leaders in the world, why is Clinton so focused on Saddam Hussein?"

Along with the rest of the left, the ISO today intones against the U.S./UN sanctions against Iraq. This comes pretty cheap at a time when even a goodly section of the capitalist class itself is opposed to sanctions. Back in 1991, the ISO dropped its paper "opposition" to the embargo when, along with Socialist Action, the Socialist Workers Party and others, it endorsed a "Campaign for Peace" march in Washington which explicitly called for UN sanctions—i.e., starving the Iraqi people into submission—as an "alternative" to war.

While in the U.S. the ISO appeals to liberal bourgeois sentiment, in Britain its parent organization, Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP), pleads with Clinton's chief ally, Labour prime minister Tony Blair, to "stop this war." This is not surprising, since the SWP enthusiastically supported Blair's election last year. Amnestying the British bourgeoisie, in an article titled "Killing for US Power and Oil," the SWP approvingly quotes Labour "left" Tony Benn saying: "This is an American war against the Iraqi people supported by a British government not elected to wage war" (*Socialist Worker*, 21 February). The centrist Workers Power was equally ecstatic over Blair's election, calling on the Labour government to implement a "human rights oriented foreign policy."

To a man, these reformists and centrists promote the liberal lie that imperialism is just a policy which can be changed through pressuring the capitalist state. But as Lenin stressed in polemicizing against similar views advanced by German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, imperialism is "the highest stage of capitalism," marked by the concentration and domination of finance capital, the preeminence of the export of capital and competition among the advanced capitalist countries to control markets and spheres of exploitation. War is a necessary product of the capitalist system.

The International Communist League adheres to Lenin's injunction that revolutionaries "will not deceive the people with admitting the idea that a peace without annexations, without oppression of nations, without plunder, and without the embryo of new wars among the present governments and ruling classes, is possible in the absence of a revolutionary movement" (*Socialism and War*, July-August 1915). We fight for socialist revolution in the U.S. and internationally as the only way to put an end to war and imperialist oppression. This requires building revolutionary working-class parties like Lenin's Bolsheviks, in the U.S. and around the world, and the reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International of world socialist revolution. ■

No. 53, Summer 1997
$1.50 (56 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO,
New York, NY 10116

WORKERS VANGUARD

Defend Cuba—For Workers Political Revolution!

Castro Welcomes Pope of Counterrevolution

The enthusiastic welcome with which the Stalinist regime of Fidel Castro greeted Pope John Paul II on his recent visit is a sharp warning of the dangers confronting the Cuban Revolution from both within and without. In embracing this architect of capitalist counterrevolution in Poland, Castro made eminently clear his willingness to cut a deal with imperialism which would liquidate the collectivized economy on which the Cuban deformed workers state is based. Only weeks after the Pope left Havana, the Cuban regime demonstratively acceded to a Vatican demand to release scores of "prisoners of conscience" from Cuban jails.

Reuters

Cuban Stalinist leader Fidel Castro bows to Pope John Paul II, patron of capitalist counterrevolution.

Virtually from the moment the corrupt, U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship was overthrown in January 1959, Cuba has faced unrelenting hostility from U.S. imperialism—economic strangulation, CIA "destabilization" and coup attempts, outright military invasion. To this day, more than 2,000 U.S. troops remain stationed at the Guantánamo military base on Cuba's eastern tip. And in 1996, the Clinton administration tightened the embargo with the signing of the Helms-Burton Act, which threatens punitive measures against foreign companies investing in Cuba. The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, calls for defense of Cuba against imperialist intrigues and internal counterrevolution. As proletarian internationalists in the belly of the imperialist beast, we demand: U.S. out of Guantánamo! Hands off Cuba! Down with the starvation blockade!

Particularly since the collapse of the Soviet Union, once Cuba's chief international ally, the Castro regime has increasingly opened the country to imperialist economic penetration—courting foreign investment, "dollarizing" the economy by legalizing the holding and exchange of U.S. currency, turning over ever-larger sectors of the collectivized economy to capitalist "market forces." Almost four years ago, Castro proclaimed that in order to achieve "reconciliation" with U.S. imperialism, "We would be prepared to sacrifice our particular political preferences, such as socialism, in favor of integration, peace and social justice."

It is in this context that the Pope's visit to Cuba took place. We warned at the time this visit was first announced over a year ago that "any involvement in Cuba by the Pope, the patron of Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland, can only be for the purpose of fomenting capitalist restoration" ("Castro Courts Pope, Capitalist Rulers," *WV* No. 656, 22 November 1996). Castro hails John Paul II for calling for an end to the U.S. embargo. But in this the Vatican is simply voicing the policy of all the West European imperialist powers, and growing sections of the American ruling class, who believe that Washington's current belligerent policies are not the most effective way of strangling the Cuban deformed workers state.

More urgently than ever, defense of the Cuban Revolution is integrally linked to the Trotskyist call for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy in Havana and institute a regime based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism. This requires above all the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to mobilize the Cuban working masses in struggle. Just as we fought tooth and nail against capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe, today we fight against capitalist restoration in Cuba. Cuba cannot long survive as an isolated deformed workers state 90 miles from the most powerful imperialist country on earth. The fate of the Cuban workers state is bound up with the struggle for proletarian power throughout Latin America and internationally, especially in the U.S.

"Socialism" on One Island?

The Castro bureaucracy's current policies are rooted in the very origins of the Cuban deformed workers state. When Castro's petty-bourgeois guerrillaist "26th of July Movement" marched into Havana on New Year's Day 1959, it had no intention of expropriating the domestic capitalist class or the vast U.S. imperialist holdings. However, large numbers of Batista's cronies among the Cuban bourgeoisie fled to Miami with whatever loot they could carry. And when the U.S. spurned Castro's overtures and tried to bring the new regime to heel with brute economic pressure, he responded by turning to the Soviet Union and carrying through sweeping nationalizations of the U.S.-owned sugar plantations, banks and other firms. By early 1961, the holdings of American corporations and the Mafia—as well as the Cuban bourgeoisie—had been expropriated and the Cuban capitalists were either in exile or in prison.

What emerged was a ***deformed workers state*** along the lines of what existed in the Soviet Union in the aftermath of the Stalinist political counterrevolution of 1923-24. The Castroite guerrillaists became a Stalinist ruling caste resting on socialized property forms. The working class was denied political power and the new bureaucratic regime espoused the Stalinist-nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country."

Castroism was hailed by revisionist leftists around the world—notably the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which was then in the process of abandoning Trotskyism and the lessons of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution—as a new model for revolution, particularly in the "Third World." From its inception as the Revolutionary Tendency inside the SWP, the Spartacist League, while standing for intransigent defense of the gains of the Cuban Revolution, insisted that the revolution was deformed from the beginning and fought to replace the Castroite bureaucracy with the rule of workers councils (soviets). As we wrote in the 1963 document, "Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International":

> "Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime. The creation of such regimes has come about under the conditions of decay of imperialism, the demoralization and disorientation caused by Stalinist betrayals, and the absence of revolutionary Marxist leadership of the working class. Colonial revolution can have an unequivocally progressive significance only under such leadership of the revolutionary proletariat."
>
> —*Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, "Basic Documents of the Spartacist League"

Under a planned, collectivized economy, and with heavy Soviet aid, Cuba was able to take incredible strides forward, eliminating unemployment, providing free education and health care and enormously improving the living standards of the population. But if "socialism

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Sherbell/Saba

WV Photo

U.S. imperialism's military outpost at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. Spartacist contingent at 1994 NYC demonstration calls for defense of Cuba against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 686

13 March 1998

Imperialist Rivalries Heat Up

Reuters

U.S. Capitalism in the "New World Order"

Despite Washington's grudging acceptance of the deal worked out by United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan with Iraq over "weapons inspection" in late February, U.S. imperialism has maintained the massive armada of destruction assembled in the Persian Gulf. The continuing threats by Democratic president Clinton to launch military strikes against the Iraqi people, punctuated by Republican Congressional leaders' demands that the UN agreement be repudiated outright,

PART ONE

strip bare the U.S. rulers' lying pretext that the threatened bombing was aimed at ensuring access by UN "inspectors" to Iraq's supposed arsenal of chemical and biological weapons.

As we noted in a statement last issue, "Behind the war buildup in the Gulf is the drive by U.S. imperialism to assert its 'right' to ride roughshod over the colonial and semicolonial peoples of the world and to demonstrate to its imperialist rivals that the massive American arsenal of destruction continues to make it top dog." While liberals and reformists pleaded with the rapacious American ruling class to adopt more "peaceful" policies and to "let Iraqis live," the International Communist League forthrightly called for military defense of Iraq in the event of U.S. imperialist attack and advanced the perspective of proletarian revolution as the only way to eliminate the danger of imperialist war. As we have from the moment UN economic sanctions were first imposed nearly eight years ago, we declare: Down with the imperialist starvation blockade of Iraq!

The conflicting appetites among the imperialist powers—with Britain fulsomely backing the U.S., and France among others openly opposing military action—continued to be revealed in the UN Security Council debate on the Annan agreement and the threat of a future missile strike against Iraq. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union has exacerbated interimperialist rivalries: trade war between the U.S. and Japan, the resurgence of German imperialism in East Europe, sharpening conflicts over control of oil and natural gas resources and pipeline routes around the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea. Amid a renewed scramble among the three major powers—the U.S., Japan and Germany—to redivide markets and spheres of exploitation, the outlines of the world situation increasingly resemble those before the first interimperialist world war of 1914-18.

The October Revolution of 1917, led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, pointed the way out of imperialist slaughter and capitalist exploitation and oppression. Today, the ICL fights to build revolutionary workers parties as part of a reforged Trotskyist Fourth International to lead new October Revolutions internationally. Alongside the current military buildup in the Gulf is the use of the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund to impose starvation austerity on the workers of Southeast Asia and Latin America—and the slashing of wages and welfare programs in the U.S. Imperialism, as Lenin stressed, is "the highest stage of capitalism." We present below the first part of an edited presentation by comrade Joseph Seymour, given at the recent Third International Conference of the International Communist League, describing the origins and development of the imperialist system.

* * *

In 1909, a group of New York and London banks were negotiating a loan to the Dominican Republic. The collateral for the loan was to be the customs duties collected by the Dominican government. Jacob Schiff, the principal Wall Street banker involved in this deal, asked his British colleague, Sir Ernest Cassel: "If they do not pay, who will collect these customs duties?" Cassel replied: "Your marines and ours."

This exchange illuminates a basic principle of capitalism, as well as every other social order based on the exploitation of labor by a distinct class of property owners. So-called property rights—whether in the form of loans, direct investments or trade agreements—are just pieces of paper unless they are backed by

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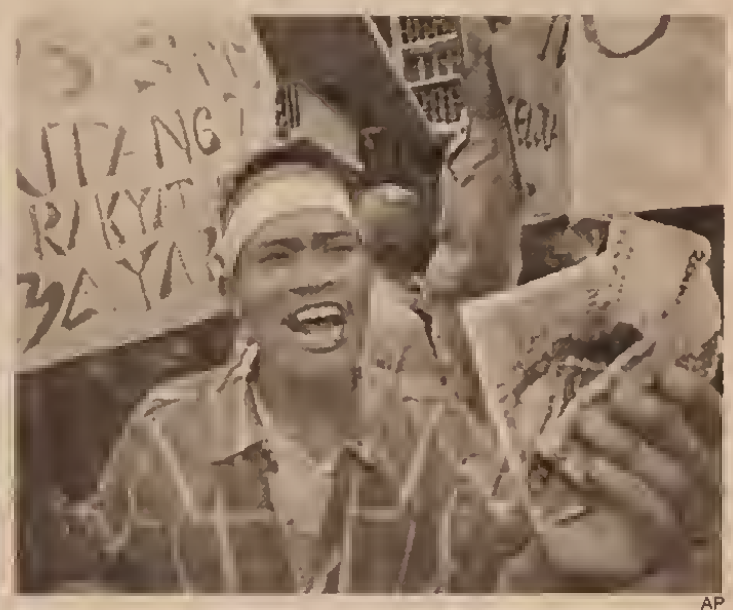
Reuters



AP

U.S. war buildup against Iraq takes place as rival imperialist powers compete for control of oil and natural gas in region. In East Asia, U.S.-dominated IMF imposes starvation austerity on workers from South Korea (left) to Indonesia, provoking widespread protests.

Misremembering the *Maine*

A Century of U.S. Imperialist Plunder

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On Pennsylvania's Death Row

Hunger Strike Protest Against Prison Crackdown

Up to 111 prisoners on death row at the infamous SCI Greene complex in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania have launched a hunger strike to protest new regulations imposed on March 5 which drastically curtail what few rights they have. Prisoners are now being allowed only one 15-minute telephone call a week and only one hour of family visits instead of two. Television and radio antennas have been confiscated, as have sweat suits and shoes. Limited to one striped uniform, two pairs of underwear and prison-issue slippers, prisoners are forced to endure chilly cells without warm clothing.

The day the regulations were imposed, guards swept through the cells confiscating any books, toiletries and other possessions that did not fit into a single, small box. Among those targeted was death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was forced to turn over some *16 boxes* of personal materials, including legal papers. Besides further dehumanizing the prisoners, this move is a blatant attack on their right to have the legal materials necessary to pursue their defense efforts. Many of Mumia's confidential legal materials are now in the hands of prison authorities and, presumably, the prosecutor's office.

The new regulations are no doubt a retaliation against a modest but significant legal victory by Jamal and other prisoners in January, when a federal court ruled that SCI Greene had deprived them of the right to private conversations with their attorneys and ordered prison officials to provide a confidential meeting place for such discussions. As a reprisal against prisoner lawsuits, the authorities have installed a video camera in the reception area, and visitors are submitted to an "Ionscan" machine (in addition to the metal detector) to supposedly ferret out drug residues on their skin and clothing!

In a statement from Greene's death row, Mumia denounced the latest attempt by prison authorities to further torture death row prisoners and crush their will:

> "Several years ago in *Live From Death Row*, I wrote about the attack on the life of the mind. This is that attack realized. In one fell swoop, the state has sanctioned those on Death Row for 'practicing their constitutional right,' for suing and winning in court."

Jamal has been fighting for his life since he was falsely convicted in 1982 for the shooting death of a Philadelphia cop, railroaded to death row because of his history as a young leader of the Black Panther Party, a supporter of the MOVE organization and a prominent journalist who has spoken out eloquently against police brutality and racist oppression.

In 1989, when Jamal and other death row prisoners at Huntingdon prison went on a hunger strike for two weeks to protest the degrading conditions there, the coldblooded prison authorities were perfectly content to see them die before their execution date. Today, as his battle for freedom has become a symbol around the world of the struggle to abolish the racist death penalty, Mumia does not want to give the state the pleasure of seeing him die in a hunger strike.

The Greene hunger strikers are ultimately risking starvation to assert their human dignity. Their protest highlights the fact that the death penalty, whose victims are vastly disproportionately black or Hispanic, is a barbaric system of institutionalized state terror. In branding people as non-humans whose lives are expendable, the racist death penalty goes back to the system of black chattel slavery.

As Marxists, we are unequivocal opponents of the institution of the death penalty—we do not accord the state the right to determine who lives or dies. The labor movement must actively take up the fight to free Mumia as part of the struggle to abolish the racist death penalty. Overwhelming evidence has been assembled testifying to Jamal's innocence, but he did not and cannot have a fair trial in the capitalist courts.

The current massive speedup on death row reflects the general intensification of racist state repression and is part and parcel of the capitalist attacks on working people and the poor carried out by the partner parties of capital, the Democrats and Republicans. To put the hideous machinery of legal lynching out of business, it is necessary to mobilize the social power of the multiracial working class under the leadership of a revolutionary workers party to sweep away the capitalist system through socialist revolution. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

International Women's Day, March 8, originated in 1908 in a march by female garment workers in New York City. Nine years later, a strike by women textile workers in Petrograd marking this workers' holiday signaled the beginning of the proletarian upsurge in Russia which culminated eight months later in the Bolshevik Revolution. The proletarian seizure of power—a beacon to workers and oppressed around the world—pointed the way to the emancipation of women. The communist program for women's liberation was laid out in 1920 at the Second Congress of the Communist International in a resolution edited by German Communist leader Clara Zetkin.

For women to achieve full social equality with men in truth and fact and not just on the passive pages of dead law books, for women as well as men to win the possibility of unrestricted achievement and free development of their full human personality, two primary conditions must be met. First, private property must be uprooted and replaced by social property. Second, the activity of women must be integrated into the social production of a new order free of exploitation and subjugation. Only the realization of these two conditions will prevent women from becoming economically dependent on men as wives and mothers in the family, or, as a result of the class conflict between exploiter and exploited, falling under the economic subjugation and exploitation of the capitalist as proletarian women working a job. Only this will prevent one-sided, excessive demands—whether of household duties and motherhood or of work on the job—from squandering valuable talents and gifts and making impossible a harmonious integration of both spheres of duty....

The foundation of communism is the social ownership of the large, economically dominant means of production, distribution, and commerce. In doing away with private ownership in this realm, communism eliminates the cause of the subjugation and exploitation of man by man, the social conflict between rich and poor, exploiter and exploited, oppressor and oppressed. In so doing it also eliminates the economic and social conflict between men and women.

—"Theses for the Communist Women's Movement,"
The Communist International in Lenin's Time, Vol. 2 (1991)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jane Patterson

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@iiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is March 10.

No. 686 **13 March 1998**

Letters

On Regional Autonomy and Algeria

3 January 1998

To the Editor:

In the article "Civil War Bleeds Algeria" (*WV* No. 680, 12 December 1997), we write that "Trotskyists call for the full equality of all languages used in Algeria—Arabic, Berber and French—but we also uncompromisingly defend the Berbers' right to regional autonomy." A "right to regional autonomy" presupposes that we have already made the determination that the Berbers cannot, may not or do not want to form their own nation-state, i.e., to exercise the right to self-determination.

More fundamentally, as formulated, the sentence implies that we defend this right in the present capitalist Algeria. Regional autonomy presumes that there is agreement between two sides, with certain governmental forms, diplomacy, etc. There are occasions when Marxists may agree with regional autonomy under capitalism if it is a question posed by others: for example, the Scots now have a measure of regional autonomy—their own parliament. But at best this can only be utopian nonsense in Algeria today. At worst, it builds illusions in the ability of the bourgeoisie to find a solution to the national question and thus belies our insistence on the need for a perspective of permanent revolution in Algeria.

It appears to me that in Lenin's Bolshevik Party, regional autonomy was only ever put forward as a possibility under a workers government. Just as we call for the right of self-determination in order to take the national question off the agenda, the Soviet Union set up a federated system where various peoples had regional autonomy in order to undercut the fear that the centralizing principles of communism were no different from Russian chauvinist oppression under the tsar. A relevant article on this matter is the "Letter to the New Unity Movement," printed in the International Communist League pamphlet, *The Fight for a Revolutionary Vanguard Party: Polemics on the South African Left*, which goes into the question of regional autonomy in Africa (*not* under the current political configuration). The document cites Lenin's December 1913 "Critical Remarks on the National Question," which is also helpful to review.

As a comrade wrote in a 1992 document for internal discussion, "We have stated in our press that we are for the equality of all languages in Algeria: Arabic, Berber and French. However, *the workers in power* [my emphasis] would, in addition, accord local Berber-speaking regions the *political power* to administer local or regional issues, within the framework of policy decided democratically at the national level." I suspect that this is what we meant to say in the *WV* article.

Comradely,
Elizabeth Kendall

On Slogans Against U.S. Imperialist War Moves

24 February 1998

To the Editor:

The last two issues of *Workers Vanguard* have featured articles putting forward revolutionary proletarian opposition to U.S. imperialism's war moves against Iraq. However, these articles contain slogans which are either incorrect or open to misinterpretation.

The slogan above the headline "Down With U.S. War Moves in the Persian Gulf!" (*WV* No. 685, 27 February) reads: "Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Class Struggle!" As one of several slogans appearing on leaflets building Spartacus Youth Club speakouts against Clinton's threatened terror bombing of Iraq, this call, while abstract, was nonetheless an evocative attempt to provide a working-class thrust for opposition to the American capitalist rulers. But as it appears in the *WV* headline, the slogan is not only meaningless but open to the reformist conclusion that imperialism can be defeated short of socialist revolution. To make a point of comparison, as war weariness deepened in the U.S. during the prolonged, losing imperialist war in Vietnam, the Spartacist League raised the slogan "Labor Strikes Against the War!" But the SL did not promise that such strikes would thereby defeat U.S. imperialism, though we were certainly going to throw ourselves into the battle.

In the article "U.S. Bloody Hands

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Young Spartacus

ISO Threatens SYCer at S.F. State

Goons for Liberalism

Last month, the Spartacus Youth Clubs mobilized against the imperialist war moves in the Near East, raising the call: Defend Iraq Against U.S. Imperialist Attack! U.S./UN/NATO Troops Out of the Persian Gulf! At several campuses we ran into another group which claimed to be organizing against the threatened U.S. attack on Iraq, the International Socialist Organization (ISO). Unlike the SYC, which forthrightly says that only communist revolution will end imperialism, the ISO pleads to Clinton, "No Blood for Oil."

The clash of opinion and test in action of the various forces claiming to be socialist is a crucial element in raising the consciousness of working people and youth. But this is exactly what the ISO doesn't want. Like its British parent organization, the Socialist Workers Party, which is renowned for its thuggery against other leftists, the ISO regularly resorts to exclusions and physical hooliganism to resolve the glaring contradiction between its socialist pretensions and its abjectly reformist practice. Thus four bullies from the ISO recently accosted a female member of the SYC at San Francisco State University (SFSU) and threatened to break her ankles if she ever talked to any of them again.

Meanwhile, in New York a six-man ISO goon squad physically excluded the SYC from a February 24 "teach-in" about Iraq at New York University (NYU). As we noted in a letter printed in NYU's *Washington Square News* (4 March):

> "In keeping with the ISO's anti-communist support of the imperialists' Cold War drive for counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and deformed workers states of Eastern Europe, these 'socialists' are in apparent agreement with the White House administrator who complained that more competent organizers of Clinton's Columbus, Ohio 'Town Hall Meeting' fiasco 'wouldn't have given tickets to the Spartacist League'."

The SYC opposes all thuggery within the workers movement and the left. We stand for open and free democratic debate among those claiming to struggle to end capitalist barbarity. We reprint below a February 25 leaflet issued by the San Francisco SYC against the ISO's vile provocation at SFSU. After this leaflet was released, there was a flurry of traffic on the Internet about the ISO's legacy of violence in the left. This included one former ISOer in Chicago who wrote that during the Gulf War seven years ago, "I aided the ISO in keeping the SL out of the NCCAW (National Coalition of Campuses Against the War) planning conference, something which I am ashamed of now." He also reported that prior to that, an ISO leader "told us that he had physically thrown Sparts down a flight of stairs to keep them from one of their educations."

* * *

As the U.S. imperialists geared up for a massive attack on Iraq, the Spartacus Youth Clubs held speakouts and meetings on campuses across the country declaring "Defend Iraq Against U.S. Imperialist Attack! U.S./UN Out of the Persian Gulf!" Our opposition to the imperialist war moves against Iraq is part of our opposition to capitalist exploitation around the globe. Imperialism is not just some bad policy of the bourgeoisie—it is the highest expression of this whole system of capitalist exploitation. To increase its profits, finance capital is driven to make war to capture new markets for exploitation. The war buildup in the Gulf is intended to demonstrate to the U.S.' imperialist rivals that the massive American arsenal of destruction still makes it top dog. At home the same racist U.S. rulers have condemned millions of welfare mothers, immigrants and their children to starvation and death.

Capitalism means racism and war—it cannot be reformed; it must be overthrown through a socialist revolution. The power to do that lies in the hands of the working class mobilized in its own interests and those of all the oppressed under the leadership of an internationalist revolutionary workers party. Defeat U.S. imperialism through class struggle at home! Break with the Democratic Party of war and racism! For a workers party that fights for socialist revolution!

The SYC's proletarian internationalist opposition to imperialism stands in marked contrast to fake socialists like the International Socialist Organization (ISO), who spend their time pleading with

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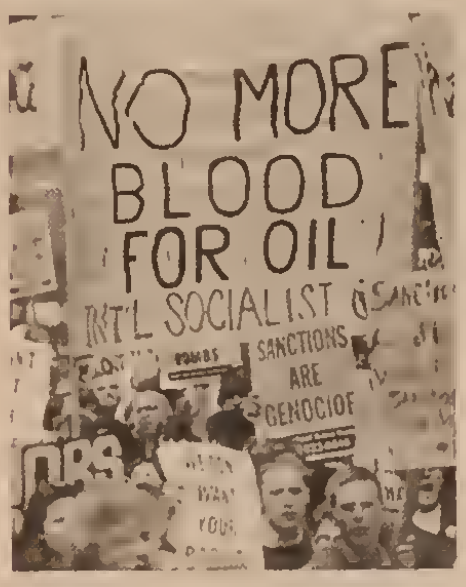


While reformist ISO pushed liberal appeals for more "humane" imperialism at February protests against U.S. war buildup, Spartacists fought for revolutionary program to defeat imperialism.

Young Spartacus photos

Pleading for Imperialist "Peace"

Workers World, ISO Welcome "Antiwar" Reactionaries

In our own campus speakouts and protests and through contingents at demonstrations around the country last month, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs called for defense of Iraq against threatened U.S. attack and stressed the need for workers revolution as the only way to put an end to imperialist wars. In contrast, reformists like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Workers World Party focused on liberal pleas to the murderous U.S. ruling class to allocate "money for jobs, not war" and begging imperialist leader Bill Clinton, "don't bomb Iraq." Such lowest-common-denominator appeals to the "masses" found these "socialists" in bed with some pretty reactionary types. Some who turned out for their "antiwar" demonstrations would have been killing each other in different circumstances.

A February 28 "National March for Peace and Justice" in New York, sponsored by Workers World's "International Action Center" and heavily built by the ISO, was marked by loud chants of "Allah Akhar" (god is great). Among the speakers invited to address the crowd from the platform was a self-described "Afghan freedom fighter" who railed against "Russian invaders." It is not surprising that the ISO would welcome as its own a spokesman for the bloodthirsty, CIA-backed *mujahedin* who murdered Soviet soldiers and have made Afghanistan a hellish nightmare for women—since the anti-Communist ISO eagerly embraced their "cause." But nor was there a peep of protest against the presence of this reactionary cutthroat from the more-Stalinist-than-thou Workers World Party.

The day before, at the Berkeley campus of the University of California, the ISO rubbed shoulders not only with Muslim fundamentalists but also with a group of "Libertarians Against War." Indeed, the signs carried by the far-right Libertarians—including "Make Money Not War" and "No New War—No New Taxes!"—were barely distinguishable from the ISO's own slogans. And at a March 2 "teach-in" at Rutgers University in New Jersey, heavily promoted by the ISO (and retrograde black nationalist Amiri Baraka's Unity & Struggle), one "antiwar" speaker attacked Clinton from the *right*, complaining that the U.S. imperialists did not do enough to get rid of Hussein in 1991!

Their occasional "socialist" rhetoric notwithstanding, the ISO and Workers World push liberal politics aimed at reforming—and prettifying—the capitalist system of racism, exploitation and war. Thus they appeal to and blend in with all manner of opposition to U.S. war moves in the Persian Gulf, from bourgeois pacifists to Arab nationalists. Workers World regularly fêtes Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General under Lyndon Johnson during the Vietnam War.

The "classless" rallies the reformists promote and build do nothing to fight imperialist war; on the contrary, they foster illusions that imperialism is merely a "bad policy" which can be changed through mass pressure. Marxists understand that imperialism is nothing other than the highest stage of capitalism and can only be defeated through socialist revolution to uproot the entire capitalist system.

We seek to win youth and others outraged by the atrocities and barbarities of this imperialist ruling class to the understanding that they must join in the fight to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead the struggle for proletarian power. Such a party is vital to bringing to the proletariat the consciousness that, with its strategic role in the production process, its organization and numbers, the working class uniquely has the social power and historic interest to smash capitalism and create a communist society. Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home!

While calling for defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack, we give no political support to Saddam Hussein's bloody capitalist regime, which has maintained power through the massacre of Communists, Kurds and other ethnic and religious minorities. We say: Down with the oil sheiks, colonels, emirs and Zionist rulers! Workers to power—For a socialist federation of the Near East! Only communist revolution, here and internationally, can end imperialist war!

Imperialist Rivalries...

(continued from page 1)

military force. And this is not some abstruse Marxist principle. Every Mafia loan shark understands that if he does not have at his command someone who can break the kneecaps of people who owe him money, he will experience a much lower rate of repayment.

In general, the amount of military force necessary to maintain property rights outside one's own country is substantially greater than within it. As a historical norm, the imperialist bourgeoisie does not face an immediate or short-term prospect of proletarian revolution within its own nation-state. But investments in foreign countries, especially in what are today called Third World countries, are far more vulnerable to popular unrest, at times to local bourgeois-nationalist forces and not least to rival imperialist states. The men who own and run General Motors do not now believe that they need a strong U.S. military to protect their auto plants in the American Midwest. But they do think they need a strong U.S. military to protect their auto plants in Mexico. And the top managers of Exxon know damn well that without the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force their oil fields in the Persian Gulf would not be theirs for very long.

The world capitalist economy, from its very beginnings in the 16th century, was based on strong national states and shaped by the conflicts between them. As Lenin emphasized, the development of modern imperialism beginning in the late 19th century went hand in hand with the enormous growth of militarism at both the material and ideological levels. This was not some unique, profound insight on Lenin's part. The imperialists themselves were saying as much loud and clear. Leo Amery, a right-wing British politician, declared in 1905:

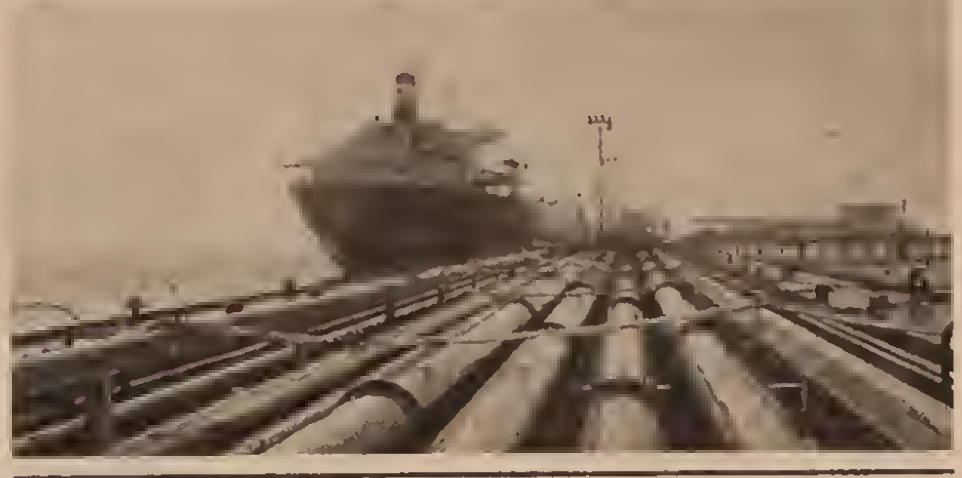
> "Every year the competition for power among the great world states is getting keener, and unless we can continue to hold our own, unless we can keep our invincible Navy, and unless we can defend the Empire at every one of its frontiers, our Empire and our trade will be taken away from us by others."
>
> —quoted in Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise of Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860-1914* (1987)

Likewise, Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, the architect of the modern German navy, explained and justified the First World War in his memoirs as follows: "We had global commerce, which compelled us to world power." Imperialist politicians and military men of the pre-1914 era were far more honest and less hypocritical than their present-day counterparts.

Economist map

Counterrevolutionary destruction of USSR has intensified interimperialist rivalry, as capitalist powers compete for control of new pipeline routes in Central Asia.

Der Spiegel



The Second Generation of Imperialist Powers

The best way of understanding those changes in the world economy over the past few decades which have been mislabeled "globalization" is to present a broad historical overview of world capitalism from the mid-19th century to the present, focusing on the interaction between international economic developments and the major imperialist states. The Industrial Revolution began in England and Scotland in the early 19th century and then spread to France and the Low Countries (Belgium and Holland). In the late 19th century, there emerged three new industrial capitalist powers: the United States, Germany and Japan. However, the *way* in which industrial capitalism developed in these three countries was very different, differences whose effects exist to this day.

What became the American bourgeois state originated in the era of mercantile capitalism as a settler colony of Britain, then the most socially and economically advanced country in the world. Consequently, the American rural economy was not burdened by the heritage of feudalism, unlike the backward peasant villages of 19th-century France and Germany, not to speak of Japan. Agriculture in the northern part of the U.S. was based on relatively large family farms which were highly commercialized and technologically dynamic. This, in turn, generated a large and growing internal market for manufactured goods, from clothing to farm machinery.

At the same time, 19th-century American capitalism benefited from massive foreign investment from Britain as well as the immigration of well-to-do Englishmen and Scotsmen. In 1914, British investment in the United States was greater than in India and South Africa combined. The financial integration of the British and American capitalist classes was reinforced at a more basic level, as the daughters of the Yankee moneyed aristocracy married into English ruling circles. Two of J. P. Morgan's nieces, for example, married English aristocrats, and the mother of Winston Churchill—the personification of 20th-century British imperialism—was the daughter of a New York financier.

These favorable internal and external conditions generated in the U.S. a large and broad-based capitalist class operating with a relatively weak central government. In fact, the U.S. did not even have a central bank until 1913. Before then, the House of Morgan acted as a de facto central bank. Monopoly capitalism in the U.S. (as in Britain) developed in a gradual and organic way out of competition among a multiplicity of freewheeling entrepreneurs. Many large American corporations—agricultural machinery firms like International Harvester and John Deere, Standard Oil (whose main successor is Exxon), Ford Motor—were wholly owned for decades by the founding entrepreneur and his heirs. They grew by plowing back profits and were already quite large when, to expand further, they had to tap into outside capital through the sale of stocks and bonds.

In Germany and even more so Japan, by contrast, industrial capitalism was from the beginning highly concentrated and centralized under the auspices of a strong and interventionist state. Individual German entrepreneurs simply lacked the capital to launch manufacturing enterprises of sufficient scale and advanced technology to compete with already established British firms. Hence the Prussian-German government encouraged the mobilization of capital through the banking system. Imperial Germany under Bismarck pioneered the investment bank—which not only provided the bulk of capital for industrial enterprises but arranged for mergers and acquisitions and generally guided managerial policy. This holds true today as well. German stockholders in Siemens and Volkswagen give their proxy votes not to the management of these firms but rather to their *hausbank*, which is regarded as the best guarantor of their interests.

Japan, which in the mid-1800s was much more economically backward than Germany, consequently required an even greater degree of monopolization and state intervention to become an imperialist power. Following the Meiji restoration in 1867, the new Japanese ruling group modeled its political structure and economic policies in large measure on imperial Germany. Bismarck himself told a Japanese emissary to restrict direct foreign ownership so as to preserve his country's national independence. The core of Japan's heavy industry was directly established by the Meiji state and then toward the end of the 19th century sold off to politically favored, family-based capitalist groups. This was the origin of the *zaibatsu*—huge integrated complexes of industrial, financial and commercial capital closely tied to the state—like Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Sumitomo. The same system continues today under the name of *keiritsu*.

The Buildup to World War I

The emergence of the three new industrial capitalist powers in the late 19th century underlay the two major interimperialist wars of the 20th century. The outbreak of World War I in August 1914 marked a fundamental divide in modern imperialist history. What is today called the globalization of capitalism is a *partial* return to the norms of the pre-1914 imperialist era. From the beginning of World War I to the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the *political* conditions for the international movement of capital were far less favorable than in the pre-1914 era.

This can be seen from a few basic statistics. By 1914, total productive assets held by British capitalists outside Britain amounted to well over one-quarter of the capital stock within Britain itself! In the case of France, the second leading exporter of capital, the total value of long-term foreign investment came to 15 percent of the domestic productive wealth. In comparison, the market value of productive assets held by American capitalists outside the United States today is about 9 percent of the total capital stock in the U.S. The comparable figures for Japan are somewhat less and for Germany substantially less.

The two institutions key to the exceptional globalization of capitalism in the pre-1914 imperialist era were colonialism and the gold standard. Particularly Britain and France, but also other West European countries as well as the U.S. and Japan, exercised direct state power over millions of toilers throughout the world. British plantation owners in India had no fear that the Indian government would enact laws unfavorable to them because the Indian government was *their* government.

It was also standard practice for imperialist states to use military force on behalf of finance capital against backward countries which were nominally independent. For example, when the government of Venezuela said it could not repay its foreign loans—mostly from British banks, and a few German banks—as scheduled in 1902, Britain and Germany momentarily overcame their own rivalry and dispatched their navies to jointly blockade Venezuela, demanding the Caracas regime pay up or they would starve the country into submission. Britain and Germany backed off only when the U.S. asserted its monopoly over gunboat diplomacy in the region and told them to stop poaching on its turf.

While colonialism and gunboat diplomacy were the political preconditions for the large-scale movement of capital from imperialist to backward countries, the gold standard was a precondition for the large-scale movement of capital among the imperialist states. The gold standard ensured that exchange rates were fixed, that there were few or no restrictions on the international movement of capital and that real interest rates were stable and closely linked in the major financial

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Museum of the American China Trade

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Der Spiegel

Turn of century saw rise of second generation of imperialist powers. From left: U.S. invasion of China during 1900 Boxer Rebellion, Japan's defeat of Russia at Port Arthur in 1905, German officers train colonial troops in East Africa in 1915.

capitals—London, Paris, New York. British holders of American railway bonds did not have to worry that their assets would be devalued by hyperinflation or the depreciation of the dollar against the pound. And if they wanted to sell those bonds, exchange their dollar earnings into pounds and reinvest their money in Britain, they did not have to worry that the U.S. government would obstruct such a transaction.

By the beginning of the 20th century, a sharp and growing imbalance had emerged between Britain and France's vast colonial dominions and financial wealth on the one hand and on the other, their industrial capacity, which is the ultimate basis of military strength. When a unified German state was created under Bismarck in 1871, Britain accounted for *one-third* of the world's manufacturing capacity and Germany only 13 percent. Britain was producing seven million tons of iron and steel, Germany only one and a half million. Two generations later, Britain's share of world industrial capacity had been reduced to 15 percent, slightly *less* than that of Germany. By 1914, Germany was producing nearly twice as much iron and steel as Britain. German ruling circles therefore demanded a redivision of world markets and spheres of exploitation corresponding to its greater and growing industrial strength. In the words of German chancellor Bernard von Bülow: "We cannot allow any foreign power, any foreign Jupiter to tell us: 'What can be done? The world is already partitioned'."

There is today a strong tendency to conceive of imperialism in Third Worldist terms as the domination and exploitation of Asia, Africa and Latin America by the United States, West Europe and Japan. However, this conception is too narrow and overly simple. The primary targets of German imperial expansion leading up to World War I lay within Europe, not outside it. Germany's main war aims in 1914 were the annexation of economically valuable regions in northern France, the reduction of Belgium and Holland to client states and the annexation of the Ukraine from tsarist Russia. This was a specific historical expression of a general pattern. Imperialist bourgeoisies which are growing relatively stronger internally demand and strive to obtain a larger share of the surplus value generated outside their own national states.

Economic Effects of the War and the Bolshevik Revolution

The First World War killed off the gold standard. With the exception of the United States, all the major combatants financed their huge, unprecedented military expenditures by printing money while imposing tight controls over all international transactions. When the war ended in 1918, price levels in the major capitalist countries bore no relation whatever to either prewar foreign-exchange parities or real purchasing power. The attempt to resurrect the gold standard in the mid-1920s was buried under the wreckage of the Great Depression of the 1930s, as the major capitalist countries reacted with what were called "beggar thy neighbor" trade policies: higher tariffs, trade quotas, currency depreciation, foreign-exchange controls (especially in Nazi Germany) and the establishment of regional economic blocs dominated by a single imperialist power, such as Japan's "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."

No less important than World War I in shaping the economic conditions of the 1920s and '30s was the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. This resulted in, among other things, the repudiation of the Russian tsarist debt and the formation of the Communist International, which weakened the colonial system by enormously strengthening the forces of national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America. For the first time since the Revolutions of 1848 in Europe, the propertied classes were truly haunted by the spectre of communism.

In 1930, the British liberal economist John Maynard Keynes blamed the Depression on the fact that interest rates during the 1920s were far higher than in the pre-1914 era. This reflected the general climate of political insecurity—fear of a new major war, of civil wars and of "red revolution." Bankers and other financiers thus demanded a higher return and faster payback on money they loaned out.

The political-economic impact of the Bolshevik Revolution was especially great in the larger semicolonial countries, like Mexico and China. In the 1920s, following the Mexican Revolution of 1910-17, Mexico was ruled by bourgeois nationalists, predecessors of the current PRI regime. Encouraged by the Bolshevik example, the new Mexican rulers refused to pay the foreign debt of over one billion dollars—mainly to American investors—inherited from the old regime of Porfirio Díaz. Unlike the Bolsheviks, the Mexican bourgeois nationalists did not openly repudiate the foreign debt. Rather they prolonged negotiations with the House of Morgan on the terms of repayment for years and, in the end, paid next to nothing. The other side of this was that new investment in Mexico by the House of Morgan and other international financiers was also next to nothing.

VAAP

October Revolution led by Lenin's Bolsheviks pointed way out of imperialist slaughter of World War I. Banner at December 1917 Russian workers demonstration includes call: "Long Live Soviet Power Which Has Paved the Way for Peace Among Nations."

In China, the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution was far greater and more direct than in Mexico. The Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 was defeated only because Stalin and Bukharin ordered the Communist Party (CCP), which stood at the head of the small but powerful proletariat, to liquidate into Chiang Kai-shek's bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang. However, Chiang's counterrevolutionary regime did not succeed in restoring political order. Peasant armies led by Mao Zedong's CCP controlled some regions of the country, while various rival warlords controlled other regions. Consequently, Wall Street and London were not about to risk their money in Chiang's China. The only significant foreign investment in China in this period was undertaken by Japan in Manchuria *after* it conquered and occupied this region in 1931. Here again we see that military-political control is a precondition for the large-scale movement of capital from an imperialist to a backward country.

The struggle of the major capitalist powers to redivide markets and spheres of exploitation led in 1939-41, as it had in 1914, to an interimperialist world war. But there was, of course, a major difference: the existence of the Soviet Union, which remained a workers state despite its degeneration under the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy. In its drive to dominate Europe, Germany invaded and sought to subjugate Soviet Russia. The defeat of the German Wehrmacht by the Soviet Red Army decisively affected the shape of the postwar world. The United States, with the defeat of its main imperialist rivals, Germany and Japan, became the hegemonic world capitalist power. But the global hegemony of American imperialism was blocked by the Soviet degenerated workers state, which had emerged from the war as the second-strongest state in the world. From West Europe to South America to East Asia, the course of economic developments between 1945 and 1991 was integrally connected with the Cold War.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

National Archives

U.S. troops invaded Siberia during 1918-21 Civil War as part of imperialist effort to overthrow young Soviet republic.

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A Century of U.S. Imperialist Plunder

UPI

American fleet blockades Manila Bay in Philippines, 1898. Spanish-American War ushered in era of U.S. imperialist freebooting and gunboat diplomacy.

For Unconditional Military Defense of Cuba Against Imperialism and Internal Counterrevolution!

For the Right of Independence for Puerto Rico!

Fittingly, as they were assembling an armada of mass destruction for use against the people of Iraq last month, the U.S. capitalist rulers celebrated the centenary of their emergence as an imperialist power. Regurgitating the jingoist call of the Hearst press 100 years ago, the U.S. Postal Service last month issued a stamp emblazoned with the slogan, "Remember the *Maine*," the battle cry for the U.S. war of colonial conquest against the decaying Spanish empire.

In his work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Russian revolutionary leader V. I. Lenin cited the 1898 Spanish-American War as a key event marking the advent of capitalist imperialism. The U.S.' swift and easy victory over Spain resulted in its seizure of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, and its bid as a contender for world domination. The development of a mighty armed force for intervention abroad was accompanied at home by the consolidation of racist Jim Crow segregation and the cultivation of a chauvinist labor bureaucracy.

The war with Spain ushered in a century of U.S. imperialist freebooting and gunboat diplomacy throughout Latin America and the world. Washington soon engineered a revolt against Colombia to enable the construction of the Panama Canal in what became the "independent" protectorate of Panama. Between 1900 and 1933 American troops were sent four times to Cuba, twice to Nicaragua, six times to Panama, seven times to Honduras. Beginning in 1915, the U.S. occupied the black republic of Haiti for 19 years, leaving in its wake a brutal puppet dictatorship. The conquest of the Philippines, leading to decades of bloody colonial repression, was a statement of U.S. imperialist appetites in the Pacific and a harbinger of the future war with Japanese imperialism, which culminated in the American A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Burgeoning competition between the U.S. and Japan in the Pacific points once again to renewed interimperialist conflict, this time posing the nuclear annihilation of all humanity.

Today, Puerto Rico remains a colony of the U.S., while the Philippines, though nominally independent since 1946, is a semicolony dominated by the U.S. and Japan. Cuba was a corrupt, impoverished fiefdom of the United Fruit Company and the Mafia for decades. Imperialist domination was broken only after the 1959 victory of Castro's petty-bourgeois guerrilla forces over the Batista dictatorship, when the new regime expropriated capitalist property beginning in 1960, creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state. Besieged by a U.S. embargo, further isolated by the collapse of the Soviet Union, undermined by the Castroite Stalinist bureaucracy, Cuba today is being pushed to the brink of capitalist restoration (see "Castro Welcomes Pope of Counterrevolution," *WV* No. 685, 27 February).

The Spartacist League supports the right of independence for Puerto Rico and calls for unconditional military defense of Cuba against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, while fighting for proletarian political revolution to oust the Castroite bureaucracy. Down with the U.S. starvation blockade of Cuba! This is part and parcel of our fight to sweep away rapacious U.S. imperialism through socialist revolution.

Claridad

Brown Brothers

Cuban independence fighter José Martí (far left) died in struggle against Spanish colonialism, warned against U.S. occupation. Emilio Aguinaldo led Filipinos in heroic resistance first against Spain, then U.S.

"A Splendid Little War"

While bourgeois mythology portrays the U.S. war against Spain as an effort to assist Cuban independence fighters against colonialist rule, in truth it was a predatory war to conquer markets and sources of cheap labor and raw materials. On the eve of the war, a *Washington Post* editorial declared, "We are animated by a new sensation. We are face to face with a strange destiny. The taste of Empire is in the mouth of the people." When war was declared in April 1898, Senator Albert Beveridge proclaimed:

> "American factories are making more than the American people can use; American soil is producing more than they can consume. Fate has written our policy for us; the trade of the world must and shall be ours.... American law, American order, American civilization, and the American flag will plant themselves on shores hitherto bloody and benighted."

The American bourgeoisie had long had designs on Cuba and Puerto Rico. In 1823, the year the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed, asserting U.S. hegemony over the Americas, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams wrote that the two Caribbean islands "are natural appendages to the North American continent." Particularly following the depression of 1893, as armies of unemployed roamed the country, the American bourgeoisie looked to the control of new markets and colonies as a means to prevent another economic collapse. By 1898, 10 percent of American industrial and agricultural products were sold abroad, totaling $1 billion. The gaping disparity between the economic might of American capitalism and its lack of colonial possessions impelled it to war.

By the time the U.S. declared war on Spain, Cuban nationalists had already virtually driven the Spanish colonialists out of the country. The revolution begun in 1895, under the leadership of José Martí and Antonio Macéo's Cuban Revolutionary Party, was the second uprising against colonialist rule in less than two decades. Spanish military forces responded with a brutal *reconcentrado* campaign driving peasants off the land. Over the next two

For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!

years, an estimated one-third of the rural population died of hunger and disease. Despite Martí and Macéo's deaths in battle, by 1898 the nationalists controlled the countryside. Spain had become financially exhausted and its army demoralized. Fearing an independent Cuba and alarmed by the presence of German naval vessels in the Caribbean, the U.S. dispatched the battleship *Maine* to Havana harbor.

After three weeks at anchor, on February 15 an explosion ripped through the *Maine*'s hull, taking 266 lives. Even though Spanish sailors had helped pull survivors from the sea, less than two days later William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* (17 February 1898) declared the *Maine* "was split in two by an enemy's secret infernal machine," providing a pretext to mobilize popular support for war. "Remember the *Maine*! To hell with Spain!" rang out from pulpits and podiums around the country. The following month, a Naval Commission of Inquiry concluded that the ship had been destroyed by a submerged mine. (A 1975 re-examination by Admiral Hyman Rickover concluded that the explosion was due to the ship's faulty design, which placed coal bunkers next to magazines where powder was stored in copper containers.) In April, President McKinley asked for authorization to dispatch American troops and the Congress obliged with a joint resolution "demanding that the government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect." Two days later, McKinley ordered a naval blockade of Cuba.

The "splendid little war," as U.S. Secretary of State John Hay called it, lasted all of 113 days. As Martí had warned, "Once the United States is in Cuba, who will get her out?" The American occupation was brutal. Cubans who opposed U.S. decrees were horsewhipped in the street. Journalists were thrown in jail and

Misremembering the *Maine*

National Archives

100 years later, new stamp celebrates jingoist war cry pushed by Hearst press as pretext for conquest of Cuba. U.S. Gatling gun crew prepares for 1898 invasion.

corrupt Batista regime and expropriated capitalist property.

America's Racist Empire

Days after the U.S. declared war on Spain, Admiral Dewey's naval forces captured Manila Bay in the Philippines. While Spanish forces were rapidly defeated, it took a three-year war of extermination by 70,000 U.S. troops under General Arthur MacArthur to crush the Filipino nationalist fighters led by Emilio Aguinaldo. Ironically, the U.S. had brought Aguinaldo back from Hong Kong on an American warship in 1898 in order to place him at the head of an insurrection against Spain.

Up to a half million Filipinos were slaughtered between 1899 and 1902 in a heroic uprising which fueled anti-colonial sentiments throughout the region. Brigadier General Jacob Smith ordered his troops: "I want no prisoners. I wish you to kill and burn. The more you kill and burn the better you will please me." Men, women and children were herded into concentration camps, as the U.S. implemented the same *reconcentrado* policy which had been carried out by the Spanish colonialists in Cuba. The systematic torture techniques used by the American forces would later be applied by Washington's death-squad regimes in Latin America, passed on at the notorious School of the Americas—more aptly known as the School of the Assassins—now located at Fort Benning, Georgia.

National Archives

Up to 500,000 Fllipinos were slaughtered by U.S. during war of extermination against independence fighters between 1899 and 1902.

"anti-American" publications were shut down by military censors. The U.S. contemptuously rejected Cuban demands for universal suffrage, not least because it would have meant giving the vote to the 40 percent of the Cuban population which was black. Signs appeared in Havana cafés reading, "We cater to white people only." One American black spokesman, Charles G. Baylor, trenchantly observed: "Nearly all the leaders and fighters in the Cuban army of liberation are men who, if in South Carolina, Mississippi or Louisiana would be made to ride in the 'Jim Crow Cars,' and would be refused the right to occupy a private residence on Beacon Street in Boston."

American business interests set about taking over railroads, mines and sugar properties. After three years of U.S. occupation, Cuba was poorer than it had been 80 years before. The occupation ended in 1903, only after Cuba had been forced to incorporate into its constitution a clause giving the U.S. the "right" to intervene whenever it saw fit. For the next 56 years, the Cuban toilers suffered under the neo-colonial domination of U.S. imperialism, until Castro's guerrilla forces ousted the

American capitalists had salivated over the prospect of taking over Spain's colonial possessions in the Pacific, as a gateway to profitable markets in China. Speaking from the Senate floor in 1900, Beveridge ranted: "The Philippines are ours forever.... And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either." For his part, McKinley invoked divine inspiration to come to the same conclusion. Describing his decision to annex the islands, McKinley explained how "I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance," until god told him that "there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them." It was in reference to the Philippines that the poet laureate of the British Empire, Rudyard Kipling, coined the racist-imperialist watchword of the "white man's burden."

In the U.S., even many so-called "progressives" justified America's imperial trampling over the dark-skinned peoples of the Pacific with an outpouring of vile racist garbage. The *Nation* railed in 1899 that the annexation of the Philippines—and Hawaii and Guam in 1898—brought under U.S. jurisdiction a "varied assortment of inferior races which, of course, could not be allowed to vote." In the Philippines, U.S. commanders incited their troops for the slaughter—including the extermination of entire towns—with lynch-mob tirades against "n-----s." Not surprisingly, many among the four segregated black regiments stationed there solidarized with the embattled rebels, and a large number deserted or went over to the other side. One black soldier, William Simms, recalled how he was reproached by a young Filipino who challenged him: "Why don't you fight those people in America who burn Negroes, that make a beast of you?"

The U.S. brutally crushed a *dozen* more national uprisings before the Philippines was finally granted formal independence in 1946. Occupied by Japan during much of World War II, the islands were a particular focal point for its attempt to oust the U.S. from the Pacific. The American colonial administration had been so onerous that many Filipinos initially greeted the Japanese forces as liberators. But the brutal Japanese occupation soon provoked an insurrection by the Stalinist-led Hukbalahap guerrilla forces. Implementing Stalin's line of support to the "democratic" imperialists in World War II, the Filipino Stalinists welcomed the returning U.S. forces and joined with them in sweeping up the remnants of the Japanese army. But as soon as Japan had been dislodged from the islands, the U.S. occupiers disarmed and crushed the Huk fighters. On 4 July 1946, Washington finally implemented its longstanding promise to grant the islands formal independence, impelled not least by protests among U.S. troops demanding to be sent home.

Imperialism Abroad, Jim Crow at Home

The capitalist rulers' wars of racist conquest abroad were accompanied by the intensification of racist repression against black people in the U.S. Two years before the Spanish-American War, the U.S. Supreme Court codified Jim

continued on page 8

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Anti-Labor Attacks, Cop Terror and the Capitalist State;
Harvard University Memorial Hall, Room 303
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

NEW YORK CITY

U.S./UN Hands Off Iraq!
Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revoution!
Saturday, March 28, 3 p.m.
New York Law School, Room C-200
47 Worth St. (north of Chambers)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Thursdays, 8 p.m.
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China on the Brink: Stalinism—Gravedigger of Revolutions;
NYU Loeb Student Center
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO

China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?
Thursday, March 19, 1 p.m.
SFSU Student Center, Room C-114
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Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Events

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Independence for Quebec! National Chauvinism is Poison to Class Struggle
Friday, March 27, 7:30 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre
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no credit

AP

Left: Demonstration for Puerto Rican Independence, New York, 1937. Right: Nationalist militants arrested after opening fire in U.S. Congress in 1954 (from left): Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero.

Imperialist Plunder...

(continued from page 7)

Crow segregation with the *Plessy* decision declaring "separate but equal" the law of the land. The years 1889 to 1903 saw an average of two lynchings a week. The bourgeoisie, represented by the Republican Party, which had smashed the Southern slave system during the Civil War in order to ensure the expansion of American capitalism, had long since made its peace with the former slaveowners. Now, seeking to sanctify imperialist aggrandizement, it adopted their racist ideology. The *Boston Evening Transcript* (14 January 1899) observed that Southern race policy was "now the policy of the Administration of the very party which carried the country into and through a civil war to free the slave."

The American bourgeoisie's emergence as an imperialist power was also prepared by, and fueled, attacks on the U.S. working class. From the national railway strike of 1877 to the execution of the Chicago Haymarket martyrs in 1887 and the 1892 steel strike in Homestead, Pennsylvania, the class struggle was marked by one anti-labor massacre after another. The 1890 Sherman Anti-Trust Act was used to bust unions on behalf of the growing American monopolies. Particularly targeted for repression were immigrant workers, who brought with them the Marxist and anarchist views which were widespread among the European proletariat. In 1903 Congress passed legislation barring immigrants who "believe in or advocate the overthrow by force and violence" of the U.S. government, the first such law criminalizing political beliefs since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. A 1902 anti-anarchist law in New York became the model for a spate of "criminal syndicalism" laws during World War I and for the 1940 Smith Act, under which first Trotskyists and then Communist Party members and Puerto Rican independence fighters were jailed.

Another instrument for disciplining the working class came through the cultivation and consolidation of a chauvinist trade-union bureaucracy—personified by American Federation of Labor (AFL) chief Samuel Gompers—which identified its interests with those of the imperialist ruling class. In 1897, the AFL denounced plans to annex Hawaii and Gompers opposed U.S. intervention in Cuba. In its monthly journal, the International Association of Machinists spoke out against the jingoist outcry over the *Maine*, noting the absence of any such clamor over the deaths of workers in industrial accidents. But as soon as war was declared, Gompers did an about-face, calling the war "glorious and righteous" while mouthing opposition to U.S. annexations.

Gompers was also in the leadership of the Anti-Imperialist League (AIL), along with liberals like Mark Twain and W. E. B. Du Bois and reactionaries like steel magnate Andrew Carnegie and arch-segregationist South Carolina Senator "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman. The AIL was formed in July 1898 in opposition to the annexation of Cuba and grew to a membership of 500,000 as the U.S. carried out its bloody war in the Philippines. Many AIL leaders, Carnegie among them, opposed the government's annexationist plans out of racist fears of a further influx of nonwhite peoples. Referring to Carnegie's crushing of the Homestead strike, Secretary of State John Hay ridiculed his pretensions as an "anti-imperialist": "He says the Administration will fall in irretrievable ruin the moment it shoots down one insurgent Filipino. He does not seem to reflect that the Government is in a somewhat robust condition even after shooting down several American citizens in his interest at Homestead."

UPI

U.S. reconquest of Philippines in 1945 led by General Douglas MacArthur (center), whose father Arthur MacArthur commanded American forces in brutal crushing of Filipino nationalist fighters four decades earlier.

Counterposed to those like Gompers, who linked hands with racists and monopolists, was socialist Daniel De Leon, who characterized the AFL leader and his ilk as labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. In a "Word to the Proletariat of Spain," De Leon denounced the capitalist system from an internationalist standpoint, declaring: "Its material needs require the sufferings of other nations, gloats over their defeats, needs their scalps...the capitalism of no nation can inflict sorrow on another without inflicting it on its own" (quoted in David Herreshoff, *The Origins of American Marxism* [1967]). Today, reformists like the Workers World Party and the International Socialist Organization follow in the footsteps not of Daniel De Leon but of Samuel Gompers. In protests against the recent U.S. war moves in the Persian Gulf, such "socialists" too sought to ally with whatever bourgeois "peace" forces they could find and promoted illusions in a more "humane" imperialism.

For Proletarian Revolution Against U.S. Imperialism!

Despite a half century of nominal independence, the Philippines remains an impoverished semicolonial vassal of the U.S. During the anti-Soviet Cold War, the Philippines provided strategic naval bases for U.S. imperialism's savage war against the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. For decades, Washington propped up the hated, corrupt Marcos dictatorship. When Marcos became too discredited to continue ruling, the U.S. turned to longtime American stalwart Cory Aquino, who was catapulted to power by the 1986 "people's power" protests.

At the same time, imperialist investment in the Philippines has created the potential gravediggers of capitalist rule: a young, vibrant proletariat, including doubly oppressed women workers. As Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky laid out in his theory of permanent revolution, in the colonial and semicolonial countries it is only through the seizure of power by the proletariat—led by a Leninist vanguard party and marching at the head of the peasantry and oppressed ethnic and national minorities—that genuine national liberation and agrarian revolution can be achieved. Socialist revolution in the backward countries would necessarily have to link up with—and would act as a powerful impetus for—the fight for proletarian power in the imperialist centers.

The liberation of Puerto Rico, one of the few colonies left in the world, is intimately bound up with the fight for workers revolution in the U.S. Poor in natural resources, Puerto Rico has been primarily valued by the U.S. capitalist masters as a staging ground for U.S. aggression in the Caribbean—from the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961 to Santo Domingo in 1965 and Grenada in 1983. While providing a reservoir of cheap labor for American corporations investing there, the island's population has also regularly been used as cannon fodder for U.S. imperialism's wars, which is why Puerto Ricans were "granted" U.S. citizenship (minus the right to vote in federal elections!) in 1917. Since that time, 40 percent of the Puerto Rican population has migrated to New York and other mainland cities.

U.S. domination of Puerto Rico is an unbroken history of bloody colonial repression. Under Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt, the U.S. brutally suppressed the pro-independence Nationalist Party, jailing its leader, Pedro Albizu Campos, and others in 1936. In the Ponce massacre a year later, at least 20 people were murdered and another 150 wounded as cops fired into a crowd protesting the jailing of the Nationalist leaders. Albizu died in 1965, having spent most of his life in prison, and his party was utterly wiped out following an attempted 1950

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ISO...

(continued from page 3)

Clinton to please "Don't bomb Iraq." It's a cruel joke to pretend that the petitions the ISO is circulating at SFSU will restrain the hand of the most rapacious imperialist power on earth. In its appeals to liberal pacifism, the ISO deliberately obscures the class divide between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and sows dangerous illusions that this capitalist government can be pressured into more humane policies.

When SYC members at SFSU counterposed our communist program of proletarian opposition to war last Thursday (February 19), the ISO went into a frenzy. Incapable of a ***political*** response these liberals in "socialist" clothing resorted to ***thuggery***! Four ISOers surrounded a young woman student SYC member as she was walking across campus and threatened her with physical violence: "If you ever talk to one of our people again, we'll break your damn ankles." When other SYCers rushed to the aid of their comrade, the cowardly ISOers alternately tried to justify and deny their threat of physical violence in front of a crowd of SFSU students in the main plaza. As other students expressed their repugnance at the cowardly threat, one by one the ISOers skulked away.

Since the beginning of the Gulf War seven years ago, we Spartacists have protested both the U.S. attacks on Iraq and UN embargo, itself an act of war which has already led to the deaths of almost one million Iraqis. At our demonstrations we raised "Down With the Starvation Blockade of Iraq! The UN Is a Den of Thieves!" In contrast, liberals and reformist "socialists" sought to pressure the American rulers to "bring the boys home" and pushed UN sanctions as supposedly a "peaceful" alternative to direct military action. In 1991, the ISO dropped its paper opposition to sanctions and endorsed a January 1991 "Campaign for Peace" march in Washington which joined the imperialists in condemning Iraq's annexation of Kuwait and called for UN sanctions. This was a call to starve the Iraqi people with a blockade backed by aircraft carrier groups, troops and missiles. Last year the ISO's British parent group urged working people to vote for Tony Blair's Labour Party, whose capitalist government is the only other imperialist power wholeheartedly supporting the current U.S. war moves.

At SFSU last week, attempting to defend their threats against our member, an ISOer "accused" us of hailing the Red Army's intervention into Afghanistan in 1979. You're damn right we did! The Soviet Union went into Afghanistan to shore up a regime which sought to implement minimal reforms to bring the country closer to the 20th century, including freeing women from the veil and providing education for girls. As against the Kremlin Stalinists' half-hearted military struggle and then withdrawal, we called for extending the social gains of the Russian Revolution to the Afghan peoples. In contrast, the ISO cheered the bloody CIA-backed Afghan *mujahedin* butchers and wrote that "we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan." Today, under the viciously anti-woman Taliban, women aren't allowed to work and have been attacked even for seeking treatment from a doctor!

The only successful "antiwar" movement in history was the October 1917 Russian Revolution when the working class took state power and abolished capitalist rule. We unconditionally defended the Soviet Union despite the subsequent bureaucratic degeneration of the workers state. In contrast, the ISO lined up on the side of imperialism, promoting the vilest anti-Communism and supporting every counterrevolutionary movement aimed at the destruction of the Soviet Union. They greeted Boris Yeltsin's imperialist-backed 1991 "countercoup," which signaled the final undoing of the Russian Revolution, crowing "Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing." It certainly was cause for "rejoicing" by the imperialist rulers, who in the aftermath of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union see nothing standing in the way of their system of unbridled exploitation, poverty, racism and war.

We of the Spartacus Youth Club, youth group of the Spartacist League/U.S., fight to build a revolutionary internationalist workers party to overthrow the imperialist rulers and build an egalitarian socialist society, in opposition to reformists like the ISO, whose socialist pretensions mask their adaptation to the capitalist order. The SYC fights to win students over to the side of the working class and to become active partisans in its struggles against the imperialist bombers who starve blacks and the poor at home and Iraqis abroad. Join us in our struggle for new October Revolutions and a permanent end to the threat of imperialist war!■

uprising, the failed Blair House attack on President Truman and a 1954 shooting incident by four *independentistas* in the U.S. Congress. In the 1980s, the FBI used Puerto Rico as a testing ground for its "anti-terrorism" campaign of infiltration, disruption and provocation, targeting trade unionists, pro-independence activists and others. In 1992, it was revealed that the government had kept "subversives" files on fully 135,000 out of the total population of 3.5 million.

This month, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a measure, by one vote, calling for another plebiscite in Puerto Rico to choose between continued "commonwealth" status, statehood or independence. In the last such toothless referendum in 1993, the independence option garnered only 4 percent of the vote, reflecting widespread sentiment that this would mean even deeper impoverishment (see "For the Right of Independence for Puerto Rico!" *WV* No. 588, 19 November 1993). Meanwhile, in the U.S. there has been a racist "English only" furor against admitting Puerto Rico as a state because Spanish is an official language there.

Marxists defend Puerto Rico's right to self-determination and support struggles for independence in order to strike a blow against U.S. imperialism and to remove the national question from the agenda in Puerto Rico. But we are not in favor of forcing annexation, federation, or even independence on anyone, least of all by racist U.S. imperialism.

Whatever its formal political status, the impoverishment, exploitation, racism (particularly against dark-skinned Puerto Ricans) and imperialist domination of the island will remain until the Puerto Rican workers, in league with their class brothers and sisters in the U.S., take the road of socialist revolution to overthrow American capitalism. Subject to both exploitation and national oppression, the Puerto Rican proletariat has a history of militant struggle. Most recently, 100,000 workers staged a one-day protest strike in October against the threatened privatization of the local telephone company. However, for this power to be mobilized in the struggle against the Yankee imperialists and their Puerto Rican compradors requires a political fight against the class-collaborationist union tops as well as against the influence of petty-bourgeois nationalism.

AP

San Juan, October 1997: 100,000 workers in Puerto Rico staged one-day strike to protest proposed privatization of telephone company.

Particularly following the collapse of the Soviet Union and imperialist triumphalism over the "death of communism," the "left" nationalist movement has been reduced to utter impotency. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), which used to count thousands of supporters, has simply dissolved in the last few years, urging its members to join the "multiclass" New Independence Movement. And at best the independence movement today can offer merely symbolic gestures, such as former PSP leader Juan Mari Bras' renunciation of American citizenship.

Puerto Rican workers in major North American cities can serve as a living link between workers' struggles on the island and on the mainland. And for the multiracial working class in the U.S., the fight to defend Puerto Rico's right to independence is integrally linked to their struggle against the American bourgeoisie. It is necessary as well to mobilize the U.S. proletariat in defense of the Cuban Revolution.

Key to this is proletarian revolution in the belly of the beast to sweep away the U.S. capitalist rulers. And that requires the forging of an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist party built in irreconcilable opposition to the chauvinist, anti-Communist AFL-CIO labor lieutenants of U.S. imperialism.■

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Working Mothers...

(continued from page 12)

menial jobs to survive. Meanwhile, programs like Head Start, free school lunches and vaccination plans have been torn to shreds, making even the minimal provisions which once existed for the children of poor families things of the past.

The vilification of working mothers is the latest phase of the "family values" crusade which has targeted everyone from day-care workers and welfare recipients to the "deadbeat dads" who are vindictively jailed for failing to pay court-ordered child support. As we pointed out in "Race, Sex, Class and the Capitalist War on the Poor":

> "The family socializes people to behave according to certain norms—for example, the definition of 'manhood' in this country is the ability to support a wife and children. The so-called 'crisis of the family' is directly related to the destruction of high-paid union jobs. You cannot have a stable family life without a stable income. Today, one in three American men between the ages of 25 and 34 cannot earn enough to support a four-person family."
>
> —*Women and Revolution* No. 45, Winter-Spring 1996

The Demon Working Mother

The U.S. ruling class is caught in a contradiction. On the one hand, it needs to retain women, along with blacks and immigrants, as part of the "reserve army of labor." They are given jobs when the capitalists need their labor, only to be sent to the unemployment lines when the economy cools down. The lower wages paid to women and minorities—as part of pervasive discrimination on the job—also act to drive down the wages of all workers. On the other hand, the ruling class needs the family as a socially conservatizing force, a transmission belt for bourgeois ideology.

Library of Congress

Victorian era idealized middle-class family but brutal reality for poor and working-class families included child labor in textile mills.

Lewis W. Hine

Lopez/NY Times

September 1997 rally in New York by Local 1199 health care workers. As part of multiracial proletariat, women workers have social power to sweep away capitalist system of exploitation and oppression.

For the bourgeoisie itself, the family serves as the means for the inheritance of property through "legitimate" heirs. For the proletariat, it is meant to bear the cost of raising the next generation of workers to be used as fodder for capitalist exploitation and imperialist wars. For the vast majority of the population, which has no property to transmit, the "model" family is a distant abstraction which exists overwhelmingly to ensure compliance with the bourgeois order. The reactionary offensive pushed by the ruling class in recent years has aimed at reinforcing the family, the main institution for the oppression of women of all classes.

In the 1980s, cuts in childcare and education programs by the Reagan administration were accompanied by a series of vicious prosecutions against day-care workers. Convicted on lurid sexual charges amid bizarre stories of "satanic ritual abuse" of the children in their care, many of these workers remain imprisoned to this day (see "Satan, the State and Anti-Sex Hysteria," *Women and Revolution* No. 45, Winter-Spring 1996). George Bush used his 1992 State of the Union address to claim that the crisis of the cities was due to "the dissolution of the family," while born-again Christian demagogue Pat Robertson ranted at the 1992 Republican convention that feminists were leading a "socialist, anti-family political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism, and become lesbians."

It was largely in reaction to the Republicans' anti-abortion platform (and the downright crazed profile of the party's extreme right wing) that Clinton won the presidency in 1992. But the Democrats are no less hostile to social programs which benefit poor, minority and working women. In 1996, Clinton joined with Congressional Republicans in ending "welfare as we know it." And it was a Democrat, New York Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who foreshadowed the attack on welfare in the 1970s, counseling a policy of "benign neglect" and blaming the "black matriarch" and the "breakdown" of the black family for the poverty and degradation of the ghettos. Such racist diatribes have since been echoed by a layer of black capitalist politicians and pseudo-nationalist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan.

Both capitalist parties have overseen the erosion of abortion rights in this country, giving a green light to reactionary religious fanatics to bomb clinics and kill abortion providers. The bipartisan attacks on abortion are part and parcel of the anti-sex witchhunt and a fundamental assault on social benefits and health care. Meanwhile, in the name of support to "their" man in the White House, the feminists have done nothing to protest Clinton's dismantling of social programs while they have *demobilized* defense of abortion clinics in favor of dead-end reliance on the courts.

Now the capitalists have geared up their propaganda mills to go after petty-bourgeois women professionals as well. A piece in the *New York Times* (11 November 1997) sneers that for many women in two-paycheck homes, "working really is not about the money" but rather more like "an illicit pleasure, almost akin to sneaking off to have an affair." And in the hysteria surrounding the Massachusetts "nanny trial," those who didn't want to lynch the young English *au pair* for the death of a baby in her care blamed the mother for selfishly pursuing her career as a doctor. The not-so-subtle message is that women who do not devote their lives to child rearing and household drudgery—tasks which remain "women's work"—are wanton creatures who have abandoned any sense of family responsibility.

In his pioneering work, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Friedrich Engels laid out the material basis for women's oppression in class society. In primitive, communal hunter-gatherer society, the division of labor between men and women was based not on female dependency but on the biological reality of childcare. As culture advanced and laid the basis for a social surplus, private property developed, society split into antagonistic classes and the property-owning class secured and maintained its rule over the rest of society through the establishment of an armed state apparatus. With private property came the family and patrilineal descent, which Engels called "the *world historic defeat of the female sex*":

> "With the patriarchal family and still more with the single monogamous family, a change came. Household management lost its public character. It no longer concerned society. It became a *private service*; the wife became the head servant, excluded from all participation in social production. Not until the coming of modern large-scale industry was the road to social production opened to her again—and then only to the proletarian wife. But it was opened in such a manner that, if she carries out her duties in the private service of her family, she remains excluded from public production and unable to earn; and if she wants to take part in public production and earn independently, she cannot carry out family duties."

The ability of women to break out of the stultifying confines of the household and participate in social production is vital to their emancipation. We call for full equality for women and for measures to free them from household drudgery as part of the fight *for women's liberation through socialist revolution!* Free 24-hour childcare! Free abortion on demand—free, quality health care for all! Equal pay for equal work—fight for jobs for all!

From "Rosie the Riveter" to "Harriet the Homemaker"

"Family values" reactionaries hold up as an ideal the white, suburban, middle-class family (man as breadwinner, woman as homemaker, 2.5 kids and a dog) popularized in 1950s sitcoms like *Ozzie and Harriet*. Particularly in contrast to the Great Depression of the 1930s, the then-new Levittown-style suburbs were presented as the American paradise, whose portals were open to all (white) people through hard work. Almost half of all new suburban housing depended on financing by the federal government, which also doled out billions for the new interstate highway system and for educational benefits under the GI Bill. (Of course, these white suburbanites were not denounced as "welfare cheats.") The relative prosperity of the short-lived "American Century" came as the U.S. emerged from World War II as the hegemonic imperialist power; on the other hand, high wages and benefits earned by unionized workers during the 1950s were the gains of bitterly fought union battles in the 1930s and 1940s.

Preceding the myth of meek "Harriet the homemaker" was that of a heroic "Rosie the riveter" during World War II, when the bourgeoisie needed huge numbers of women workers to replace the men serving as imperialist cannon fodder. Between 1940 and 1945, the female labor force grew by over 50 percent, and three out of four women who started working then were married, most with school-age children. The government quickly organized *and financed* day-care centers for 1.5 million children, more than were in any kind of day care in 1974. The postwar crusade for the family was aimed at getting women back into the home, since the returning soldiers were replacing them on the job.

As the episode of World War II makes clear, how prevailing bourgeois ideology treats the sanctity" of the family is directly tied to the needs of capitalist society at any given time. In the pre-industrial period of home economy, basically everyone worked. In *The Way We Never Were*, Coontz observes: "Not until the late nineteenth century did people elevate the nuclear family to their central source of loyalty, obligation, and personal satisfaction.... Far from forming the traditional basis of civic responsibility, this ideal represented a rejection of older obligations beyond the family."

The "traditional" family became the model for middle-class and bourgeois society only with the development of industrial capitalism in the 19th century. Modern manufacturing created the wealth of goods and higher standard of living that allowed the urban middle class to flourish. But the "sentimental and gentle Victorian family," notes Coontz, "depended for its existence on the multiplication of other families who were too poor and powerless to retreat into their own little oases.... Childhood was prolonged for the nineteenth-century middle class only because it was drastically foreshortened for other sectors of the population." In 1820, "half the workers in many factories were boys and girls who had not reached their eleventh birthday." Women who eked out a living by meeting the growing demand for domestic servants had to

Slogans...

(continued from page 2)

Off Iraq!" (*WV* No. 684, 13 February), we raise the call for "unconditional military defense of Iraq" against imperialist attack. Tacking the word "unconditional" onto the correct call for military defense of Iraq is a mechanical and thoughtless application to a semicolonial *capitalist* country of the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the former Soviet Union—a degenerated *workers* state—and bureaucratically deformed workers states such as Cuba and China against imperialism and counterrevolution.

As pioneer American Trotskyist James P. Cannon stated in a 1939 speech, the call for unconditional military defense of the USSR "simply means that we defend the Soviet Union and its nationalized property against external attacks of imperialist armies or against internal attempts at capitalist restoration, without putting as a prior condition the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy." Alternatively, Leon Trotsky explained in "War and the Fourth International" (1934) that defense of the Soviet Union against the capitalist enemies "*irrespective of the circumstances and immediate causes of the conflict*, is the elementary and imperative duty of every honest labor organization" (emphasis added).

The unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and deformed workers states flows from the *class character* of these states, based on their collectivized property forms. Iraq is *not* a workers state, and the call for unconditional military defense imparts to the Iraqi regime a progressive class content, implying that we would militarily defend it under all circumstances—for example in a war with Iran. But, in fact, we gave no support to either side in the squalid 1980-88 Iran-Iraq War, instead raising the position of revolutionary defeatism, i.e., that Iranian and Iraqi workers should "turn the guns around" against their own bourgeois ruling classes.

Applying the slogan of *unconditional* military defense to semicolonial countries means throwing class criteria out of the window and extending a political blank check to bourgeois regimes (a species of the "anti-imperialist united front"). Other examples abound of situations where it is inappropriate for the proletariat to give military support to such regimes or movements "irrespective of circumstances." On the eve of World War I, the struggle for Polish self-determination was subsumed under the looming interimperialist conflict. In the same war, the struggle of Serbia against the Central Powers likewise became subordinated to the imperialist enemies of Austria and Germany. Again, while the Chinese Trotskyists correctly called for military support to the Guomindang armies of Chiang Kai-shek against the Japanese occupation beginning in 1937, during World War II that struggle, too, became decisively subordinated to the Allied Powers' war against Japan. And then there is the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas war between Britain and Argentina, in which neither side merited the slightest support from the working class. As a banner of the Spartacist League/Britain declared at the time, "Falklands: The Workers Have No Side—The Main Enemy Is at Home!"

By way of contrast, Leon Trotsky, in "The Sino-Soviet Conflict and the Opposition" (1929), argued for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union in the military clashes with Chiang Kai-shek's semicolonial China over the Chinese Eastern Railway and denounced his Stalinist calumniators for falsely branding the Left Opposition as having a policy of "conditional defensism." Other instructive examples to consider are the Chinese deformed workers state's intervention in Tibet, as well as the subsequent 1960 Sino-Indian border war. In these cases as well, we were guided by a policy of unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against the class enemy.

Particularly following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, which has brought vastly increased imperialist pressures on the deformed workers states of Cuba, China, Vietnam and North Korea, it is crucial to insist on and explain the need for unconditional military defense of these states against the imperialists and against domestic counterrevolutionary forces as well. At the same time, we fight for the overthrow of the ruling Stalinist bureaucracies through proletarian political revolution. As Trotsky wrote in regard to the Soviet Union, the best defense of the bureaucratically deformed workers states is international socialist revolution.

During the latest U.S. war moves, it was the elementary and imperative duty of Marxists to take a side with a dependent, semicolonial country in a military conflict with imperialism. Therefore, we take a revolutionary defeatist position toward U.S. imperialism should it unleash war on Iraq and to call for its military defense against imperialist attack. The other side of this coin is our call for a perspective of permanent revolution in Iraq and throughout the Near East: the understanding that it is the task of the proletariat, leading the peasantry and mobilizing oppressed women, Kurds and other ethnic and national minorities, to sweep away the bloody Saddam Hussein regime and all the murderous colonels, sheiks and Zionist rulers of the region through socialist revolution, linked to the fight for proletarian rule in the imperialist centers.

Comradely,
George Foster

---

board out their own children, while Irish and German immigrant girls "went into service" at the age of 11 or 12.

The cotton for the burgeoning textile mills of the 19th century was produced by slave labor of all ages and both sexes. It was only in the 1920s that child labor was formally abolished even in the wealthiest of capitalist countries, the U.S. Today, it is on the rise again, not only in the semicolonial countries of the "Third World," but in the garment sweatshops of New York's Chinatown.

The same racist stereotypes which are today used to scapegoat black mothers on welfare echo those used over a century ago to justify slavery and, later, entrenched Jim Crow segregation. In 1844, Secretary of State John Calhoun denounced free blacks in the North for "vice" and "pauperism." After radical Reconstruction was smashed by the Compromise of 1877 between the Northern bourgeoisie and the former slavocracy, racist historian Philip Bruce argued that black children were born into "moral degeneracy" because emancipation had removed the slaveowner's moral authority. Black women who tried to stay home and nurture their children were accused of "female loaferism," as the planters made sure that wages were low enough to force women back into the cotton fields to raise the family income.

Likewise, the current assault on welfare is accompanied by a vicious campaign pounding away at the racist stereotype of the supposedly "freeloading, black, unwed welfare mother." Typical was a recent piece in the *Wall Street Journal* (24 November 1997) which approvingly quoted an official from a home for single mothers: "In the old days, people got pregnant on purpose to get on welfare." People go on welfare *because they cannot find work!* In fact, as Coontz points out, out-of-wedlock births fell from 1960 to the early 1970s, when welfare benefits were rising, and rose as benefits dropped sharply in subsequent years. Moreover, women who are on welfare not only have fewer children on average, but are less likely to have additional children the longer they stay on welfare.

When septuplets were born last fall to a white Baptist family in Carlisle, Iowa, the "heartland of America," the news magazines uniformly proclaimed it a "miracle" and corporate hearts were touched. But as some liberal commentators noted, if this "miracle" had happened to a single black welfare mother in New York City, would she have gotten a free house, baby food, strollers, car seats, Pampers and other cash and goodies? No, she'd be denounced for being "promiscuous" and "irresponsible" and, under Clinton's "Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act," she'd be ordered to leave her kids on their own after 12 months (three months in New York State) in order to slave away in "workfare" for a few hundred dollars a month in food stamps and benefits. But if she leaves her kids alone, she's charged with "child abuse" and her kids are taken away by the state. We will never forget the brutal 1983 murder of Patrick Mason, a five-year-old black child in Orange County, California who was blown away in his home by a racist cop. His mother, who left him watching TV while she went to work, was threatened with prison for placing her son in a "life-endangering situation" while the cop was awarded $35,000 in "compensation" for "psychological damage."

For a Leninist Party, Tribune of the People

For Marxists, the ability of women to work outside the individual household is of decisive importance, because once they lay their hands on the levers of social power, their relationship to male workers increasingly becomes one of comrades and companions in the class struggle, not household slaves shut away from the world. This is particularly clear in countries of belated capitalist development. In Southeast Asia, for example, women workers among the increasingly combative proletariat have played leading roles in strikes and protests. As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin noted about the young industrial proletariat—largely derived from the peasantry—in tsarist Russia:

> "Large-scale machine industry, which concentrates masses of workers who often come from various parts of the country, absolutely refuses to tolerate survivals of patriarchalism and personal dependence.... The drawing of women and juveniles into production is, at bottom, progressive.... By destroying the patriarchal isolation of these categories of the population who formerly never emerged from the narrow circle of domestic, family relationships, by drawing them into direct participation in social production, large-scale machine industry stimulates their development and increases their independence, in other words, creates conditions of life that are incomparably superior to the patriarchal immobility of pre-capitalist relations."
>
> —"The Development of Capitalism in Russia" (March 1899)

To emancipate women means the family as an institution has to be *replaced* with collective childcare and housework, in order to bring women fully into social life. This requires a socialist revolution to overthrow capitalist class society. And it is in their role as workers that doubly oppressed women, side by side with their class brothers, have the social power to sweep away this system of exploitation and oppression. Key to this is the forging of a proletarian vanguard party which acts as, in Lenin's words, a tribune of the people. As we noted in "Race, Sex, Class and the Capitalist War on the Poor":

> "In order to even begin to fight, the workers movement must take up demands like equal pay for equal work and free, quality childcare. These issues address the real, day-to-day concerns of the working people of this country. But the cowardly, pro-imperialist 'leaders' of the official labor movement are an obstacle. We need class-struggle leadership in the unions and a *revolutionary Leninist party*—a multiracial workers party capable of leading all the exploited and oppressed against the capitalist bosses and their state....
>
> "In a socialist society, where those who labor will rule, there will be jobs for all, free education and health care—including free abortion on demand and free contraception for all who want it—and free, quality housing for all. 'Welfare,' 'workfare' and poverty will be relics of a barbarous past."■

Toronto...

(continued from page 12)

marshals moved in to denounce the protesters for "harassment"—and to defend the imperialist military butchers. Finally, the four uniformed soldiers were escorted out of the hall, as the crowd cheered.

The WCPI, Socialist Action, New Socialist Group and the Cliffite International Socialists (I.S.—cothinkers of the American ISO) joined in driving the army recruiters out (though two Cliffites were later overheard arguing over whether they were right to do so). On the other hand, members of the Communist League (CL—affiliated to Jack Barnes' Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.) abstained from driving out the military and actually *denounced* the protest against the Iranian government!

At a WCPI workshop which included a video with grisly footage of a woman in Iran being stoned to death for adultery, a CLer intervened to complain how "disappointed" she was that "two tables" had been forced out of the fair and that the Iranian government representatives had been "harassed." When a TL comrade denounced this outrageous defense of those who supported stoning women to death, the CLer responded that the leftist protesters had "terrorized" the women agents of the ayatollahs and "emotionally stoned them"!

All those who joined in shutting down these tables should be proud of this symbolic step in reclaiming IWD as an internationalist, working-class holiday. We say: U.S./Canada out of the Persian Gulf! Defend Iraq against imperialist attack! Women's liberation through socialist revolution!■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

For Free 24-Hour Childcare!

Government Targets Working Mothers

From the sensationalist media blitz around the Massachusetts "nanny trial" last fall to a barrage of diatribes against supposed "parental neglect," working mothers are being cast as the latest demons in the ongoing "family values" witchhunt aimed at bolstering the institution of the family and reinforcing social conformity. And, as usual in this deeply racist class society, the principal targets are poor and minority women.

While Bill Clinton now cynically touts a proposed package of tax breaks for better-off families as "the largest single investment in child care in the nation's history," in November the Democratic president signed a little-noticed measure which will literally rip apart minority families. The "Adoption Promotion Act" recalls Republican House Speaker Newt Gingrich's scheme to throw kids from inner-city families into orphanages, which was widely denounced at the time as a throwback to the 19th-century conditions of Dickens' Oliver Twist. Signed into law on Thanksgiving eve, the day before the vaunted American "family holiday," Clinton's act is "intended to make it easier to remove children from abusive families"—defined by the *New York Times* (17 November 1997) as including teen mothers, drug users and people with AIDS—and place them permanently in foster care. With black children accounting for nearly half of all those in foster care in the U.S., this perverse law brings to mind the decades-long government policy in "White Australia" of stealing Aboriginal kids from their families.

The abuse of children certainly does take place within the harsh confines of the family. But what the self-appointed guardians of morality for the poor mean by "abusive families" can be gleaned from a *New York Times* (25 October 1997) account of some of the recent spate of arrests in New York City for "child neglect":

> "Sourette Alwysh, 34, was arrested for living with her 5-year-old son in a roach-infested apartment without electricity or running water.
>
> "Madalyn Melendez, 27, was charged with having sex in the cramped bedroom she shared with her two young boys....
>
> "And Sidelina Zuninga, 39, stood accused of leaving her two sons—one 10, the other 4—at home for an hour and a half while she shopped at a grocery store."

These women were torn away from their children and thrown behind bars for the "crime" of being poor!

Economist

Naso/NY Daily News

While capitalists slash welfare, childcare and health care, desperate working mothers are demonized in "family values" crusade. Far right: pediatric asthma emergency room in South Bronx.

Today there is a widening chasm between the handful of rich at the top and most of the rest of the population. To sharpen its competitive edge against its imperialist rivals, the American bourgeoisie has ratcheted up the rate of exploitation, relentlessly driving down real wages, cutting back job-related benefits and slashing away at "social overhead" costs. Amid the wreckage of broken and betrayed strikes and massive givebacks by the pro-capitalist union tops, real wages have plunged by more than 20 percent over the past two decades.

In her book, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (BasicBooks, 1992), historian Stephanie Coontz, a professor at Evergreen State College in Washington, draws a parallel between the "Gilded Age" of untrammeled capitalist exploitation toward the end of the 19th century and the current "greed generation": "In both the 1870s to 1890s and the 1970s to 1990s, sentimentalization of private life coincided with a destruction of limits to unrestrained wealth-seeking and political ambition." Today, as Coontz points out, "Without the work of wives, the entire bottom 60 percent of the U.S. population would have had real income losses between 1979 and 1986." And half of the new jobs created in the 1980s paid a wage lower than poverty level for a family of four.

More than at any time since the end of World War II, women are forced to work to support themselves and their families. And the elimination of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and other welfare programs has forced single mothers to leave their young children at home in order to enroll in slave-labor "workfare" schemes or accept the most

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Feminists Police International Women's Day Fair

Toronto Protesters Say: "Army Recruiters Out!"

TORONTO—When more than a thousand International Women's Day (IWD) marchers arrived at the annual IWD fair at Ryerson University on March 7, they discovered that the feminist organizers had allowed two new stalls this year. Prominently occupying one corner of the room was a recruiting table for the Canadian Armed Forces—the imperialist military that helped to massacre more than 100,000 Iraqis in 1991 and is part of the U.S.-led strike force massed in the Persian Gulf today. In the middle of the room, female representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran were showing videos and giving out propaganda grotesquely praising the Iranian government's treatment of women!

When the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste (TL), Canadian section of the International Communist League, joined with other leftists to force the removal of these tables, the feminists called on the campus security guards to suppress the protests. Even before the march arrived, the feminist organizers evicted one Iranian leftist for loudly protesting the mullah regime's presence. A TL comrade who spoke out in his defense and denounced the Iranian regime as a deadly enemy of women and minorities won cheers and applause from many in the room. The feminist thought-police responded by threatening to have the security cops remove the TL's table.

When the marchers arrived, several dozen Iranian and Kurdish women, backed by more than a hundred other protesters, including supporters of the Worker-Communist Party of Iran (WCPI), surrounded the Iranian government table, chanting in English and Farsi: "Down with the Islamic Republic!" IWD marshals quickly moved in to defend the agents of the Islamic regime, calling in the campus cops and screaming that the Iranian leftist protesters, many of them victims of terror and repression at home, were engaging in "harassment" and "male violence." But the protest continued, and the marshals formed a human chain to escort the ayatollahs' representatives out of the hall.

The TL also joined the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) in initiating a united-front action to drive out the army recruiters. Supporters of the TL, OCAP and Anti-Racist Action moved across the room to set up a line in front of the Armed Forces table, chanting "Army out, Army out!" Within minutes, hundreds of others had joined in. Linking the Canadian army's terror against the Iraqi people to its repression of Native people—like the Mohawks at Oka in 1990—a TL comrade raised the call, "Butchers of Oka, Butchers of Iraq!" Joining in the chants, demonstrators ripped up army recruiting leaflets and posters. Once more, the IWD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 687

27 March 1998

Yun Suk-Bong/Reuters

Reuters

Seoul police attack February protest against austerity measures. U.S. occupation force props up South Korean police-state regime, poses mortal threat to North Korean deformed workers state. "Demilitarized Zone" marks imperialist Cold War partition of Korea.

U.S. Troops Out of Korea Now!

For Unconditional Military Defense of North Korea!

For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

MARCH 22—"Peace" talks aimed at bringing to a formal close the 1950-53 Korean War collapsed yesterday as the U.S. refused to even discuss a North Korean demand for the removal of nearly 40,000 American troops from South Korea. A massive U.S. occupation force, armed to the hilt with nuclear weapons, has been stationed on the Korean peninsula since 1945, serving as gendarmes for counterrevolutionary repression throughout the region. The so-called "Demilitarized Zone" along the 38th parallel is a *class* line: to the south is a capitalist police state created at the behest of U.S. imperialism; to the north, a bureaucratically deformed workers state issuing out of a social revolution which overthrew the capitalists and landlords. As the *New York Times* (25 February) commented in a recent report from Korea: "Nearly a decade after the cold war ended in most of the world, it remains alive and healthy here."

The mortal threat posed by the U.S. military presence was underlined only weeks before the four-party talks—which include delegations from South Korea and China—resumed last Monday in Geneva, Switzerland after a brief initial meeting in December. In late January, U.S. troops in South Korea staged yet another round of provocative military "drills" to prepare for war against the North and for suppressing leftist protests in the South. As South Korean workers chafe under the harsh austerity measures dictated by the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund (IMF), Clinton administration spokesmen have made a point of repeatedly stressing the link between American military and economic interests on the peninsula.

As part of our struggle to forge a revolutionary workers party to sweep away the rapacious American bourgeoisie, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs are organizing protests around the U.S. this month to demand: *U.S. Troops Out of Korea Now! For Unconditional Military Defense of North Korea! For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!* As we declare in a leaflet calling for these actions:

> "Forty-five years after the UN-sponsored 1950-53 Korean War, in which some three to four million were killed and North Korea was virtually leveled, nearly 40,000 American troops remain on South Korean soil. This military presence is not only a dagger aimed at North Korea and the Chinese deformed workers state but also serves as a warning to South Korea's working masses, threatening to drown in blood any challenge to the capitalist order....
>
> "As proletarian internationalists, the Spartacist League—U.S. section of the International Communist League—calls for the ***immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Korea***!"

Washington welcomed the election of former "human rights dissident" Kim Dae Jung as president of South Korea in December. Kim immediately saluted the U.S. imperialist forces as "essential to peace in the Korean Peninsula" and has already begun implementing the draconian terms of the IMF "bailout" program, which will inflict massive wage cuts and millions of layoffs on South Korean workers. The imperialist jackals are also using the IMF as their favored instrument to force through widespread takeovers of Korean companies by foreign firms (see "IMF 'Bailout' Means Misery for South Korean Workers," *WV* No. 681, 2 January). Throughout the countries of Southeast Asia racked by economic crisis, IMF starvation dictates enforced by the local bourgeoisies have touched off massive protests. *Down with IMF bloodsuckers! Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution!*

U.S. Props Up South Korean Police State

From the moment U.S. forces landed at Inchon in September 1945, they have served as front-line troops in the imperialists' frenzied drive to "roll back Communism" and to project American military power in the Pacific. The Korean peninsula was transformed into a principal battleground of the anti-Soviet Cold War, aimed in the Far East at overthrowing the deformed workers state created in North Korea under the postwar Soviet presence and at reversing the 1949 victory of Mao Zedong's Stalinist forces over the corrupt, U.S.-backed capitalist regime of Chiang Kai-shek.

Carried out under the auspices of the United Nations, the U.S.-led war against North Korean and Chinese forces in 1950-53 literally devastated Korea. Air Force general Curtis LeMay, who organized the firebombing of Tokyo in World War II and later threatened to "bomb Vietnam back to the Stone Age," was to brag afterward: "We burned down *every* town in North Korea and South Korea, too." It was during the Korean War that napalm was first used on a massive scale, setting the precedent for its use during America's dirty, losing imperialist war in Vietnam some 15 years later. In December 1950, the North Korean capital of Pyongyang was obliterated by American bombing. As the U.S. carried out its "scorched earth" policy, many people throughout the peninsula were forced to seek refuge in caves, where they lived for years afterward. But for the fear of retaliation by the Soviet Union, which had developed its own nuclear weapons before the outbreak of the war, the U.S. would have carried out its plans to use A-bombs in the Korean War.

The American occupation force has also served as a bulwark against any challenge by Korean workers and peasants to the capitalist regime in the South. In the years before the Korean War, U.S. troops bloodily suppressed one peasant uprising after another. After the war, the U.S. propped up a series of dictatorial military regimes which presided over the brutal exploitation of the growing South Korean proletariat. In May 1980, Washington

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Clinton's Vicious Anti-Immigrant Law at Work

Tragic Suicide in L.A. County

Late last month, seventeen-year-old Geraldo Anthony Mosquera Jr. of Bell Gardens in Los Angeles County committed suicide. Geraldo was despondent over the deportation of his father, who was kicked out of the U.S. late last year for a 1989 conviction for selling $10 worth of marijuana. Geraldo Mosquera Sr. had fallen under provisions of Clinton's 1996 racist immigration "reform" which greatly expanded offenses for which legal immigrants may be deported. He had lived legally in the U.S. for 29 years, supporting his family as a fork-lift driver, before being thrown back to Colombia. Adding another outrageous chapter to their persecution of this man, U.S. officials would not even allow him back into the country to attend his son's funeral!

Since the enactment of Clinton's anti-immigrant law, which was heavily backed by both Democratic and Republican parties of capital, deportations have topped 50,000 per year—double the rate just five years ago. Most of the current wave of deportees are long-time legal residents, many of whom have been here for decades and have little connection to their countries of origin. The 1996 law extends the racist "war on drugs" to target immigrants, who can be deported if they had ever been convicted of a "crime" with a sentence of more than a year. Convicted immigrants now face double jeopardy: first you do your time, then prison officials release you directly into the arms of *la migra* for deportation.

It is vital for the labor movement that it mobilize to fight the capitalists' racist anti-immigrant campaign. Many immigrants have brought experience of hard-fought class battles in their home countries to the labor movement in the U.S. Particularly in Southern California in recent years, immigrant workers have played a key role in a number of spirited strikes and union organizing battles. Just as the 1948 Taft-Hartley Act served to purge militants by barring anyone convicted of felonies from holding union office, Clinton's 1996 law (inspired by California's 1994 anti-immigrant Prop. 187) will no doubt have a chilling effect on the unions by opening up the more militant and class-conscious immigrant workers for repression.

The rulers of this country possess an arsenal of state repression—cops, courts, prisons—to keep minorities and the labor movement down, the better to exploit the entire working class. Even Teamsters president Ron Carey, who rode into office on the coattails of the Justice Department's takeover of the union, has been targeted by the anti-labor government following last summer's successful UPS strike. The capitalist exploiters also push racism and anti-immigrant chauvinism as ideological weapons to poison integrated class struggle. This points to the burning need to forge a class-struggle leadership for labor—a multiracial revolutionary workers party—which champions all of the oppressed in the fight to overthrow racist capitalist rule. ***Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*** ■

The Communist Manifesto of 1848

TROTSKY

LENIN

This year marks the 150th anniversary of the publication of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' Communist Manifesto, the founding document of the communist movement. Their understanding that capitalism was a crisis-ridden system which would lead only to further immiseration of the proletariat is evident today in the economic devastation faced by the young proletariat of Southeast Asia—and by ever-wider layers of workers in the advanced capitalist countries—as well as in the growing danger of imperialist war. We seek to forge the world party of socialist revolution needed to bring to the proletariat the consciousness of its historic role as the gravedigger of the capitalist system and to lead it in creating a classless, egalitarian society.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air....

The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern labourer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society....

The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, is its own grave-diggers.

—Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Communist Manifesto* (1848)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is March 24.

No. 687 **27 March 1998**

Star Chamber Hearings— U.S. Moves to Deport Own Iraqi Agents

We print below a March 23 letter by the PDC to Immigration and Naturalization Service head Doris Meissner and Attorney General Janet Reno.

The Partisan Defense Committee condemns the star-chamber deportation proceedings against six Iraqi nationals in California. The six, who were agents of the CIA in the Clinton administration's own sinister machinations in Iraq, now face deportation after a March 9 ruling that they constituted a "danger" to "national security." In the hearings, federal immigration judge D. D. Sitgraves ruled that defense attorneys for the six were not permitted to examine "evidence" against them or to cross-examine government agents. The attorneys have stated that they "know no more about the allegations than we did when the proceedings began eleven months ago." Only because a former CIA head, James Woolsey, has now offered to defend the six will the defense even be able to examine the secret evidence against them as they appeal the ruling.

These deportation proceedings took place as the U.S. undertook its military buildup in the Persian Gulf, threatening yet another mass murder of the Iraqi people. Hundreds of thousands of Iraqis have died at the hands of U.S. imperialism, from the 1990-91 Gulf War and subsequent U.S. missile attacks and particularly through the continuing starvation embargo against Iraq. Unlike untold numbers of leftist opponents of American-backed military regimes around the world who met torture and death after being deported from the U.S., the six former CIA "assets" were knowing accomplices of Washington's failed dirty work. Nevertheless, the treatment they received in the court of American "democracy" represents a threat not only to all immigrants but to the civil liberties of everyone in the U.S.

Setting the stage for Judge Sitgraves' star chamber is the anti-immigrant witch-hunt promoted from Clinton's White House on down, which has caught countless Arabs, Africans, Central Americans and Asians in its racist vise. Under the "Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act" backed by both the Democratic and Republican parties and signed by President Clinton in 1996, immigrants can be "tried" in "anti-terrorism" courts without ever knowing the charges against them, while decades-old convictions on the most trivial offenses are now grounds for deportation.

We demand that all deportation proceedings against the six Iraqis be halted now!

Socialist Action Censors Target Trotskyists U.S. Bans Visit by Cuban Officials

A conference of academics and professionals billed as "A Dialogue with Cuba," held March 19-21 at the University of California at Berkeley, ran afoul of the American government's relentless drive to destroy the Cuban bureaucratically deformed workers state. Clinton's State Department—using a measure enacted by Republican president Reagan in the 1980s denying U.S. visas to Cuban government officials—excluded 11 of 32 Cubans who were to attend the gathering. Reflecting concern among a section of the ruling class that the trade embargo hurts American business interests, 21 Congressmen verbally protested the State Department action.

Heavily built by the fake-Trotskyist Castro enthusiasts of Socialist Action (SA), the Berkeley confab was precisely geared to those favoring a soft-core approach to counterrevolution—undermining Cuba's economy with dollars—whose principal apostle these days is the Pope. *Socialist Action* (February 1998) exulted in the Pope's recent visit to the island, bleating: "Media Neglected Pope's Call for End to Blockade of Cuba."

Intent on bolstering bourgeois forces opposed to Washington's trade ban, the conference organizers were virulently hostile to a Spartacist League literature table highlighting our call for unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution against Castro's Stalinist bureaucracy. Our revolutionary materials on the international class struggle sent SA honcho Jeff Mackler into a frenzy, as he came running over to enforce their "policy" banning all materials deemed not directly relevant to Cuba! Unlike the milquetoast reformists of the Freedom Socialist Party, we refused to submit to this political censorship. Mackler then threatened to call the cops if our table was not down within five minutes. Moments later, the campus administration came to throw us out.

Mackler's appeal to the bourgeois administration and cops is nothing new for the reformist SA, which has long sought to curry favor with bourgeois forces and the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. During the Greyhound strike in 1983, Mackler and other Socialist Action supporters organized a goon squad to prevent militants from stopping scab buses in San Francisco. And SA was among the loudest cheerleaders for Polish Solidarność—the Vatican-sponsored company "union" for the CIA—and Yeltsin counterrevolution in Russia. But our Trotskyist politics were not silenced at the Cuba conference, and we continued to distribute literature putting forward what is ultimately the only real defense of Cuba against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution: international socialist revolution. ■

After Protest at Toronto Women's Day

Canadian I.S.—Press Agents for Ayatollah Regime

We publish below a leaflet issued on March 14 by the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League.

On March 7, the feminist organizers of the Toronto International Women's Day fair openly embraced agents of racist state terror and anti-woman violence. For the first time, both the imperialist Canadian Armed Forces and agents of the blood-drenched Islamic Republic of Iran —which has butchered thousands of leftists, gays, Kurds and other minorities— were accorded prominent display stalls. Militant protests by hundreds of women's rights activists and leftists succeeded in driving out both the military recruiters and the mullahs' propaganda officers. [See "Toronto Protesters Say: 'Army Recruiters Out!'" *WV* No. 686, 13 March.]

The Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste is proud to have stood with those who sought to rescue International Women's Day as a working-class holiday which celebrates the struggles of all the oppressed. Not everyone was so pleased. In defense of the Islamic Republic's propagandists and the besieged army table, the feminist IWD organizers dispatched their marshals and Ryerson University security police to try to quell the protests. Now the so-called International Socialists (I.S.) have published a despicable diatribe which slanders those who protested the Iranian government as a mob of violent racists!

The I.S. newspaper, *Socialist Worker* (11 March), denounces the expulsion of the Islamic Republic's representatives as a "racist assault," singling out the Worker-Communist Party of Iran (WCPI), as well as Socialist Action supporter Joe Flexer. To justify its vile slander, *Socialist Worker* prettifies the Iranian regime's propaganda display as simply "a booth staffed by some Muslim women." Then the I.S. howls that "The booth was attacked and the women expelled from the fair on the bogus argument that the religion they represent is sexist. This is just racist."

No, this is just a pack of lies.

In fact, the booth in question was covered with pamphlets and glossy photos, bearing the emblem of the Islamic Republic, which glorified the treatment of Iranian women under the fundamentalist regime, including the imposition of the veil. The women purveying this trash openly defended the barbarous practice of stoning women to death for adultery. Chanting "Down with the Islamic Republic!" in English and Farsi, and led by Kurdish and Persian women supporters of the WCPI, a multiracial group of well over a hundred women and men angrily denounced the Iranian government as deadly enemies of women and minorities. The only "racist assault" came at the hands of *IWD marshals*, who tried to drag away an Iranian protester and then had him physically removed from the campus by Ryerson police. Of this, the I.S. breathes not a word.

Socialist Worker proclaims that "Fortunately the honour of IWD was partially salvaged when some others at the fair organized a protest outside the Canadian army booth and drove it from the fair." "Some others"? Supporters of the WCPI and Socialist Action were prominent in the anti-army protest, which was initiated, organized and led by the Trotskyist League, the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty and Anti-Racist Action. In contrast, the I.S.—whose own table was just a few feet away from the Armed Forces recruiting station—played no role at all until hundreds of demonstrators shouting "Army out!" confronted the uniformed killers of the Canadian imperialist state.

The International Socialists are liars and slanderers. And we have to ask—who benefits? Certainly not the brutally oppressed women and minorities of Iran. By defending the agents of the Islamic Republic against the outrage of its victims, the I.S. offers a "left" cover for that repressive regime spawned by the supremely violent system of imperialism. Moreover, as the Canadian government gears up its anti-immigrant machinery of deportation to expel thousands—not least Iranian refugees—the I.S.'s sinister violence-baiting of the WCPI is an open invitation for racist state repression of foreign-born leftists.

The I.S.'s defense of the Iranian government and Islamic reaction is not an aberration. This outfit has spent years painting up Muslim fundamentalism as "anti-imperialist" and even "revolutionary." In 1979, they supported the fundamentalists' seizure of power in Iran under Ayatollah Khomeini. Anti-Communist to the bone, the I.S. howled against the Soviet Red Army intervention in Afghanistan, hailing the CIA-backed Islamic *mujahedin* who fought to maintain women as chattel slaves, and who murdered schoolteachers for the "crime" of teaching girls to read.

In contrast, Trotskyists said "Hail Red Army—Extend social gains of October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" And we fought for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against the threat of capitalist counterrevolution, noting it was better to fight imperialism in Afghanistan than inside the USSR itself. As we warned, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan under Mikhail Gorbachev opened the door to the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, and left Afghan women at the mercy of the religious terrorists. In its own small way, the I.S. bears direct responsibility for the horrors of Islamic rule in Iran and Afghanistan, and for the immiseration of the workers and minorities under Boris Yeltsin's Russian capitalist regime.

The Trotskyist League has many political differences with the Worker-Communist Party of Iran, which we have long made clear. For example, the WCPI has on several occasions fostered illusions in imperialist agencies like the United Nations, calling in 1996 for the UN to "put an end to the arrogance of the United States" as Washington threatened another military attack on Iraq.

We have also argued against the WCPI's thoroughly retrograde position on abortion. Their program states flatly that their party "is against the act of abortion." The Trotskyist League fights for free abortion on demand as a key element in the struggle to break the grip of the family, the main institution of women's oppression. In Sweden, the WCPI endorses capitalist government prohibition of the Islamic headscarf in schools. We oppose such intervention by the imperialist state, which can only fuel anti-immigrant racism and fascist terror, as in France today. At the same time, we reject *Socialist Worker*'s disgusting insinuation that leftists who oppose the veil—symbol and instrument of female servitude—are accomplices of French fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen and his murderous National Front.

On March 7, however, the WCPI took the right side in defense of women's rights. Every organization of the left and workers movement must stand with them against the poison spewed by the International Socialists, which can only serve the interests of the enemies of all the oppressed—imperialist capitalism and its "Third World" underlings. Down with I.S. lies and slanders! Women's liberation through socialist revolution!■

Oer Spiegel

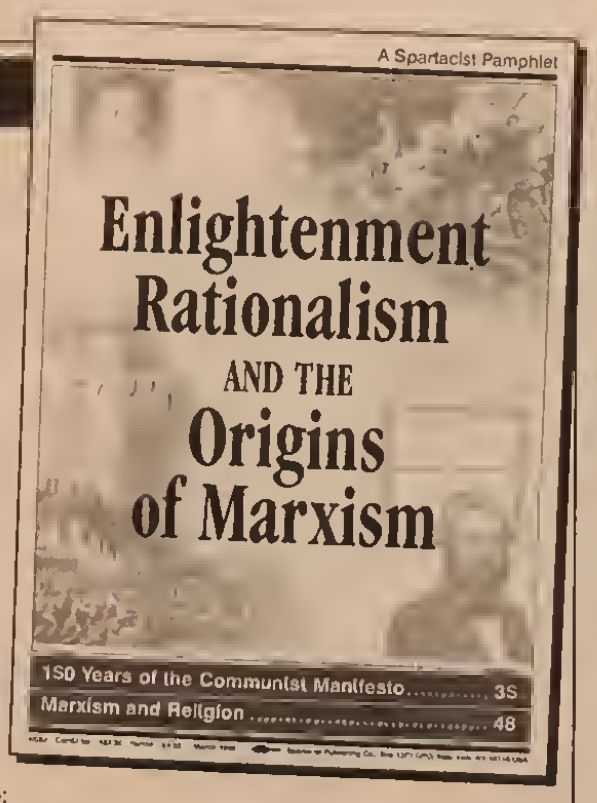
Cliffites promote "anti-imperialist" credentials of Islamic fundamentalist regime which enslaves Iranian women in veils.

Just Out!

This pamphlet reprints presentations given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour on the origins of Marxism in the French Enlightenment and in left Hegelianism. Also included are "150 Years of the Communist Manifesto" and "Marxism and Religion."

In the retrograde climate of post-Soviet reaction, the struggle to reassert the validity of the program and purpose of revolutionary Marxism is crucial for our fight for new October Revolutions.

$2 (48 pages)



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Spartacist Events

BOSTON

U.S./UN Hands Off Iraq!
Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!
Monday, March 30, 7:30 p.m.
Harvard, Emerson Hall, Room 305

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Selected Monday evenings, 7 p.m.
Next class, April 6: ***South Africa and the Lessons of the Russian Revolution: For Workers Revolution to Smash Neo-Apartheid Capitalism***; Harvard University Memorial Hall, Room 303
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

NEW YORK CITY

U.S./UN Hands Off Iraq!
Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!
Saturday, March 28, 3 p.m.
New York Law School, Room C-200
47 Worth St. (north of Chambers)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Thursdays, 8 p.m. Next class, April 9: ***Black Oppression—Bedrock of U.S. Capitalism: The Fight for Revolutionary Integrationism***; New York University Loeb Student Center, Room 513
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

CHICAGO

U.S./UN Hands Off Iraq!
Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!
Thursday, April 2, 7 p.m.
University of Chicago, Cobb Hall, Room 102
For more information: (312) 454-4930

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Events

TORONTO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, March 31: ***The Fight for a Leninist Vanguard Party Today***; International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Independence for Quebec! National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle
Friday, March 27, 7:30 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre
Room L4, 1661 Napier Street
(off Commercial Drive)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

Imperialist Rivalries Heat Up

U.S. Capitalism in the "New World Order"

Ross/Tony Stone

We publish below the second and concluding part of an edited presentation by comrade Joseph Seymour on the origins and development of the imperialist system. Part One appeared in WV *No. 686 (13 March).*

PART TWO

In West Europe and also Japan, the devastation of World War II combined with the leftward radicalization of the working class militated against a return to the "free trade" and "free market" policies of the pre-1914 era. In 1947, U.S. president Harry Truman told a group of American Congressmen, "We'll have to provide a program of interim aid relief until the Marshall program gets going, or the governments of France and Italy will fall, Austria too, and for all practical purposes Europe will be Communist" (quoted in Philip Armstrong et al., *Capitalism Since World War II* [1984]).

Except for the U.S., all the major advanced capitalist countries engaged in a high degree of state intervention in economic activity in the early postwar period. To prevent the massive flight of capital to the U.S., where the rate of return was far higher, all West European governments imposed tight restrictions on foreign-exchange transactions. This, in turn, discouraged the movement of capital from the U.S. to Europe, since American investors were uncertain as to whether and on what terms they could get their money out again.

Consider a wealthy American in the 1950s who had inherited some bonds of the big Italian automaker Fiat. If he wanted to sell those bonds and reinvest the money in an American corporation, he would have to bribe the top officials of 15 different Italian ministries. Under these conditions, wealthy Americans were not exactly breaking down the door to invest in Europe. It was not until the late 1950s that the pound, franc, deutschmark and lira became freely convertible into dollars as well as into one another. And it was only after this that big U.S. manufacturing firms like General Motors and Ford opened factories in West Europe.

I want to digress here on the relation between currency convertibility and the international movement of capital in its different forms, in part because this is a key element in the present financial crisis in East Asia. The single most valuable piece of foreign property American capitalism has are the oil fields in Saudi Arabia leased by a consortium of four U.S. oil companies. Yet nobody knows or cares about the exchange rate of the Saudi riyal. That's because the oil extracted from Saudi Arabia is sold on the world market for dollars. However, the cars produced by General Motors factories in Germany are sold to Germans for deutschmarks; the cars produced by Honda factories in the U.S. are sold to Americans for dollars. This kind of foreign investment will be undertaken only if the deutschmark is convertible into dollars, and dollars into yen, at a stable rate. This same principle holds true for investment in the securities of foreign firms. American and Japanese financiers will purchase bonds issued by Hyundai and Samsung only if the South Korean *won* is convertible into dollars and yen at a stable rate.

A basic precondition for the economic boom in East Asia during the last decade was that the governments of this region not only pledged currency convertibility but pegged their currencies to the dollar. The present crisis began last summer when Thailand reneged and devalued its currency to increase exports and reduce imports. When other countries in the region followed suit, this triggered a massive and panicky capital flight.

U.S. Imperialism and the Cold War

But let's return to our historical analysis which allows us to place recent economic developments in a broader perspective. The outcome of World War II had an even more profound effect on the economically backward regions of the world than on the advanced capitalist countries. To begin with, major regions were removed from the sphere of capitalist exploitation altogether. In East Europe in the late 1940s, the Soviet bureaucracy, under pressure from American imperialism, created deformed workers states structurally similar to the Stalinized Soviet Union, based on planned, collectivized economies, state monopoly of foreign trade, etc. Bureaucratically deformed workers states also emerged in China, North Korea and Vietnam as a result of indigenous peasant-based revolutions led by the Stalinists.

At the same time, significant political changes also took place in those economically backward countries which remained within the sphere of capitalist exploitation. The weakening of the West European imperialist states caused by World War II combined with the radicalization of the colonial masses led to the "decolonization" of Asia, the Near East and Africa. State power now passed into the hands of the indigenous bourgeoisies, who sought to pursue their own national interests within a global context dominated by international finance capital.

Despite some CIA-organized coups (such as that against the left-nationalist Mossadeq regime in Iran in 1953), the ability of U.S. imperialism to control governments of former colonial countries was limited by the countervailing power of the Soviet Union. Moscow's backing allowed bourgeois-nationalist regimes like Nasser's Egypt, Nehru and Indira Gandhi's India and Saddam Hussein's Iraq to exercise a certain degree of political and economic independence from the imperialist powers which they could not have attained on the basis of their own national economic resources. Western and Japanese corporations were discouraged from investing in countries like Egypt and India for fear of punitive taxation, restrictions on the repatriation of profits and the possibility of nationalization without adequate compensation. The 1960s and '70s marked the heyday of economic nationalism and statified capitalism in what was then called the "Afro-Asian bloc."

At the same time, the bourgeoisies of certain American client states also utilized the Cold War conditions to attain a semblance of economic independence. Here I want to talk a bit about South Korea because it is now the focus of a major economic crisis with global repercussions. The rapid industrial growth in South Korea over the past three decades was subsidized by U.S. and Japanese imperialism because it was a front-line state in the Cold War. South Korea is conventionally described as a prime example of export-led growth. However until the mid-1980s South Korea normally ran balance-of-trade deficits, not surpluses. It was importing large amounts of high-tech machinery and equipment, mainly from Japan, to construct an industrial infrastructure and plant. These deficits were financed by American aid and Japanese loans on soft terms.

Beginning in the 1960s, under the military dictatorship of Park Chung Hee, the South Korean capitalist groups—the so-called *chaebol*—undertook an ambitious industrialization drive through a high level of state intervention and nationalistic economic policies. For example, in the 1970s the Seoul regime decreed that all oil shipped from the Persian Gulf to South Korea had to be carried in Korean-owned ships. This and similar measures were harmful to U.S. and Japanese economic interests. But Washington and Tokyo were constrained from putting economic pressure on South Korea—threatening to cut off aid or loans—for fear of destabilizing the right-wing dictatorship and strengthening the left and anti-American oppositional forces.

Today, Wall Street spokesmen and the American and British financial press are denouncing "crony capitalism" in South Korea, denouncing its unregulated and irresponsible banking practices. This has been going on for a quarter of a century. So what's different now? What's different now is that the Soviet Union no longer exists and North Korea is in dire straits.

Reuters

General strike against anti-labor laws and threat of mass layoffs in winter of 1996-97 demonstrated combativity of South Korean proletariat.

So the American and Japanese imperialists are ripping up their old agreements with the *chaebol* and dictating new terms: We used to let you have 50 percent of the surplus from South Korean workers; now you can only have 25 percent and then only if you do exactly what we tell you. That's called the "globalization" of capital, otherwise known as imperialism.

Historical Development and Dialectics

In examining the development of a second generation of imperialist states—the U.S., Germany and Japan—one might ask why a third generation could not emerge today from the more industrially developed Third World countries like South Korea or Brazil. This raises the question of methodological approach. Historical development is dialectical, not cyclical. History does not consist of a continual repetition of set patterns without significant change. One has to comprehend imperialism in its historically concrete, complex and ever-changing dimensions. What is possible and probable at any given time is determined and conditioned by the entire previous course of development. How people think and act is determined and influenced by their understanding of past experience. They seek to emulate activities and policies deemed to be successful and avoid those seen as a recipe for failure or disaster.

Let me give a few examples of what I mean by the dialectical nature of history in regard to modern imperialism. When Lenin wrote *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* in 1916, the imperialist bourgeoisies were not particularly worried about social revolution in their colonies and semicolonies. There had been numerous revolts by the native peoples against colonial rule—the Sepoy mutiny in British India, the Philippine liberation struggle against U.S. imperialism, the uprising of the Herero people in southwest Africa against their new German colonial masters—but these had all been suppressed through overwhelmingly superior military force. In no case had such colonial revolts driven out the imperialists and expropriated their property. But, as we have seen, after the Bolshevik Revolution, American, British and French bankers were extremely cautious in lending money to colonial and especially semicolonial countries. In other words, the proletarian revolution led by Lenin in Russia *changed* in significant ways the behavior of the capitalists and their governments which Lenin had analyzed *before* that revolution.

Another example is that the German ruling class in the late 19th century could not build a great industrial power like Britain by adhering to the same economic policies that Britain had earlier—precisely because they were confronting Britain as the dominant world industrial-financial power. Thus industrial capitalism as it developed in late 19th-century Germany had to be—and was—quite different in its structure and character than that of the pioneer country of industrial capitalism. In fact, by 1900 some spokesmen for the British ruling class regretted that they had not opposed the unification of Germany in the 1860s, or that they had not formed an alliance with Russia and France to crush Germany in the 1880s when it was still relatively weak. They regretted that they had not put up high tariffs against German imports, just as Germany put up high tariffs against British imports.

Or consider Japan in this respect. In the decades before the Second World War (called the Pacific War in Japan), the House of Morgan and major British banks like Barings and the Rothschilds lent large sums of money to Japan, therefore helping finance its industrial-military development. Wall Street and the City of London did not demand in return for these loans that American and British industrialists be able to buy up the productive resources of the *zaibatsu* on the cheap.

That is now exactly what is happening to South Korea. Over the past three decades, the South Korean ruling class consciously tried to emulate the economic program—such as massive government subsidization of and guarantees for loans for industrial investment—which had transformed Japan into a major capitalist power in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, as recent dramatic events have shown, the South Korean *chaebol* could not follow in the footsteps of the Japanese *zaibatsu* in large part because they were blocked from doing so by Japanese industrial-financial power. South Korea is not being allowed to borrow money to subsidize its own national bourgeoisie. The conditions of the recent International Monetary Fund (IMF) loans to South Korea are that the Americans and Japanese—and the Germans, too, if they are interested—can buy the most productive resources of the *chaebol* very cheaply. The American imperialists have no intention of allowing another country to surpass them by their own actions or inactions.

Fujifotos (left) AP (right)

Japanese farmers protest imports of U.S. rice, American labor bureaucrats push Japan-bashing protectionism. As interimperialist rivalries intensify, capitalist rulers and labor lackeys promote chauvinist poison.

In short, the South Korean bourgeoisie is too reliant on imperialism to embark on the road of independent national development. However, the influx of capital into countries like Thailand, Indonesia and particularly South Korea—what is currently termed "globalization"—has created a combative, young proletariat. In such countries of belated capitalist development in the imperialist epoch, we advance the program of permanent revolution: only under the rule of the proletariat—standing at the head of the poor peasantry and other oppressed sectors and fighting to promote socialist revolution in the more advanced capitalist powers—can the yoke of imperialism be overthrown.

The way economic development has proceeded in these countries in the past few decades—particularly in regard to the changed role of agriculture in the world economy—also has a programmatic implication in advancing the perspective of permanent revolution. Today, the classic agrarian slogan of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—"land to the tiller"—is no longer adequate. The way in which the agrarian revolution unfolded in Russia in 1917-21, with the peasants simply seizing and dividing up the land, is not likely to recur in many backward countries today. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, labor productivity developed much faster in industry than in agriculture. Tsarist Russia was a major exporter of grain, produced by labor-intensive methods by peasants using techniques which had scarcely changed in a century.

But since World War II, labor productivity has grown faster in agriculture than in industry. There is more capital per worker in American agriculture than in the American steel industry. Many Third World countries now export light manufactures, such as clothing and consumer electronics, to North America and import basic foodstuffs from North America. As a consequence, many backward countries have experienced massive deruralization. The mass of toilers no longer live in rural villages, but in the shantytowns around the major cities. Peasant smallholding is no longer economically viable without large amounts of capital investment and significant technical training. In countries like Mexico, the program of agricultural collectivism—supported by socialized industry and intensive technical education—is key to a genuine agrarian revolution.

The Collapse of the Soviet Union

The economic roots of what is now called "globalization," especially the growth of manufacturing in East Asia, can be found in the declining profitability of American industry beginning in the late 1960s and in Japan during the following decade. With the devastation of Germany and Japan in World War II, the U.S. attained a degree of economic dominance in the early postwar years that could not be long sustained. In 1950, the U.S. accounted for 60 percent of industrial output and over half of the capital stock of all advanced capitalist countries and for one-third of world trade in manufactured goods.

However, as Germany and Japan rebuilt their industrial economies, they began to cut into ever larger shares of world markets and even the U.S. domestic market. At the same time, the U.S. industrial plant, largely built during and immediately following World War II, was becoming increasingly obsolete. The competitive position of American capitalism was further eroded by the inflationary pressures of the Vietnam War. By 1970, the U.S. share of world trade in manufactured goods was only half what it had been 20 years earlier. The rate of profit fell from 19 percent in the early 1960s to 13 percent in the late '70s. Corporate America responded with an anti-labor offensive combined with a certain shift in operations to low-wage countries. Between 1977 and 1994, there was a fivefold increase in manufacturing plant and equipment directly owned by U.S. firms in Third World countries.

By the mid-1970s, the so-called Japanese "economic miracle" was clearly needing further divine assistance as profitability was sharply declining. There were a number of contributing factors: higher labor costs resulting from virtually full employment, the big jump in the price of oil, protectionist measures in the U.S. and West Europe. The basic cause, however, was that analyzed by Marx in Volume III of *Capital*: rapid accumulation drives down the rate of profit because the additional increment of capital does not generate a corresponding increase in surplus value. In the case of Japan, the rate of profit fell from 23 percent in the 1960s to 15 percent in the second half of the 1970s.

So the *keiritsu*, too, decided to go offshore. Japanese direct investment in East Asia skyrocketed from $100 million a year in the early 1960s to *$2.7 billion* a year in the late 1980s. Matsushita was now making many of its TV sets and air conditioners in Malaysia, Yamaha its sporting goods in Taiwan, Minebea its miniature ball bearings in Singapore and Thailand, TDK its magnetic tapes in Taiwan and South Korea, etc.

Nonetheless, during the 1980s Western and Japanese investment in neocolonial countries was still inhibited by the uncertainties of the Cold War. A popular revolution or even an election or military coup could bring about a left-nationalist regime backed by Moscow. A fundamental political condition for the present triumph of capitalist "globalization" was the retreat of Soviet power under Gorbachev in the late 1980s, followed by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. It was no accident, for example, that the toppling of the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua in 1990, capping the contra war organized by Washington, coincided with the beginning of a massive investment boom by U.S. banks and corporations in Mexico. At the same time, capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc

continued on page 10

Scherschel/Time Life (left) Sanders/Life (right)

U.S. general George Marshall (above left) oversaw plan to reconsolidate West European capitalism as part of anti-Soviet Cold War. Coal shipments were airlifted behind Soviet lines to West Berlin, 1948.

IG on NPAC Vietnam Antiwar Coalition

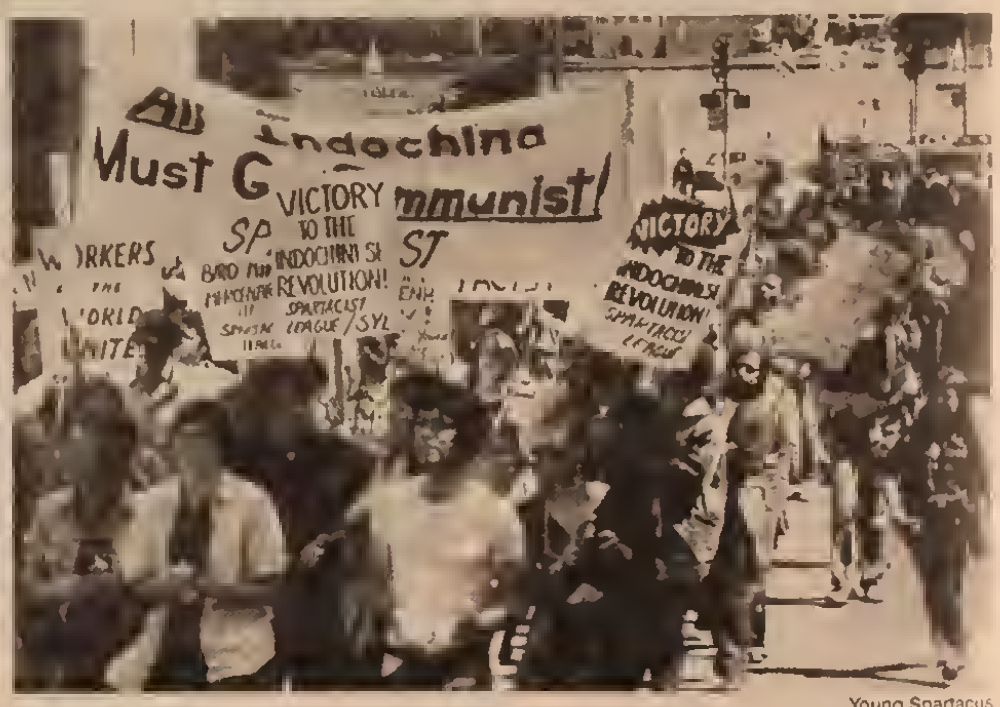
Centrist Sophistry and the Popular Front

As Democratic president Clinton prepared to terror-bomb Iraq in February, the Spartacist League called for military defense of Iraq against imperialist attack and stressed that only workers revolution under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party could destroy U.S. imperialism. In contrast, the reformist left sought to appeal to bourgeois liberals to pressure the Clinton administration and looked to past class-collaborationist "antiwar" vehicles such as the "National Peace Action Coalition" (NPAC) which helped derail protest against the Vietnam War in the 1960s and early 1970s into the arms of the capitalist Democratic Party.

U.S. imperialism's long, bloody and ultimately losing war to defeat the forces of the North Vietnamese bureaucratically deformed workers state (DRV) and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF) radicalized broad layers of youth in the U.S. and internationally. While Saddam Hussein's Iraq is a semi-colonial *capitolist* country, what was posed in Vietnam was a *social revolution*. The Spartacist League called for military victory to the NLF/DRV and fought to win antiwar radicals to a revolutionary proletarian perspective. We agitated for labor political strikes against the war and raised the call, "All Indochina Must Go Communist!"

Our line was sharply counterposed to that of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the main force behind NPAC. The reformist SWP deliberately limited NPAC to the single demand "Out Now!" in order to draw in imperialist "doves" like Indiana Democratic Senator Vance Hartke, who was on NPAC's steering committee. These bourgeois politicians wanted to cut U.S. imperialism's losses once it became clear that the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants were winning on the battlefield. We characterized NPAC as a form of popular front—a class-collaborationist alliance tying the organizations of the left and workers movement to the class enemy—and demanded: "Bourgeoisie out of the antiwar movement!" Thousands of radicalized youth who solidarized with the Vietnamese struggle grew to despise the SWP for its rightist "peaceful, legal" line, exemplified by its embrace of imperialist politicians.

Young Socialist



Young Spartacus

Reformism vs. Marxism during Vietnam War: SWP honcho Fred Halstead pushed social-patriotism, Spartacists raised call, "All Indochina Must Go Communist!"

The SWP's class collaborationism was sealed in blood at a 1971 NPAC conference in New York City, where an SWP goon squad launched a violent attack against supporters of the SL and the Stalinist Progressive Labor Party who were protesting Hartke's presence on the platform. In a July 1971 leaflet distributed immediately after the NPAC conference, we stated:

> "The Spartacist League opposes the presence at anti-war actions of conscious representatives of our class enemy, the capitalist class.... Hartke represents the class enemy pure and simple. He has no more place in the anti-war movement than [then-president] Nixon, for both are conscious agents of the *same class*: the capitalist class which aims to smash the Vietnamese social revolution and all revolutions which threaten world capitalism. They differ only as to *tactics*."

Our principled opposition to NPAC was recently taken up in the pages of the *Internationalist* (January-February 1998), published by the coterie of defectors from the SL who call themselves the "Internationalist Group" (IG), in a piece titled "So How About the NPAC Popular Front?" The purpose of this article is to cover up their opportunist appetites toward a spectrum of reformist and petty-bourgeois forces around Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas' Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) in Mexico, which the IGlets justify by huffing and puffing about a "Cardenista popular front." In fact, the PRD is an outright *bourgeois*-nationalist party.

In a polemic against the IG which corrected our own earlier characterization of the PRD, we noted that in the absence of a mass reformist workers party the Mexican proletariat is politically subordinated to its "own" ruling class not through a non-existent "popular front" but through the direct vehicle of bourgeois nationalism, including the "leftist" PRD variety. This elementary observation provoked the IG to sputter that we are revising "key Spartacist positions from the past" and to denounce us for refusing to fight the PRD "popular front."

Expressing its own opportunist outlook, the IG insinuates that if we don't call the PRD a popular front, that means we tail it. Of course, the IG labels the PRD a popular front precisely in order to capitulate to it. This was clear at a January protest in New York City against the recent massacre of 45 peasants in Chiapas. The IG failed to raise a single slogan against either Cárdenas or the PRD, finally producing a sign which vaguely called only to "Break with the Popular Front!" In contrast, an SL placard declared clearly, "No Support to the Capitalist PRD—Build a Revolutionary Workers Party of the Bolshevik Type!" (see "Tailing Mexican Nationalism, IG 'Disappears' the PRD," *WV* No. 683, 30 January).

In its latest attempt to throw up a confusionist smokescreen around this question, the IG argues that the SL declared the SWP to be reformist over its "popular-front coalition with 'antiwar' bourgeois politicians as early as 1965." To even draw an analogy between NPAC and the Cardenistas is a measure of the IG's sophistry: where the former was essentially a front group for the reformist SWP including a handful of bourgeois politicians, the PRD is a *capitalist* party with "left" tails. In fact, the SWP was not able to consummate a popular front with bourgeois politicians like Hartke in 1965, because at that point no significant bourgeois politician opposed the war. Bourgeois "defeatist" sentiment over Vietnam was prepared by the anti-Communist bloodbath in Indonesia in late 1965—which reassured more far-sighted imperialist spokesmen that American interests in the region were secure even if the U.S. pulled out of Indochina—and only came to full flower after the punishing 1968 "Tet Offensive" by the NLF/DRV.

We characterized the SWP as reformist in 1965 because of its *social-patriotic politics*—which expressed its class-collaborationist appetites. We split from the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee that year when its SWP organizers pushed through a policy excluding any expression of *revolutionary* opposition to U.S. imperialism in favor of the single, "classless," liberal-pacifist appeal to "Stop the war in Vietnam now!" Where the SWP pushed the social-patriotic call to "Bring our boys home," we said *our* side was the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. But by the IG's logic, it would have been okay to tail after the SWP unless and until these reformists had actually pulled some Democratic Party politicians into their "antiwar" lash-up.

In forming a political bloc with the capitalist politician Hartke, the SWP took a page from the reformist Communist Party (CP), which had been building similar class-collaborationist coalitions since the 1930s. The CP was applying the Stalinist policy of the popular front—which in Europe meant cementing electoral coalitions with bourgeois politicians with the aim of beheading proletarian revolutions—to American conditions, where there was no mass reformist party. Thus the CP supported Democratic president Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal coalition" and organized a class-collaborationist "antiwar movement." In a 1937 polemic, *The People's Front: The New Betrayal* (excerpted in our recently re-issued pamphlet, *On the United Front*), James Burnham of the then-revolutionary SWP wrote:

> "Through a multitude of pacifist organizations, and especially through the directly controlled American League against War and Fascism, the Stalinists aim at the creation of a 'broad, classless, People's Front of all those opposed to war.' The class collaborationist character of the People's Front policy is strikingly revealed through the Stalinist attitude in these organizations. They rule out in advance the Marxist analysis of war as necessarily resulting from the inner conflicts of capitalism and therefore genuinely opposed only by revolutionary class struggle against the capitalist order; and, in contrast, maintain that all persons, from whatever social class or group, whether or not opposed to capitalism, can 'unite' to stop war."

This description fit NPAC to a T.

It is also a telling polemic against the centrist IG, whose appetites to tail after liberal/reformist "antiwar movements" are evident in its February leaflet on the Persian Gulf war buildup. The IG's empty call to "Build a Revolutionary Party!" on the front page of its statement

Young Spartacus

No PRD in this picture: IG calls to "Break with the Popular Front!" at NYC Mexico protest, deep-sixing opposition to bourgeois-nationalist PRD of Cárdenas.

U.S. Bloody Imperialist War in Vietnam

1968 My Lai Massacre

On March 14, U.S. Army veterans Hugh Thompson Jr. and Lawrence Colburn returned to the Vietnamese village of My Lai, revisiting with local residents the site of an infamous massacre of unarmed civilians by American troops 30 years before, which they had tried to stop. For four hours on 16 March 1968, U.S. soldiers led by Lieutenant William Calley raped, tortured and systematically murdered over 500 villagers. Most were women and children; 56 of those killed were less than five months old. Thompson, Colburn and Glen Andreotta, the crew of an H-23 helicopter which arrived after the massacre was well under way, managed to save a handful of Vietnamese from the slaughter by training their guns on the rampaging troops.

The My Lai atrocity was no isolated occurrence. In its attempt to drown the Vietnamese Revolution in blood, U.S. imperialism regularly carried out such mass murder, killing more than two million Vietnamese. "Free-fire zones" were created through large swathes of the countryside. The CIA's "Operation Phoenix" assassinated at least 100,000 in its failed attempt to destroy the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF), while American bombing runs laid waste to farming and forest areas. Indeed, even as Calley directed the carnage at My Lai, GIs were slaughtering up to 155 women, children and elderly men two miles away at the town of My Khe.

What sets My Lai apart is that persistent government efforts to conceal this bloodbath failed. For months, the Army tried to cover up the massacre in the face of growing evidence from journalists and even GIs. Unable to keep up their stonewalling, Army brass reluctantly pressed charges against some of the officers. But only Calley was convicted. Sentenced to "life imprisonment at hard labor," Calley spent only *three and a half days* in jail before being returned to his private apartment through the direct intervention of then-president and fellow war criminal Richard Nixon. (Later, he spent a few months in the "disciplinary barracks" at Fort Leavenworth.) Today Calley drives a Mercedes and manages a Columbus, Georgia jewelry store.

Ronald Haeberle

Kyoichi Sawada

Massacre of 500 Vietnamese villagers in My Lai (top) was no aberration. U.S. imperialism slaughtered over two million Vietnamese in war of terror against workers and peasants.

As we said at the time in an article titled "My Lai Mass Murderer Must Not Go Free!" (*WV* No. 48, 5 July 1974):

> "Calley was not *simply* a scapegoat—many men were sent to Vietnam and did not become torturers, rapists and murderers. To say that what Calley did was inevitable or meaningless is a vile insult not only to the Vietnamese dead, but also to the many soldiers who went through the agony of Vietnam without becoming sadists and mass murderers. The workers movement must hold Calley and his cohorts accountable for their crimes"

Ever since its humiliating defeat at the hands of the North Vietnamese Army and NLF, the capitalist rulers of the U.S. have feared that they would be unable to generate popular support for their imperialist adventures around the world. As part of their efforts to overcome the "Vietnam Syndrome," imperialist spokesmen have peddled the lie that antiwar protesters in the 1960s and '70s "spat on" Vietnam veterans. The broader lie—that U.S. imperialism was not defeated on the battlefield but "stabbed in the back" by protesters at home—was drummed up again as Washington sought to discredit antiwar protests during the 1990-91 "Desert Slaughter" of Iraq. In fact, Vietnam antiwar activists often sponsored coffeehouses near army bases so they could discuss the imperialist nature of the war with the working-class youth being sent off to kill and die for the capitalist rulers. Meanwhile, as opposition grew among the ground forces in Vietnam, hundreds of American officers were "fragged"—killed by their own troops.

Today, Washington seeks to provide a "humanitarian" sheen for projecting its military might internationally. In a ceremony dripping with hypocrisy, the U.S. Army recently honored Thompson, Colburn and the surviving family of Andreotta, portraying the My Lai massacre as an aberration. In fact, My Lai showed the true face of U.S. imperialism. To end the threat of new imperialist wars requires the overthrow of the rapacious capitalist ruling class through socialist revolution.■

---

and in signs carried at protests was conspicuously *not* linked to the need to break workers and minorities from the capitalist Democrats. Their statement is full of phony agitation for trade-union actions—like a boycott of military shipments—without once making the essential point that *only workers revolution in the U.S. can put the imperialist warmongers out of business.* These charlatans seek only to put a "working-class" gloss on pro-Democratic Party reformist protest politics.

Of a piece with this is a trade-union resolution which, according to the IG leaflet, is being pushed by its Brazilian allies in the "Class-Struggle Caucus," whose idea of "struggle" is to drag the trade unions into the capitalist courts (see "IG Lawyers for Brazil Betrayal: Caught in a Web of Lies," *WV* No. 672, 8 August 1997). While denouncing "Yankee imperialists," the motion decries "the scandalous material support by the [Argentine] Menem government to imperialist aggression." Scandalous?! This capitalist government is slavishly supportive of its U.S. imperialist patrons and has been carrying out vicious attacks on the working class on behalf of the International Monetary Fund. At bottom, the IG's "disappointment" over the actions of the Menem government reveals its touching faith in the "anti-imperialist" credentials of the Latin American bourgeoisies and promotes illusions in a class-collaborationist "anti-imperialist united front" with bourgeois nationalists.

For our part, we will not preach the liberal lie that there can be a solution to imperialist war—or to racial oppression, cop terror, unemployment and all the other ills produced by capitalism—short of a socialist revolution that places the working class in power and disarms the rapacious imperialist rulers once and for all. As proletarian internationalists, we call for unconditional military defense of the Vietnamese deformed workers state against imperialism and internal counterrevolution while fighting for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy in Hanoi. We fight for the perspective of international socialist revolution against "socialists" who foster illusions in capitalism, and against those like the IG who willfully confuse the line between reformism and revolution.■

Defend South African Student Protesters!

We reprint below a March 8 letter to the Vice Rector of Student Affairs at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in South Africa. The letter, which was enthusiastically distributed by students at UWC, protests the arrest of student demonstrators and leftists by the SAPS national police force of the government led by Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC), which is supported by the Communist Party (SACP) and COSATU trade-union federation.

Dear Sir:

The Partisan Defense Committee vehemently protests the arrest of student demonstrators and leftist activists at the University of Western Cape on 2 March 1998. The activists were part of a demonstration against the University administration's plans to enforce fee payments that will result in excluding hundreds of the poorest students, overwhelmingly black African, from the registration rolls. The protesters face charges of public disruption and contempt of court.

This is an open political attack on leftists at UWC. Of the students arrested on campus this week, seven out of nine are leaders of various leftist organizations on campus, including the Socialist Students Action Committee, the Student League and the Pan African Student Organisation. The administration sought out these individuals for harassment because they formed the leadership of the protest opposition to the fee plan. The administration mobilized campus security and the SAPS to demonstratively smother opposition to the impending purge. We demand: Hands off student activists and leftists at UWC! Cops off campus!

At all levels, education for the oppressed is a cruel joke in the "new" South Africa. The apartheid laws preserved higher education as a bastion of white privilege. The ANC/SACP/COSATU Tripartite Alliance government has done nothing to change this. Black and poor students remain overwhelmingly excluded from higher education. A grotesque rationale for continuing and deepening this racist inequality is the Alliance call to "end the culture of non-payment" through the Masakhane campaign, where those with nothing must pay their own way. The UWC administration is more than willing to throw students off campus in the name of financial responsibility. The SRC student government, which is politically dominated by Alliance partner SASCO [South African Student Congress], has cosigned the fee payment plan, endorsing the administration call for Masakhane bootstrapping. Education should be a right, not a privilege for those who can afford it. For free, quality education for all!

This year, as last, the ANC government and their colleagues in the campus administration have shown how they intend to deal with opposition to their slash-and-burn educational policy—with cops and arrests. End the political harassment of student activists at UWC! We demand the immediate dropping of charges against all student protesters!

Richard Genova
Partisan Defense Committee

Korea...

(continued from page 1)

orchestrated the massacre of some 2,000 civilians in the southern city of Kwangju, as the South Korean military drowned an uprising there in blood (see "Kwangju Massacre: Washington Gave the Green Light," *WV* No. 646, 24 May 1996). Open military rule was only swept away as the result of a massive labor revolt in 1987. But despite its "democratic" trappings, the South continues to be ruled through police-state terror.

This was underlined recently when Kim made a post-inaugural gesture of releasing several dozen among the many hundreds of political prisoners who languish in South Korean dungeons. But this "democrat"—whose running mate was the former head of the Korean CIA—did not even wait for his inauguration to amnesty former dictators Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo, who were finally brought to trial two years ago for their role in the Kwangju massacre. Under the all-encompassing National Security Law and similar measures, thousands of labor organizers, student protesters and others deemed to express sympathy with North Korea or with "communism" have been thrown into prison. Prominent among those not released by Kim is the world's longest-serving political prisoner, Woo Yong Gak, who was arrested 40 years ago on charges of being a North Korean commando and remains in jail for refusing to renounce Communism. ***Free all victims of police-state repression in South Korea!***

North Korea Under the Gun

Years of militant struggle by the South Korean proletariat, defying not only direct military repression but the corporatist, KCIA-sponsored "Federation of Korean Trade Unions," led in the late 1980s to the formation of independent trade unions, now grouped together in the 500,000-strong Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU). We have warned that economist militancy alone could not defeat the attacks of the mammoth *chaebol* conglomerates backed by a formidable apparatus of capitalist state terror and the U.S. Army. In fact, the KCTU leadership does not even call for the withdrawal of American military forces—only for troop *reductions*—and has long looked to "liberal" bourgeois oppositionists like Kim Dae Jung. Following Kim's election, the union federation called off a general strike and has joined with the government and the *chaebol* in *enforcing* layoffs and wage cuts.

The combative South Korean proletariat can go forward only on the basis of class independence from the bourgeoisie, requiring intransigent political struggle against the nationalism promoted by the labor misleaders and the left. Socialist revolution against the *chaebol* capitalists would not only emancipate South Korean workers, women and all the oppressed, but is the surest defense of the collectivized economic foundations of the North Korean deformed workers state. After decades of embargo and military encirclement of the North, the Seoul bourgeoisie and its imperialist patrons in Washington and Tokyo hope to literally *starve* North Korea into submission. As famine spreads through the North after three years of abysmal harvests, the Japanese bourgeoisie has refused to ship one grain of its hoard of 3.5 million tons of surplus rice.

North Korea has been pushed into near-terminal decline by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy's drive toward capitalist restoration. First under Kim Il Sung and now under his son and successor Kim Jong Il, the Pyongyang bureaucracy has promoted its nationalist program of *juche* ("self-reliance"), an extreme, autarkic variant of the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." Far from seeking proletarian struggle to overthrow the South Korean bourgeoisie, the North Korean Stalinists call for "peaceful" reunification with the South. A leading Pyongyang spokesman, Pak Hyon Jae, made very clear what this means when he called recently for "one nation, one state, two systems and two governments," promising to "leave intact the present political and economic systems in the north and south of Korea" (*People's Korea*, 27 December 1997). This is a recipe for capitalist restoration and annexation by the powerful South Korean bourgeoisie.

AFP

Kristof/NY Times

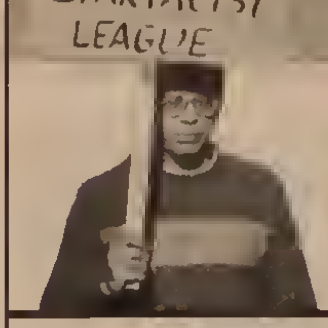
Relatives call for release of political prisoners, many of them workers and leftists. After election as president, Kim Dae Jung (inset, left) "amnestied" bloodsoaked former dictators Roh Tae Woo and Chun Doo Hwan.

With the destruction of the Soviet Union, the remaining deformed workers states—including Vietnam and Cuba—are increasingly threatened by capitalist restoration. In China, the Stalinist regime has driven the country well down the road to counterrevolution. After years of "market reforms," subjecting ever-larger numbers of workers to brutal exploitation at the hands of imperialist and overseas Chinese capitalist investors, the Beijing bureaucracy has now embarked on a plan to sell off the bulk of state-owned industry. The dismantling of collectivized agriculture in the 1980s has already forced tens of millions out of impoverished rural areas and into the cities in a desperate search for low-wage jobs; now millions of industrial workers are also threatened with layoffs.

At the same time, these attacks have provoked widespread protests and strikes. What is urgently posed is the need for the proletariat to seize political power from the venal Stalinist bureaucracy, replacing it with a government based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism. ***For unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states against capitalist attack and internal counterrevolution—for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies!***

A victorious struggle for revolutionary reunification of Korea would be a beacon to the workers of China and Vietnam and would also inspire the powerful industrial proletariat of Japan, opening the road to a socialist Asia. Key to this perspective is the formation of Leninist-Trotskyist parties in Korea, China and throughout the region. As we wrote in our March 22 protest call:

> "The only way out of imperialist oppression and degradation in dependent countries like South Korea lies in the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution: the seizure of power by the proletariat, marching at the head of all the oppressed, linked to the struggle for socialist revolution in the imperialist centers....
>
> "This fight must be based on a perspective of internationalist unity with the combative Chinese workers, who are today facing the threat of capitalist counterrevolution, and with the proletariat of Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia. Events such as the Asian financial crisis and the U.S. military buildup in the Persian Gulf reveal that in the 'post-Soviet' world the contradictions of capitalism, far from being overcome, are finding a renewed expression. Interimperialist rivalries are heating up, threatening the ultimate devastation of a third world war. While the capitalist ruling classes trumpet the 'death of communism' with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the ICL fights for new October Revolutions as the only alternative to capitalist enslavement and imperialist war. We struggle to build revolutionary parties in Korea, Japan, the U.S. and around the world. ***Reforge the Fourth International—world party of socialist revolution!***" ■



SPARTACIST/SYC SPEAKOUTS

U.S. Troops Out of Korea Now!
For Unconditional Military Defense of North Korea!
For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

- For Proletarian Socialist Revolution in South Korea!
- For Proletarian Political Revolution to Oust the Stalinist Bureaucracy in North Korea!
- Down With IMF Bloodsuckers! Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

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Thursday, March 26, 12:30 p.m.
UMass/Boston (between Wheatley & McCormick bldgs.)
For more information: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO
Wednesday, April 1, 12 noon
University of Chicago on the Quad
For more information: (312) 454-4930

NEW YORK CITY
Monday, March 30, 4:30 p.m.
New York University
Outside of Bobst Library
For more information: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO
Monday, March 30, 12 noon
SF State University
Malcolm X Plaza
For more information:
(415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

LOS ANGELES
Monday, March 30, 5:30 p.m.
Pasadena City College
Front of campus (Colorado Blvd., 1/2 block east of Hill Street)
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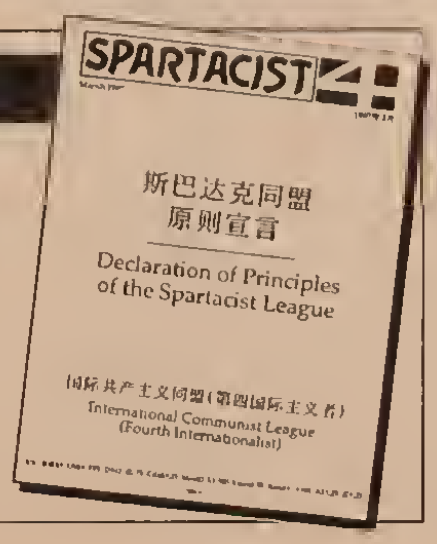

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Bulletin Liquidated

Northite Pirates Run for Cyberspace

After years of hysterically trumpeting the need to build a weekly, then twice-weekly, then daily *Bulletin*, David North's fake-Trotskyist "Socialist Equality Party" (SEP—formerly the Workers League, and before that the "American Committee for the Fourth International") has now officially thrown in the towel on what was always a grotesquely fake newspaper. A February 13 "Dear Reader" letter announcing the SEP's latest grandiloquent scam, "the launching of the World Socialist Web Site," mentioned in passing: "We...will no longer be publishing *The International Workers Bulletin*." North's British SEP satellite has similarly announced the end of its *International Worker*.

So much for the Northites' "mass paper" pretensions. Since anointing himself supreme leader of the "International Committee of the Fourth International" following the ouster of the discredited (now deceased) Gerry Healy a dozen years ago, North has followed in Healy's corrupt, thuggish and megalomaniacal footsteps. When in 1976 Healy launched a fancy, four-color, daily paper modeled on the British tabloids, we asked: "Where's the Class Line in the *News Line*?" (*WV* No. 114, 18 June 1976). That soon became clear, as Healy—and his American flunkey North—began running paeans to Libyan strongman Muammar Qaddafi and other oil-rich Arab bourgeois regimes (see "Healyites, Messengers of Qaddafi," *WV* No. 158, 20 May 1977). Two years later, Healy and North openly hailed Saddam Hussein's execution of 21 Iraqi Communists, while Healy's outfit secretly spied on Iraqi oppositionists in Britain.

When the flow of petrodollars for services rendered dried up, Healy's regime imploded. North stepped into the breach, soon proclaiming himself, ever so modestly, *the* leader of the international proletariat.

Humbug

The Northites are now rhapsodizing about the Internet as a "revolutionary medium" which is supposedly "relatively cheap and accessible" to "potentially millions." This pompous dismissal of the vast majority of the world's workers and poor—especially minorities and immigrants—who don't have up-to-date computers, modems and netsurfing capacity sums up the Northites' appetites as "middle-class radicals" (an epithet they are fond of throwing at the Spartacist League in an attempt to deflect our polemical attacks). For North, the Internet is a "revolutionary medium" because it enhances his ability to bury his wildly opportunist zig-zags of yesterday in flickering digital documents that may appear today and be wiped out tomorrow. And the Northites no longer have to face attacks from angry trade unionists who noticed that the *Bulletin* was a *scab* paper, published without a union "bug."

Bulletin
NOW TWICE A WEEK!
9 October 1973
Rally Pledges Fight To Build Daily Bulletin
NEW YORK—Four hundred and fifty trade unionists and youth greeted the twice-weekly Bulletin at a historic rally Thursday night pledging to build its circulation around the country, to win support for its policies in the factories, communities and schools and to fight for the launching of the first daily Trotskyist newspaper in the United States.
Adele Sinclair, editor of the Young Socialist, said that the twice-weekly is the result of an understanding of the period in which we live and the fight for principles waged by the Young Socialists.
"Since the founding of the Young Socialists in 1971, the fight for Trotskyist principles has brought forward youth all over the country who have led the fight to organize this struggle.
"Youth will not take the budget cuts, the police in the schools and the drug laws. Workers will not take the attack on their living standards. We fight for the daily paper as a weapon in this struggle."
Bulletin Editor Lucy St. John grew proposals to send us traitorous terms

Workers Press

Fake "mass" paper evaporates into cyberspace, more suited to covering up Northite political bandits' constant opportunist zigzags. Fake-Trotskyist David North (right) apes deceased mentor Gerry Healy (far right) in corruption, thuggery and megalomania.

The new SEP Web site, rapidly expanding via the gaseous "great thoughts" of David North, is the latest in a growing junk belt of virtual fantasy worlds, where posturing little grey men with gigantic egos and dubious politics can play at revolution. Nowadays it's become quite the rage for burnt-out drop-outs to set up Potemkin Village Web sites as outposts of retreat. It's fitting, indeed, that the "Internationalist Group" of Jan Norden, a shamefaced defector from Trotskyism who was formerly editor of *Workers Vanguard*, has also created its own little world within the Net.

The liquidation of the *Bulletin* is part of a broader phenomenon as a host of reformists and centrists, buying into the imperialist lie that "communism is dead," submerge themselves in larger social-democratic formations or split up on BT has long pushed grossly Anglo-chauvinist opposition to independence for Quebec; now a wing has decamped ostensibly over its abstentionist line on the anti-working-class European Union Maastricht Treaty—of 1992! And in a January 23 Internet posting, the Bay Area Workers' Voice announced that its Detroit branch—which "constituted the majority of the leadership...but were a minority in the organization"—had split.

Contrary to the hostile buzzing of a small clot of petty-bourgeois losers and nerds who obviously have nothing better to do than clog up the Internet with sneers that the SL is "anti-technology," we actually do believe that computers, and yes, even Web sites, are useful tools for certain purposes. But that's all they are. To pretend dumping some documents into cyberspace is any substitute for the hard fight—in the real world, among real people—to build a revolutionary workers party, only confirms the total depths of cynicism and humbug for which the Northites are infamous.

Sordid

The Healy/Northites are, to borrow Lenin's term, "political bandits"—political pirates who will show any flag to attack any target—for whom the class line is a revolving door. In the bureaucratic infighting of the 1960s "Cultural Revolution" in China, they enthused over Mao Zedong's wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy; throughout the Cold War of the 1980s, they supported every imperialist-backed force arrayed against the Soviet Union, from fascist-infested Lithuanian nationalists to the bloodthirsty Afghan *mujahedin*. After years of routinely pleading with the racist Cold Warriors of George Meany's AFL-CIO bureaucracy to "build a Labor Party," North & Co. veered recently into writing off the trade unions entirely as workers organizations—openly apologizing for scabs who crossed United Auto Workers picket lines in the long and bitter Caterpillar strike (see "David North, 'Socialist' Apologist for Scabbing," *WV* No. 637, 19 January 1996).

There is much, much more to this tendency's sordid history—all thoroughly documented and readily available in bound volumes of back issues of *Workers Vanguard*. Indeed, since North's *Bulletin* had barely 150 subscribers, many of you are probably only here learning of its demise.

At its core, the program of the SEP, proclaimed with great fanfare in the leadup to the 1996 presidential elections, is profoundly reformist—or worse. Reflecting their long history of hostility to the struggles of blacks, women and gays, this strange "equality" party made a central focus of its election campaign an attack on affirmative action—in an election year marked by a virulently racist bipartisan assault on welfare and affirmative action. The SEP also advised the capitalist rulers on how to reallocate economic resources, mewling: "Tax codes would have to be radically revised to place the greatest burden on those who can afford it, the corporations and the rich" (*International Workers Bulletin*, 11 November 1996). "Our aim is not to reduce the rich to conditions of penury," they wrote.

Well, *our* aim is to expropriate the bourgeoisie as a class, and they can then find meaningful employment, if they want to eat. You need a world party of socialist revolution—a reforged Fourth International—to do that, and you need a Trotskyist press to build that party.■

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Spartacist
(English Edition)

No. 36-37
Winter 1985-86
$1 (64 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
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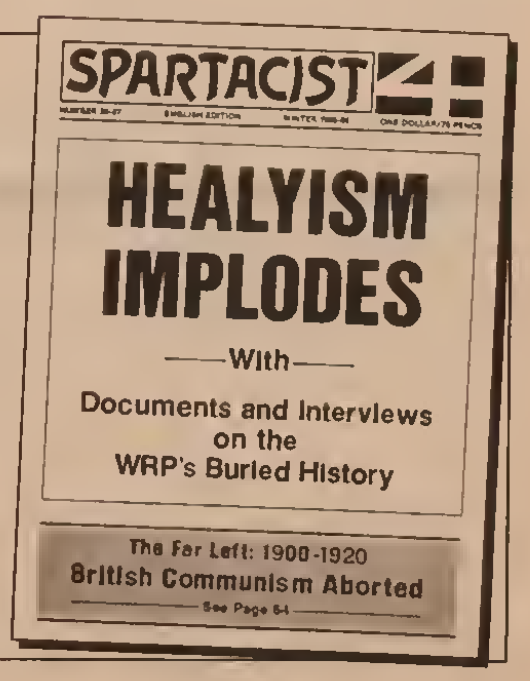
SPARTACIST
HEALYISM IMPLODES
—With—
Documents and Interviews on the WRP's Buried History
The Far Left: 1900-1920
British Communism Aborted

Rivalries...

(continued from page 5)

opened a huge, new sphere of exploitation, especially for German imperialism. Four or five years ago, a spokesman for German industry exulted: "Right on our own doorstep in Eastern Europe, we have for the first time a vast pool of cheap and highly trained labor."

Multinationals and the Nation-State

I want to dispel some widespread misconceptions about what is now called the "globalization" of capitalism. The reason that they're widespread is because they're propagated from all points of the political spectrum—the "free market" right, left liberals and social democrats, especially the trade union bureaucracy, and self-proclaimed Marxists like the political bandits of David North's Socialist Equality Party.

One such misconception is that large industrial firms and banks no longer have any strong connection to a particular nation-state but rather operate above and between nation-states, indifferent as to their relative conditions. Thus American liberal economist Charles Kindleberger asserted: "The international corporation has no country to which it owes more loyalty than any other, nor any country where it feels completely at home" (quoted in *California Management Review*, Winter 1992).

This is profoundly false and can easily be demonstrated as such. If large corporations were genuinely multinational or transnational one would expect their owners and top managers to be drawn from many different countries. But that isn't the way it works. There are no non-Americans on the boards of directors of Exxon, General Motors and Ford; there are no non-Germans on the boards of directors of Siemens and the Deutschebank; there are no non-Japanese on the boards of directors of Toyota, Nissan and Honda. The difference between international operations and national ownership can be seen in the extreme in the case of the Swiss corporation Nestlé. While 95 percent of its assets are located outside Switzerland, 97 percent of its stockholders are Swiss citizens. General Motors, Siemens and Toyota are *national* firms with international operations. They are no more multinational or transnational than was the British East India Company, which organized and carried out the colonial conquest of India in the 18th century.

Secondly, not all operations of large corporations have the same strategic importance. The profitability of many major corporations depends on technological innovations. This is especially true of those firms involved in what one former Republican president, Dwight D. Eisenhower, called "the industrial-military complex." The big U.S. aircraft company Boeing has some parts for its planes made in China. But it does not *design* its planes in China, and if its management ever tried to do that the U.S. government would prevent it. The largest American chemical company, Du Pont, now has 35 percent of its assets outside the United States, but 90 percent of its research and development is conducted *within* its own national state. A survey in the 1980s of over 20 large German multinational corporations indicated that almost 90 percent of their research and development facilities were located in Germany. If the big German chemical companies are not willing to set up research laboratories in neighboring France or Holland, they're certainly not going to locate them in Turkey or Brazil.

Crosscurrents Press

Camera Press

Soviet premier Khrushchev with Egypt's Nasser. Soviet aid helped build giant Aswan Dam in the 1960s.

Another common misconception is that so-called multinational corporations have brought about the global integration of the process of industrial production. Thus Australian Northite leader Nick Beams informs us that "globalization refers to the internationalization of the circuit of productive capital." Unlike David North and Nick Beams, the men who run GM, Toyota and Volkswagen are not so stupid as to create a system in which a few thousand workers in unstable Third World countries can disrupt their entire production process internationally.

Imagine if GM and Toyota had ten plants in ten different countries, each producing a key component for their automobiles. A strike by 2,000 workers in Mexico or Indonesia could then shut down the entire global production of the world's two biggest automakers. There are a few auto plants in the U.S. which do have that kind of economic leverage on a continental scale. A year or so ago, 3,000 workers in a brake manufacturing plant in the American Midwest went on strike and in two weeks all of GM's North American production ground to a halt. The huge Volkswagen plant in Brazil, for example, does not produce crucial parts for the autos made in Wolfsburg, Germany and sold throughout Europe. It assembles cars, with some parts imported from Germany, which are sold in Brazil and the rest of Latin America.

Reforge the Fourth International!

I want to conclude with the same point I started with. The security of foreign investments is only as strong as the state protecting those investments. And that puts definite limits on the willingness of the imperialist bourgeoisies to "globalize" industrial production. In the mid-19th century, when Britain dominated the world market in manufactured goods, British capitalists and their ideologues proclaimed the doctrine of "free trade" as if it were the eleventh commandment handed down from Jehovah to Moses on Mount Sinai.

However, by the early 1900s German industrialists were out-competing their British rivals even in Britain itself. So the British ruling class started singing a different tune, with significant sectors now agitating for import protectionism. One of its advocates, W. S. Hewins, argued:

> "Suppose an industry which is threatened [by foreign competition] is one which lies at the very root of your system of National defence, where are you then? You could not get on without an iron industry, a great Engineering trade, because in modern warfare you would not have the means of producing, and maintaining in a state of efficiency, your fleets and armies.... It is conceivable that under conditions of strict and ruthless international competition the great industries of England would be reduced to a very few. Why should not we all become financiers of one kind and another, because we can do financially better than other people? But you cannot make a nation or an empire out of financiers."
>
> —quoted in Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise of Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860-1914* (1987)

Every issue of the *AFL-CIO News*, the official paper of the American labor bureaucracy, says pretty much the same thing. And this is true of other labor bureaucracies in imperialist countries, such as the French Communist Party. This is what Lenin called "social-chauvinism" or "social-imperialism," the doctrine that the working class has an interest in the strength of its "own" imperialist state, in the ability of its "own" imperialist state to maximize the extraction of surplus value from the rest of the world.

"Globalization," or "neoliberalism" as it's also called, is a superficial and transient ideological fashion espoused today by the official spokesmen of finance capital represented by the IMF and the World Bank. But this is *not* the only kind of bourgeois ideology we encounter and will encounter. Not at all. It is important to keep in mind that the mass fascist party in France, Le Pen's National Front, is opposed to a common European currency as stipulated in the Maastricht Treaty. The foremost spokesman for the "respectable" far right in the U.S., Pat Buchanan—who would be quite at home in a clerical-fascist regime—is opposed to the North American Free Trade Agreement, which he denounces for impoverishing the American working people.

The mobilization of the working people of the United States, Germany and Japan for a new imperialist world war will not be made in the name of free trade, currency convertibility, the international mobility of capital or the globalization of production. It will be made in the name of nationalism, of racism, of "the right of power, the right of force." Working people will be told by their capitalist rulers that if they do not kill and rob other peoples, other peoples will kill and rob them. So we had better understand what we are going to be facing in order to combat it more effectively.

Particularly in the U.S., Germany and France, a major depression will make the program of the fascists and the far right more attractive to strata such as small proprietors, extremely backward workers, unemployed and lumpenized youth. It would not surprise me at all if in the next period one sees fascists and far rightists protesting and perhaps more than protesting the likes of the World Trade Organization and the IMF as agents of the "international Zionist conspiracy." As August Bebel, founding leader of the Marxist workers movement in 19th-century Germany, said, "Anti-Semitism is the socialism of fools."

AP

Cops attack Detroit press strikers' picket line, 1995. Abetted by AFL-CIO tops, U.S. bourgeoisie has increased rate of exploitation through massive wage cuts, anti-labor repression.

So what are we to do about it? Obviously, we want to support and advocate, and where feasible engage in, labor-centered mobilizations to defeat the fascists in the streets and international action at the trade-union level. But our response cannot be primarily at the level of trade-union militancy. We have to answer the "socialism of fools" with the "socialism of wise men." This means pushing our *full program*—a Socialist United States of Europe, a world socialist order, international economic planning based on the highest level of science and technology. There are today in Europe alone millions of well-educated youth who are unemployed. In a depression, huge amounts of productive resources will stand idle. Add to this the increasing threat of a new imperialist world war. Our answer—and the only answer—to all this is new October Revolutions on a global scale. And that is why we fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ■

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

MOVE prisoner Merle Africa died of unknown causes on March 13 in Pennsylvania's Cambridge Springs women's prison. Merle, who was in her mid-40s, was not known to he suffering from illness at the time of her death. We offer our condolences to the MOVE organization.

Merle had been imprisoned as part of the frame-up of nine Philadelphia MOVE members following the August 1978 police siege of their Powelton Village home. The racist vendetta against MOVE culminated in the police firebombing of their Osage Avenue home in May 1985, killing eleven, including five children, and burning down an entire neighborhood. We demand: Free all MOVE prisoners now!

For Merle Africa

For almost 21 years, this beautiful, courageous, principled soldier of the army of life, Merle "China" Africa, endured the small minded, petty, political persecution in unjust incarceration in the hellholes of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

On August 8, 1978, the City, the State and the Federal Government conspired to liquidate Merle and all other MOVE members in their West-Philly house. Today it appears they have finally accomplished this task. The strong, committed, resolute minister and disciple of John Africa suddenly, inexplicably died this morning.

Merle should have been home with their babies, well over twenty years ago. But she and the remaining 8 MOVE political prisoners remained entombed in state prisons, simply for the crime of "being MOVE members."

Let our loss spark a fire that fuels the engine of freedom for all of the remaining MOVE political prisoners. Let our hearts, spirits, voices and hands demand that they be freed from this unjust draconian political persecution. Let us truly work to free *all* MOVE political prisoners right now.

Long live the spirit of Merle "China" Africa.
LIJA! [Long Live John Africa!]
Ona MOVE

13 March 1998

© 1998 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers. To correspond with Jamal, write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Death Row...

(continued from page 12)

Although SCI Greene authorities backed off from the new rules on family visits and phone calls and on commissary purchases, they had already wreaked real damage on the prisoners. In a statement after the end of the hunger strike, Mumia wrote:

> "We were told some things by administrators that, if applied, would be a step in the rite direction; but, it ain't hardly a 'victory.' It's as if a man who was armed with a stick tied you up, looted your apartment of almost all your property, stole from your wallet to pay for its shipment, or destroyed it, and then returned two weeks later with a shoebox of some of your stuff and said you could have it, if you paid for it!"

Mumia is currently awaiting a State Supreme Court decision on the appeal of his death sentence and false conviction for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia policeman. In undermining death row prisoners' ability to pursue legal defense efforts, the crackdown at SCI Greene was part of a broader effort by Pennsylvania authorities—and state and federal agencies nationwide—to speed up the rate of executions.

Among numerous protests condemning the crackdown at SCI Greene, Amnesty International secretary-general Pierre Sané issued a scathing report on March 11 dealing with conditions at the prison. Sané declared that when he visited the prison last November, he was "appalled at the inhumane manner in which death row prisoners are 'warehoused' pending their execution. I believed the conditions to be extremely debilitating and draconian. To learn that the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections have, for no apparent reason, cut back further on the few 'privileges' allowed to death row inmates fills me with horror."

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal exemplifies the barbaric, racist nature of the death penalty and the entire capitalist "justice" system. He was targeted by the FBI, Philly cops and courts from the time he was a spokesman for the Black Panther Party in his teens on up to his later work as a crusading journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization. His only "crime" was to courageously speak out against police terror and on behalf of the oppressed and downtrodden.

The degradation and abuse meted out to the overwhelmingly black and Hispanic prison population, the massive speedup in executions, the curtailment of *habeas corpus* appeal rights—all are part of an intensification of racist state repression as the capitalist rulers, through the Democratic and Republican parties, carry out their war on working people, minorities and the poor. The labor movement must fight to abolish the racist death penalty and to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and all class-war prisoners as part of the struggle against the capitalist exploiters. We fight to forge a multiracial workers party to smash the hideous machinery of legal lynching and the whole apparatus of capitalist repression through socialist revolution.

* * *

FUNDS FOR MUMIA'S LEGAL DEFENSE ARE URGENTLY NEEDED! If the Pennsylvania Supreme Court turns down his appeal, the next battleground on the legal front will be in the federal courts, involving massive new costs. Contributions for Mumia's legal defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mailed to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. Contact the PDC—New York: P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252, E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com; Chicago: P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; San Francisco Bay Area: P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462, phone (510) 839-0852. ■

Vanunu...

(continued from page 12)

Arafat, as head of the petty-bourgeois nationalist Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), signed his pact with Israel on the White House lawn in 1993, we warned that this would mean "PLO cops, armed and paid by Israel, shooting down young Palestinian rebels on behalf of the Zionist state terrorists" (*WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993). A recent article in the *New York Times* (5 March) reports that Arafat's security forces have been receiving training from the CIA and FBI in "espionage, information-gathering, interrogation and other techniques of the trade." In the last four years 18 Palestinians have been tortured to death in Arafat's prisons.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

When Vanunu was convicted more than a year after his abduction of aiding and abetting "the enemy in time of war," we commented: "Who is the enemy? What war? To the Zionist nuclear madmen, it doesn't matter—they are at war with the whole world, everybody is the enemy" (*WV* No. 450, 8 April 1988). Vanunu's revelations made clear that Israel's capitalist rulers had enough nuclear weapons not only to incinerate every Arab capital, but to bomb major cities in the Soviet Union as well. Israel's nuclear arsenal was built up with the active support of the U.S. and other imperialist powers, as part of their war drive against the Soviet degenerated workers state.

Particularly following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the U.S. has attempted to impose a "Pax Americana" in the Near East to secure its strategic interests in this oil-rich region. This was seen most clearly in the "Arab consensus" forged around the U.S.-led Persian Gulf War against Iraq in 1990-91, which was followed by the Israel-PLO "peace" accord in 1993. Today, Washington is increasingly open in expressing frustration with its war-crazed Israeli junior partners, whose repeated provocations in the Occupied Territories threaten to throw the region into turmoil and hindered U.S. attempts to secure support among Arab bourgeois regimes for an attack on Iraq last month. Netanyahu even snubbed and incited a mob attack on British foreign minister Robin Cook during a visit last week, when the imperialist politician made a point of protesting a new Zionist "settlement" in Arab East Jerusalem. At the same time, the Israeli leader has sought to mollify Washington by talking of an Israeli troop withdrawal from southern Lebanon and offering an apology for the army killing of the three Palestinian workers in Hebron.

In a recent book titled *Open Secrets: Israeli Nuclear and Foreign Policies*, courageous Israeli civil libertarian Israel Shahak notes: "The two crucial areas which Israel wants to maintain its independence from the U.S. are its nuclear power and its influence within the U.S. itself" (quoted in *Z Magazine*, February 1998). Against various "leftist" apologists for Arab nationalism, we have always insisted that Israel is not a puppet of U.S. imperialism but a regional capitalist power in its own right. In pursuit of their appetites for a "Greater Israel," the Zionist rulers are quite capable of launching a nuclear Armageddon. This was made clear during the U.S.-manufactured confrontation with Iraq last month when Israel's military chief warned that "the Iraqis know more or less what Israel is capable of doing, and I hope we will not need to retaliate" (*Jerusalem Post International Edition*, 7 February).

The Israeli garrison-state must be shattered from within, through workers revolution led by a Leninist vanguard party which unites the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab workers around their *class* interests. In the face of stringent austerity attacks by the Netanyahu regime and its equally Zionist and anti-working-class "Labor" predecessor, Israeli workers have demonstrated substantial economic militancy. But they must be broken politically from the stranglehold of Zionist chauvinism and won to active defense of Palestinian national rights. Indeed, as a Sephardic Jew from Morocco, it was Vanunu's own experience of discrimination at the hands of the Ashkenazi (European)-dominated Zionist ruling establishment that impelled him to take up the cause of the far more oppressed Palestinians and led to his alienation from Zionism. We also fight to win Palestinian militants from the dead end of petty-bourgeois nationalism and the vile anti-Semitic and anti-woman bigotry spewed by Islamic fundamentalists like Hamas and Hezbollah.

It is from this internationalist standpoint that the Spartacist League has actively fought for Mordechai Vanunu's freedom from the outset. The Partisan Defense Committee, committed to the class-struggle defense of cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people, called for an international campaign to win his release. Numerous other organizations and individuals, including actress Emma Thompson, author Graham Greene and Nobel physicist Joseph Rotblat, have spoken out on behalf of Vanunu. In June 1987, Vanunu's former companion and spokesman, Judy Zimmet, joined Mumia Abu-Jamal's wife Wadiya in speaking from the platform of an SL forum in New York City devoted to international class-struggle defense. At that meeting, Zimmet quoted from a letter by Vanunu which said: "I did what I believe is good to do for peace and safety on this earth."

The only road to peace in the Near East—and the only just solution to the conflicting national claims of the myriad peoples of the region—lies through socialist revolution. It is necessary to forge Leninist-Trotskyist parties to lead the working masses—and behind them the poor peasants, women and other oppressed—in sweeping away the sheiks, colonels, kings and Zionist rulers as part of the fight for workers revolution internationally. Free Mordechai Vanunu! Defend the Palestinians! For a socialist federation of the Near East! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Pennsylvania Prison Authorities Back Off

Death Row Hunger Strike Ends

Free Mumia! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

MARCH 24—The dramatic death row hunger strike which began on March 6 at Pennsylvania's SCI Greene prison complex ended on March 18 when prison officials rescinded some of the new regulations that touched off the desperate protest. As we reported in *WV* No. 686 (13 March), the new rules—no doubt adopted in retaliation against prisoners' lawsuits challenging conditions there—had drastically cut family visits and phone calls allowed prisoners, while taking away all clothing except a single prison suit and two pairs of underwear and socks. Even the right to buy food at the commissary was eliminated. Moreover, prisoners had to hand over all personal belongings—including books and legal papers—that did not fit into a single storage box.

Among those subjected to the crackdown was prominent journalist and political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was forced to hand over 16 boxes of material, including legal documents critical to his defense. Jamal, who joined the hunger strike in its second week, reported that 38 prisoners were engaged in the strike at its peak, out of the 111 on SCI Greene's death row (which we incorrectly reported last issue as the number on strike). In a March 13 column, Mumia skewered the new regulations as exemplifying:

> "the intentional premeditated assault on the meager 'privileges' accorded Death Row inmates, designed to plunge them over the brink of despair. "To a man or a woman faced literally with months or weeks of life, a visit with a loved one who must travel hundreds of miles, is hardly a frivolous thing.... When the State systematically seeks to secure the death of hope, it reveals its true underlying object—the death of men."

continued on page 11

WV Photo

Death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

Free Mordechai Vanunu!

Israeli Nuclear Technician Revealed Zionist Doomsday Machine

On March 12, Mordechai Vanunu was released from solitary confinement in an Israeli dungeon after enduring more than eleven hellish years in a six-by-nine-foot cell. A technician who had worked at Israel's top-secret Dimona nuclear facility for ten years, Vanunu was kidnapped in Rome by the Mossad secret police days before the London *Sunday Times* (5 October 1986) published his story revealing that Israel had up to 200 nuclear weapons. After a secret "trial" in a sealed courtroom, the Zionist rulers vindictively sentenced him to 18 years for revealing the scale of Israel's nuclear doomsday machine.

Until last week, Vanunu was denied any human contact except with the guards who fed him and with his two brothers, who were allowed to visit him every other week. He remains in the Ashkelon maximum-security prison where he has been incarcerated since late 1986. As we wrote shortly after his arrest: "For his courageous act, the working people, indeed all of humanity, owe Vanunu a tremendous debt of gratitude.... Vanunu acted in the cause of humanity. Now the international working class must champion his cause" (*WV* No. 429, 29 May 1987). *Freedom now for Mordechai Vanunu!*

Meanwhile, Israel's torture chambers are filled to the brim with Palestinian Arabs, many of whom were imprisoned without even the fiction of a trial, and often without even being formally charged. A week before Vanunu's release from solitary confinement, the Israeli Supreme Court announced a ruling which justified the continued imprisonment of 21 Lebanese men for as long as 12 years on no other grounds than their utility to the Zionist state as potential "bargaining chips" for hostage exchanges with the Islamic Hezbollah militia. *Free all victims of Zionist state repression!*

Hollander/Reuters

Israeli troops terrorize Palestinian population in West Bank city of Hebron.

Landau/Jerusalem Post

Mordechai Vanunu after abduction and arrest by Mossad secret police in 1986.

Defend the Palestinian People!

Even as the Clinton administration tries to pressure Israel into reviving the U.S.-sponsored "peace process" with Yasir Arafat's Palestinian Authority, the Zionist rulers have stepped up their war of terror against the Palestinian people. On March 10, soldiers at a checkpoint near the West Bank city of Hebron fired automatic rifles at a van carrying Palestinian construction workers, killing three and wounding two others. These cold-blooded murders, coming atop a whole series of recent racist provocations, triggered widespread protests in Hebron, Ramallah and elsewhere. Israeli troops firing rubber-coated bullets killed a 13-year-old boy and injured more than 50 other protesters.

Emboldened by the "hardline" stance of Likud prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu's right-wing coalition government, fascistic "settlers" are out to foment a full-scale pogrom in Hebron. Four years ago, an American-born fascist massacred over 30 Palestinians praying in a Hebron mosque. Since then, the "redeployment" of Israeli troops promoted by the "peace" accord has divided the city in two, allocating fully 20 percent to several hundred "settlers" and sealing the Arab population of 400,000 into a ghetto ringed by army units. On March 13, some 40 armed fascists stormed through Arab parts of the city, while Israeli soldiers fired into crowds of Palestinians trying to defend their homes and families. *Defend the Palestinians—All Israeli troops and "settlers" out of all the Occupied Territories now!*

Aiding the Zionist butchers in their repression of the Palestinian population is Arafat's Palestinian Authority. When

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 688 X-633 10 April 1998

Women Workers and the Fight for Socialist Revolution

Indonesia Seethes Under IMF Austerity

Down With Anti-Chinese Terror! Independence for East Timor!

We print below in edited form a presentation by Spartacist League of Australia spokesman Margaret Rodda at an SL/A forum in Sydney on March 27.

Two weeks ago, amid growing social turmoil in Indonesia over the economic crisis racking Asia, the dictator Suharto was re-elected to a seventh term as president. In mid-February, the government banned public protests and deployed massive police and army forces on the streets in an attempt to ensure order. Nevertheless, large anti-Suharto protests have occurred almost daily on universities across Java over the past month. These have been met with fierce repression whenever students have tried to take the protests outside the campuses.

Indonesia is a powder keg. Engulfed by the Asian financial crisis, the Indonesian rupiah has undergone a massive devaluation—some 70 to 80 percent since July 1997. Business collapses, soaring prices and shortages of goods have led to panic buying and so-called "food riots," raising the spectre of economic chaos and further social unrest. Already bridling under the extreme corruption of the Suharto dictatorship, the middle class has had its expectations of success under the Asian "economic miracle" utterly dashed as international market forces hit home.

For the working class, the austerity measures dictated by the imperialist bloodsuckers of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) mean deepening immiseration. Millions have already been laid off, with building and factory workers worst hit. Unemployment is now officially reported to be 8 million, rising from 2.5 million in mid-1997. The state-run SPSI (All Indonesia Workers Union) predicts that the number of workers who don't earn enough to cover their daily needs will reach 40 million out of a workforce of 90 million this year. The situation has been heightened by the worst drought in 50 years, with villagers pouring into cities like Jakarta in search of work. While the economic crisis has sparked worker unrest, it has also fed the growth of Islamic fervour. This has had serious consequences not only for the largely Christian Chinese minority, who have met with violence and arson at the hands of rampaging mobs, but for women workers who have played an increasingly strong role in strikes and protests.

Reuters

Riot police attack student demonstrators in Surabaya, eastern Java, in early March. As prices skyrocket and food shortages spread under IMF dictates, protests against Suharto regime have swept Indonesian campuses.

From Thailand and Indonesia to the Philippines, massive imperialist investment over the past two decades, centrally by Japanese capital, has created a vibrant, young proletariat. This is the force which can and must fight to sweep away the bloodsoaked Suharto dictatorship, not by looking for an alliance with an illusionary "democratic" wing of Indonesian capitalism, but through socialist revolution against the entire capitalist-landlord ruling class and its imperialist patrons.

To lead this struggle to victory requires the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party which seeks to link the class struggles in Indonesia with those of workers throughout Asia and across the world. The road to the emancipation of the working class of the region—and with them women, the peasantry and oppressed ethnic and national minorities—lies in the fight for a socialist federation of Southeast Asia, linked to the struggle for proletarian revolution in Japan, Australia, the U.S. and other imperialist powers and for workers political revolution in China to stop the threat of capitalist restoration there.

The Family: Mainstay of Social Reaction

Fighting for the right to organise in independent trade unions and for wage increases and better working conditions, including maternity leave rights, women have played a militant role in workers' struggles against the Suharto dictatorship over the past decade. This is exemplified by the case of Marsinah, a young militant who became a hero to millions of women and youth after she was brutally murdered in the wake of labour struggles in East Java in 1993. Many of these new proletarians are recently arrived from villages where traditional jobs have been replaced by mechanisation or lost through encroaching urbanisation. While horribly exploited in the factories, these young women also find some freedom from the social pressures of family and village life, particularly the pressure to marry, including through arranged marriages.

Richburg/Washington Post

Nike plant in Indonesian city of Serang. Superexploited women workers, drawn into factory production during economic boom, are now threatened with mass layoffs.

Central to women's oppression in Indonesia, as in all class societies, is the institution of the family—an economic and social unit subjugating women as dependent domestic slaves and serving, along with organised religion, as a mainstay of social reaction. Suharto's "New Order" military regime, ushered in with the horrific 1965 anti-Communist bloodbath in which over half a million people were slaughtered, has strongly inculcated an ideology relegating women to the role of wife and mother. In 1974, the government passed a national marriage law which in its original form provoked widespread revolt from Islamic leaders because it threatened to abolish polygamy and weaken the role of the Islamic courts which mainly deal with family law and inheritance. To appease the Islamicists, the final, revised law codified and greatly expanded the role of Islamic courts, allowing as well for the institution of polygamy, although somewhat circumscribed. The law also codified the wife's role as family housekeeper and the husband's as the family protector and provider.

The regime's key vehicles for inculcating this ideology have been government-controlled women's organisations such as Dharma Wanita and particularly the PKK (Family Welfare Movement) which permeates both urban and rural areas throughout the Indonesian archipelago.

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Cicero, Illinois

City Fathers' Dirty Deal with KKK

CHICAGO—In February, the race-terrorist Ku Klux Klan announced that it would hold an anti-immigration rally in the notoriously racist town of Cicero, outside Chicago. Evoking the racist spectre of black Chicago "gangs" descending on Cicero, town "elders" first denied the Klan a permit and then cut a sinister deal to *distribute the fascists' genocidal propaganda for them*. At a joint press conference with KKK "Imperial Grand Dragon" Jeffery Berry, Cicero town president Betty Loren-Maltese declared: "They could say whatever they wanted to. And it would cost the town a lot less than a rally" (*Berwyn-Cicero Life*, 8 March). At the last minute, the Klan decided not to take advantage of the racist officials' offer.

As Wisconsin Klan *führer* Michael McQueeney said in federal court, in picking Cicero for their race-hate provocation, "We didn't just throw darts on the map" (*Chicago Defender*, 5 March). Adjacent to Chicago's sprawling West Side ghetto, Cicero has a long and vicious history as a racist enclave where blacks literally risk their lives after dark. It was here in 1966 that Martin Luther King Jr. backed out of a march for open housing in exchange for a "summit agreement" with Chicago's Democratic mayor, Richard "Boss" Daley Sr. When activists from the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee went ahead with the march, they were brutally attacked by a racist mob whipped into a frenzy by area Nazis.

This event helped mark the defeat of the liberal-led civil rights movement, which ran aground as it came north. Having attained the abolition of formal Jim Crow segregation in the South, which even the U.S. ruling class began to view as a liability, the pro-Democratic Party liberals had no answer to the grinding poverty, dilapidated housing and rampant cop terror in the ghettos, which are rooted in the American capitalist economic system. Thirty years later, Cicero is still only 0.2 percent black. At the same time, it has a growing Hispanic population—now making up over a third of the town's residents—which the Klan had in its sights when it announced its plan to rally there.

Outrageously, the deal cooked up by Loren-Maltese was *welcomed* by black liberals like Mark Allen of Operation PUSH/Rainbow Coalition, on the grounds that it's easier to ignore Klan literature than a KKK rally (*Chicago Tribune*, 13 March)! Meanwhile, the reformists of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) initially praised the racist Cicero officials, proclaiming that "unlike other cities which have granted the KKK rally permits without a fight, Cicero town officials fought the racists' request for a permit" (*Socialist Worker*, 13 March). ISO claims that anti-racists "won" in Cicero (*Socialist Worker*, 27 March) only show how deep its touching faith in the capitalist state runs. But from the beginning, the city officials showed their true colors by threatening to arrest anti-KKK protesters and then volunteering their services to distribute the Klan's race-hate screeds themselves.

The Klan/Nazi terrorists will be defeated neither through such appeals to the racist capitalist government to stop them nor through self-defeating confrontations between handfuls of militants and the fascists with their racist cop protectors, as put forward by the Progressive Labor Party. It will take mass mobilizations centered on the multiracial labor movement—marching at the head of blacks, Hispanics, gays, Jews and all of the Klan's intended victims—to crush the fascists in the egg. This requires a political struggle against the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO tops, who chain labor to the class enemy principally through support to the capitalist Democratic Party. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed, inculcating among workers the understanding that they must fight for a socialist revolution to put an end to the entire racist capitalist system which breeds the fascist vermin.■

TROTSKY

Bolshevism and the Struggle Against National Chauvinism

LENIN

The Bolshevik Party led by V.I. Lenin championed national-democratic rights in the tsarist "prison house of peoples" as a necessary weapon in forging proletarian class consciousness. This included opposing the imposition of Russian as the official language of state, education and public life. It was only the October Revolution of 1917, placing the working class in power, which opened the door to national liberation and equality for the peoples of the former tsarist empire. In struggling for an American proletarian revolution, we combat "English-only" chauvinism and all other forms of national and racial oppression.

Insofar as national peace is in any way possible in a capitalist society based on exploitation, profit-making and strife, it is attainable only under a consistently and thoroughly democratic republican system of government which guarantees full equality of all nations and languages, which recognises no compulsory official language, which provides the people with schools where instruction is given in all the native languages, and the constitution of which contains a fundamental law that prohibits any priviteges whatsoever to any one nation and any encroachment whatsoever upon the rights of a national minority....

The interests of the working class demand the amalgamation of the workers of all the nationalities in a given state in united proletarian organisations—political, trade union, co-operative, educational, etc. This amalgamation of the workers of different nationalities in single organisations will alone enable the proletariat to wage a victorious struggle against international capital and reaction, and combat the propaganda and aspirations of the landowners, clergy and bourgeois nationalists of all nations, who usually cover up their anti-proletarian aspirations with the slogan of "national culture." The world working-class movement is creating and daily developing more and more an international proletarian culture.

—V.I. Lenin, "Resolutions of the Summer 1913 Joint Conference of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. and Party Officials" (September 1913)

Chicago Cop Vendetta Against Black Youth

Defend Jeremiah Mearday!

Jeremiah Mearday, the black teenager who was savagely beaten and framed up by Chicago cops last September (see "Protests Hit Cop Terror in Chicago," WV No. 681, 2 January), has once again been subjected to violent attack and false arrest by the vindictive, racist thugs in uniform. The following letter of protest by the Partisan Defense Committee was sent on March 27 to Richard Devine, State's Attorney for Cook County, Illinois.

The Partisan Defense Committee condemns the continuing racist police vendetta against Jeremiah Mearday and demands that all charges against Mearday be dropped.

On Thursday, March 19, for the second time in six months, Chicago cops beat and arrested Mearday on bogus charges, this time framing him on serious felony counts of aggravated battery and possession of a controlled substance.

This frame-up is an obvious and blatant act of retaliation, following just one week after the Police Board fired the two police officers who beat Mearday last September. The Police Board acknowledged that the cops pressed bogus resisting arrest charges against Mearday as part of a conspiracy to cover their own racist brutality—yet your office continues to prosecute those phony charges!

Wagner/Chicago Tribune

Jeremiah Mearday

The new police attack and false prosecution is pure and simple "payback" designed to teach Mearday (and other black youth) a "lesson" because he has put up a legal and political fight to expose the racist frame-up and beating he endured last September. Because he refused to lie down and submit to their racist terror, Mearday has now become a "marked man" in the eyes of the Chicago police.

We demand: Drop all the charges against Jeremiah Mearday!■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Jacob Zorn

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CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jane Patterson

EDITORIAL BOARD: Ray Bishop (managing editor), Bruce André, Helene Broslus, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@iiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is April 7

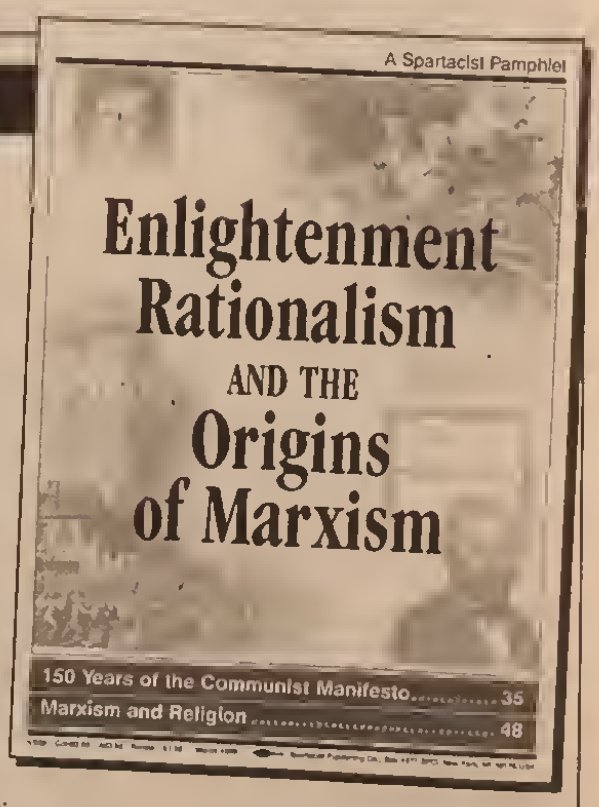
No. 688 **10 April 1998**

Just Out!

This pamphlet reprints presentations given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour on the origins of Marxism in the French Enlightenment and in left Hegelianism. Also included are "150 Years of the Communist Manifesto" and "Marxism and Religion."

In the retrograde climate of post-Soviet reaction, the struggle to reassert the validity of the program and purpose of revolutionary Marxism is crucial for our fight for new October Revolutions.

$2 (48 pages)



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Brooklyn's Maimonides Hospital

Victory to the Nurses Strike!

APRIL 6—In an important labor battle for all hospital workers in the area, more than 700 members of the New York State Nurses Association (NYSNA) have gone on strike at Maimonides Medical Center, the second-largest hospital in Brooklyn. Since the strike began on March 30, management has brought in scores of scabs from a Denver-based strikebreaking outfit, the United Nursing Corporation. This union-busting must be stopped through mass picket lines that no one crosses!

Rather that carry out this basic act of labor solidarity, the leadership of the powerful Local 1199 health and hospital workers union has its members waltzing across the picket lines. Local 1199, whose contract expires in the coming months, and the Committee of Interns and Residents which is embroiled in a union organizing drive at the hospital, must join this strike as an elementary act of self-defense.

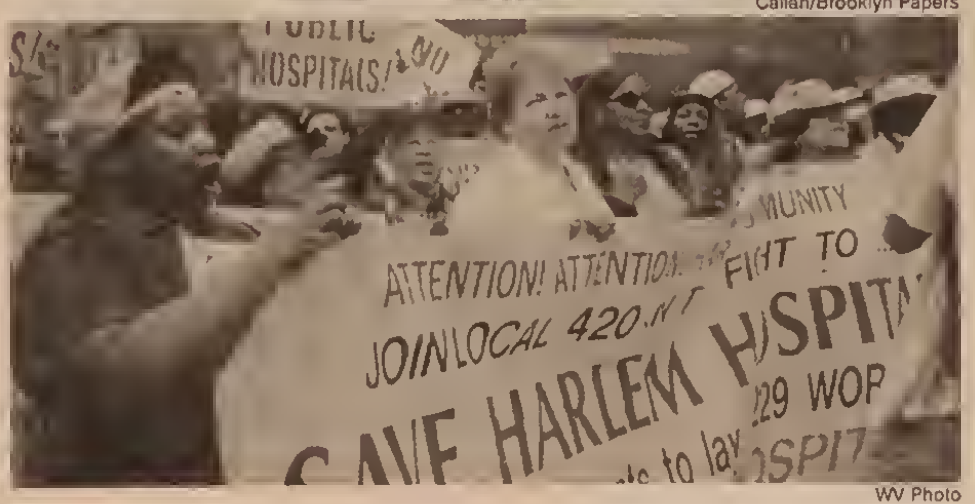
The multiracial strikers, many of them immigrants from the Philippines, South Asia and the West Indies, had been working without a contract since December 31. The hospital bosses provoked the strike by shelving a popular flexible work schedule. Despite the fact that Maimonides is raking in huge profits, management is trying to ram down the union's throat a give-back contract which would force nurses to pay for their own long-term disability insurance, eliminate premium pay for senior nurses and gut medical and tuition reimbursement plans. In a serious threat to the quality of patient care, the Maimonides bosses want to further cut costs by switching nurses to departments for which they are not trained.

The attack on the Maimonides nurses is the latest in a series of assaults on benefits and pay scales at hospitals in and around New York City. The New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation recently announced plans to lay off 900 hospital workers, further eroding the already dismal health care available to the city's black and Hispanic poor. On April 1, 500 workers from AFSCME Local 420, representing public hospital workers, joined by other trade unionists, protested plans for layoffs at the Harlem Hospital Medical Center, the only public hospital left in Harlem.

These cuts are only the latest in a series of blows by the capitalist rulers against health care, particularly for the poor and working people. While doing nothing to mobilize the real power of labor to fight these attacks, the pro-capitalist union tops promote phony "friend of labor" Democrats like U.S. Senate candidate Geraldine Ferraro, who made an appearance on the NYSNA picket lines. Local 1199 leader Dennis Rivera is himself a key leader of the state Democratic Party. And long before Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani took the ax to city services and jobs, Democratic mayor and racist pig Ed Koch shoved the closing of Sydenham Hospital down the throats of Harlem residents. His successor, black Democrat David Dinkins, oversaw the gutting of thousands of city and industrial jobs even as he hired 6,000 more cops. Austerity is the program of both capitalist parties.

The same bosses who oversee the deadly hospital cutbacks scream that striking unionists "endanger" the health of patients. What chutzpah! It is the capitalist profit system which denies or limits health care to vast portions of society and is responsible for the resurgence of diseases of poverty like tuberculosis. Free quality health care for all! Victory to the nurses strike! ■

Callan/Brooklyn Papers



WV Photo

Nurses picket line at Maimonides Hospital (right). April 1 union rally against threat of layoffs at Harlem Hospital. Health care workers face massive cutbacks, union-busting attacks.

Letters

"I Am Not Now and Have Never Been..."

The following was written in response to a Young Spartacus *article, "ISO Threatens SYCer at S.F. State: Goons for Liberalism" (WV No. 686, 13 March), which noted a flurry of Internet messages prompted by a Spartacus Youth Club leaflet protesting the International Socialist Organization's thuggery. In the article, the writer of this letter was identified (evidently inaccurately) as having been an ISOer when he helped the ISO exclude the SL from a 1991 conference opposing the Persian Gulf War—an act he has come to regret. Nonetheless, in asserting that the ISO is committed to "revolution or nothing," he maintains an incapacity to appreciate the ISO's abject reformism, which is the motor force for the exclusionism and thuggery they employ to try to silence our revolutionary politics.*

24 March 1998

Dear *Workers Vanguard*,

Imagine my surprise when a comrade told me I had been selectively quoted from my e-mail AND been libeled as having been a member of the ISO. While I have no objection to the comrades at *WV* quoting from me, since I am anti-copyright, a note saying that you were doing so would have been comradely.

However, what I AM upset about is that you have libeled me as a former ISOer. I have NEVER been a member of the International Socialist Organization, though I have worked with it on three occasions. Nowhere in my post does it say I was a member of the ISO. While you did not use my name (thank you), anyone who is a reader of both a.p.s.t. [an Internet bulletin board] and *WV* could easily figure out that you were referring to me.

Let me make my relationship to the ISO perfectly clear for you. Theoretically the ISO and I are light years apart. I actually read Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, etc. I can analyze events for myself rather than relying on a leadership based in London to make all my decisions for me. In the real world, I can fight for actual reforms while keeping my eye on the prize, revolution. For them, it's the revolution or nothing.

The regretful act I took part in, keeping the SL comrades out of the planning conference, was done when I was not a member of any socialist organization. At the time I felt (and still do feel, for that matter) that the SL was showing the students who had been busting their butts to put the conference together a high level of disrespect. The SL had not done what EVERY other group had done, which was to complete some minor paperwork (so we knew how much space to set aside for each group) and pay a small fee.

In retrospect, I feel that the SL should have been allowed to set up their lit table, if they paid the fee then, which they offered to do. We make mistakes, we learn from them, and we fight on.

With revolutionary regards,
M.L.

On Democratic Rights

31 March 1998

Dear *WV*,

Why is the PDC defending six CIA agents?

I really don't get it!

Warm regards,
Bob Malecki

WV Replies

In our article "Star Chamber Hearings—U.S. Moves to Deport Own Iraqi Agents" (*WV* No. 687, 27 March), we noted that the star chamber deportation proceedings used against the six CIA operatives represented "a threat not only to all immigrants but to the civil liberties of everyone in the U.S." In this case, the defense team was even denied the right to see the government's evidence until they were joined by a former CIA director—who had a security clearance!

The raft of anti-immigration and "anti-terrorism" laws adopted over the past decade have ominously sought to eliminate basic democratic protections, such as the right of due process. Because we are opposed to the enhancement of the capitalist state's machinery of repression, we condemn these police-state laws and star chamber proceedings, even when those in the dock are Iraqi CIA agents.

As Leninists, we understand that democratic rights are indivisible. Our readers may recall that when the feds went after the Unification Church of the sinister Rev. Sun Myung Moon, denying it status as a "legitimate" religious organization and aiming to pry into the Moonies' financial records, we saw this as a dangerous precedent which would be used against left organizations and unions. The PDC and Spartacist League submitted an *amicus* brief to the U.S. Supreme Court in Moon's defense, just a short time after his *Washington Times* had published a deadly libel—subsequently retracted—against the SL-initiated labor/black mobilization which stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982.

In short, if the U.S. government can do this to the CIA's Iraqi operatives, imagine what they will try to do to other immigrants, working-class militants and leftists.■

Spartacist Events

BOSTON

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Selected Monday evenings, 7 p.m.
Next classes, April 13: ***China on the Brink: Stalinism—Gravedigger of Revolutions***; April 20: ***Black Oppression—Bedrock of U.S. Capitalism: The Fight for Revolutionary Integrationism***; Harvard University Memorial Hall, Room 303
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

NEW YORK CITY

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Thursdays. Next classes, April 9: ***Black Oppression—Bedrock of U.S. Capitalism: The Fight for Revolutionary Integrationism***; New York University Loeb Student Center, 8 p.m., Room 513

April 23: ***Confronting the Death of Communism Myth—The Revolutionary Party in the Post-Soviet World***; New York University Loeb Student Center, 8:30 p.m., Room 411
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

TORONTO

National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle

Independence for Quebec!

Saturday, April 18, 7:30 p.m.
St. Paul's Centre
427 Bloor Street West
(just west of Spadina subway)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

Young Spartacus

U.S. Troops Out of Korea Now!

Late last month, "peace" talks aimed at bringing the 1950-53 Korean War to a formal close collapsed as the U.S. delegation refused to even discuss North Korea's demand for the removal of American troops stationed in South Korea. Beginning on March 26, the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs held demonstrations across the country in opposition to U.S. imperialism and its military forces in Korea. Since the end of the Korean War, American troops have propped up the brutal capitalist regime in the South against the volatile working class, which is now chafing under austerity measures dictated by the International Monetary Fund, and have directly threatened the bureaucratically deformed workers state in the North.

The Spartacist/SYC speakouts—at Pasadena City College, the University of Massachusetts at Boston, San Francisco State University, New York University and the University of Chicago—also demanded: Down with IMF bloodsuckers! Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! For the unconditional military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state! And on April 4, our comrades of the Spartacus Youth Group, youth organization of the Spartacist League/Britain, demonstrated at the University of London under the call, "Protest Kim Dae Jung, president of South Korean police state!" as Kim was speaking there.

Besides demanding the release of all victims of police-state repression in South Korea, the SYG denounced the British capitalist government of Tony Blair's Labour Party, which most recently acted as the main backers in the international arena of U.S. imperialism's threatened terror bombing of Iraq in January. As SYG spokesman Melanie Kelly noted: "The Labour Party has always been pro-imperialist and anti-communist. We of the International Communist League fight for the revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism. From the days when the Empire lorded it over the colonial peoples, to decaying British capitalism today, racist British imperialism has waged war on workers and minorities at home and abroad."

We reprint below a speech by Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club comrade Michelle Oberman at the March 30 Pasadena speakout.

* * *

We demand: U.S. troops out of Korea now! The almost 40,000 American troops stationed in Korea since the end of the Korean War in 1953 represent the spearhead of the American imperialists' efforts to impose domination over Asia. The troops pose a direct threat to the deformed workers states of North Korea and China. We call for the unconditional military defense of North Korea and China against the threat of capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist attack!

At the same time, the presence of the American military in Korea props up the authoritarian South Korean regime of Kim Dae Jung. The government in Seoul survives with the direct support of the U.S. imperialist army, which enables it to enforce the police-state suppression of all political dissent. In its brutal repression of labor uprisings and student protests, the South Korean government has rounded up thousands of trade unionists and student activists under the draconian National Security Law for allegedly having pro-North sympathies.

It is the elementary duty of the international working class and anti-imperialist youth to rally to the defense of the workers and students of South Korea in struggle against capitalist repression. We demand the immediate release of all jailed South Korean labor militants and leftist students!

Any serious strike in South Korea immediately comes up against the capitalist police state. In May 1980, radical student protesters backed by the powerful working class launched a heroic mass uprising which took over the city of Kwangju for one week. The South Korean government was only able to put down the uprising because its U.S. imperialist overlords provided direct support. The South Korean government declared martial law and sent in the army to brutally crush the uprising, massacring 2,000 people and arresting tens of thousands. American government documents show that the U.S. was prepared to intervene militarily if their South Korean puppets were unable to crush the Kwangju uprising on their own.

Before the capitalist counterrevolution in 1991, the Soviet Union served as the main obstacle to imperialist aggression in Korea. The Spartacus Youth Club calls for the unconditional military defense of North Korea, China, Vietnam and Cuba! But with the Soviet degenerated workers state gone, the deformed workers states in Asia are in great danger.

Other leftist groups, like the Progressive Labor Party—which called the former Soviet Union a "fascist state"—march right in step with the anti-communism of

continued on page 8

Spartacist/SYC Speakouts

Young Spartacus photos

March 30: Spartacist rallies at New York University (above) and Pasadena City College.

Japanese Spartacists' Statement to Korea Protests

We print below a March 29 statement by the Spartacist Group Japan, section of the International Communist League, addressed to the Spartacist League/SYC protests against imperialist troops in Korea.

The Spartacist Group Japan sends revolutionary greetings to your demonstration.

The North Korean deformed workers state was created in 1945 with the rout of fleeing Japanese imperial army troops by the Soviet Red Army. Since that time, the Japanese and American bourgeoisies have been on a relentless drive to destroy North Korea. Today, the imperialists are attempting to starve the North Koreans into submission while the viciously chauvinist Japanese ruling class has refused to ship them one grain of the 3.5 million tons of rice it is boarding.

The Japanese occupation of the Korean peninsula from 1910 to 1945 was one of untold horror. More than 100,000 Korean women were forced into sexual slavery and more than one million men were brought to Japan to work as forced laborers during the Pacific War, as the Japanese imperialists vied with their American counterparts for mastery over Asia and the Pacific.

Today, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, rivalries between competing imperialist powers are heating up—in the Pacific region, between Japan and the U.S. The ruling class of both countries and their labor lieutenants push protectionist poison preparing for a new interimperialist slaughter. As Lenin wrote of World War I, this war would be a war "between the biggest slave-holders for the maintenance and consolidation of slavery." The main enemy is at home! The main enemy of the Japanese proletariat is in Tokyo! It is the job of the American proletariat to settle accounts with its own rulers.

As the Japanese and U.S. capitalists compete for spheres of exploitation and influence, they are still militarily allied under the ANPO pact, a dagger aimed at China, Vietnam and North Korea. The proletariat of Japan and America must join together to defend these workers states against imperialism's counterrevolutionary designs. Smash the counterrevolutionary alliance between Japanese and U.S. imperialism through workers revolution!

We, the Japanese section of the International Communist League, seek to build a multinational, multiracial Leninist-Trotskyist party that fights for full citizenship rights for Koreans and other minorities. We fight to build a revolutionary party that will sweep the rapists of Nanjing and the enslavers of the "comfort women" into the dustbin of history. It is only under the red flag of a Japanese workers republic that the countless victims of Japanese imperialism will be avenged.

For unconditional military defense of North Korea!
For a workers revolution in the South and for proletarian political revolution in the North!
For the revolutionary reunification of Korea!

Indonesia...

(continued from page 1)

These organisations promote the doctrine of *Panca Dharma Wanita*—the "Five Duties of Women." This is a companion piece to the regime's *Panca Sila* doctrine, which has been promoted from the time of Sukarno, Indonesia's first nationalist ruler following independence from the Dutch in 1948. Where *Panca Sila* puts forward the five "principles" of belief in one god, humanism, patriotism, democracy and social justice, *Panca Dharma Wanita* lays out the five basic roles making up the fundamental oppression of women in the family: companion and supporter of one's husband, caretaker of the household, producer of future generations, prime socialiser of children and an Indonesian citizen.

At the same time, the contingencies of economic development have required the government to encourage women to take on employment outside the home, even as they are supposed to maintain their primary role within the family. Increased participation by women in the workforce has been accompanied by greater access to education, at least for a layer of women, along with declining birth rates, delayed marriages and greater population mobility. One reflection of the position of middle-class and bourgeois women in Indonesian society, where economic

AP

Chinese shop owner victimized in racist riots.

development has taken place alongside continuing social backwardness, is the development of a distinct but small Islamic feminist movement which tries to bridge the unbridgeable gulf between access to the modern world and the demands of religion and the family.

Imperialist capital investment has also led to the emergence of an urbanised and educated, though deeply exploited, proletariat, particularly in manufacturing. Twenty million workers live in urban areas like the Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasih industrial belt. Women, particularly those who come from villages and have little education, form the bulk of superexploited workers in the prison-like factories in such areas. Huge factory complexes in Tangerang are surrounded by barbed wire and patrolled by "ex"-military guards. Workers housed within the compounds—three or four to a cell—are not allowed to leave without permission. Despite such hellish conditions, the ability of women to work outside the home means that their relationship to male workers increasingly becomes one of comrades in the class struggle, not household slaves shut away from the world.

The struggle for women's emancipation is tied to the proletarian class struggle to overthrow the system of capitalist exploitation. We fight to end patriarchal practices oppressive to women, like the polygamy system and the bride price—legacies of social backwardness which

South China Morning Post

IMF chief Michel Camdessus watches as Indonesian dictator Suharto signs imperialist-dictated austerity plan.

are today upheld by religious reactionaries in league with the capitalist rulers. Women's liberation can only come about through socialist revolution extending to the advanced capitalist countries. In a socialist planned economy, the family as a social unit will be replaced by socialisation of childcare and household duties. Only then can relationships be entered into freely and without economic compulsion.

As in the 1917 Russian Revolution, women workers will be in the forefront of the fight against capitalist and semi-feudal enslavement in Indonesia. As revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky said in 1924 of the newly liberated Muslim women of the Soviet East: "There will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the Revolution...than the awakened woman worker."

Indonesian Prison House of Peoples

An important question addressing the oppression of women in Indonesia is abortion, which is illegal. This issue was highlighted earlier this year when a number of doctors and nurses were arrested for performing abortions and their clinics closed and files seized. At the same time, abortions are reportedly not uncommon among middle-class women, who have greater access to education and a certain degree of personal freedom, along with the money to pay for the procedure. For poor and working-class women, access to free, safe abortion is an explosive issue. There is a huge stigma attached to pregnancy outside marriage, with illegitimate children and their mothers shunned by society. According to a report in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (3 January), 1994 statistics revealed that 450 out of every 100,000 pregnant women died in Indonesia—the highest maternal death rate in Southeast Asia. Sixteen percent of these deaths were reportedly from unsafe abortions.

The fight for free abortion on demand is closely linked to the struggle for free, quality health care for all. Medical care in Indonesia is poor even by standards for the so-called "developing" world. Along with very high rates of death in childbirth are high infant mortality rates. In the countryside, some 80 percent of pregnant women and children under five years of age are undernourished. This situation is aggravated by the collapse of the rupiah and skyrocketing costs for goods like medical supplies.

With a population of over 200 million, Indonesia is the fourth-largest and one of the most densely populated countries in the world. The Suharto regime has pursued an aggressive population control program, from which single women are excluded. While the government's KB (*Keluarga Berencana*) program provides free access to contraception for married women, many have been threatened or bribed into participating. These pressures are intensified by the involvement of the Indonesian military (ABRI) in the program as part of its so-called "dual function" in military and civilian affairs—the recipe by which bloody military terror has been repeatedly unleashed to regiment and suppress the population.

Another aspect of the population control program is the regime's "transmigration" policy, resettling landless poor from densely populated areas, particularly in Java, to outlying and ethnically distinct areas such as Irian Jaya and East Timor. This policy has stoked the flames of longstanding ethnic and religious unrest. For example, the East Timorese have been struggling for independence against the genocidal Indonesian military occupation since 1975. More than 200,000 East Timorese—fully *one-third* of the population—have died either by direct murder, such as the slaughter of over 200 demonstrators in the East Timor capital of Dili in 1991, or from disease and starvation.

The infant mortality rate in East Timor is one of the five worst in the world. East Timorese suffer high levels of malnutrition, TB, malaria and sexually transmitted diseases, while desperate economic conditions have led young women into prostitution or forced marriage. East Timorese women, who are largely Catholic and reject birth control on religious grounds, are often coerced into compliance, intimidated when visiting health care facilities where doctors and nurses are often accompanied by soldiers. Covert sterilisations and injections are widely suspected, such as when only female students at a senior high school were given alleged anti-tetanus injections. Such barbarity underscores the very real fear of the East Timorese that the Indonesian government intends to carry out the genocide of their people.

Only a revolutionary overthrow of the existing capitalist imperialist system can even ***begin*** to address the oppression, degradation and misery of women as well as the rights and emancipation of national minorities throughout the archipelago. Indonesia is a prison house of peoples—home to some 300 different ethnic and national groups who suffer under the repression of the Java-centred bourgeois regime. Most notably, there have been struggles for independence waged by the Acehnese of north Sumatra and the people of Irian Jaya, as well as by the East Timorese. We call for the immediate independence of East Timor—not through appeals for some imperialist, UN-brokered deal as pushed by the Indonesian leftist People's Democratic Party (PRD), but as part of the fight for workers revolution in Indonesia.

The reformist Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) in Australia promotes the PRD's class-collaborationist politics, fostering illusions in "democratic" Australian imperialism. However, we make clear that the Australian ruling class is no friend of the East Timorese or Indonesian masses. In a letter last December to the Australian immigration minister, the Partisan Defence Committee denounced the denial of entry visas to East Timorese activists at that time as "an act of blatant political censorship, underscoring the Australian government's complicity in the Indonesian government's slaughter and suppression in East Timor." The letter went on: "Following the 1991 Dili massacre the Australian military stepped up its arming and training of the Indonesian military, including of the elitè Kopassus counterinsurgency torture/killer units, who are the cutting edge of repression throughout the archipelago." We also noted that this ban on East Timorese activists marked another step in the Australian government's racist war on immigrants, refugees and Aborigines, the spearhead for broad-gauged attacks on the trade unions and the working class as a whole.

Islam as a Political Factor

Some 90 percent of Indonesia's 203 million inhabitants describe themselves as Muslim, making Indonesia the largest Islamic country in the world. However, particularly on Java where Islamic beliefs were syncretised with pre-existing animist, Hindu and Buddhist traditions, a large proportion of Muslims have been described as *abangun* (nominal). Alongside the *abangun* are the *santri*, or devout, Muslims. Approximately 56 million belong to two organisations reflecting the main strands of *santri* Muslims: the traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), based on the rural Islamic schools called *pesantren*, and the urban-based, "modernist" organisation Muhammadiyah. With widespread resentment among the new middle classes at the nepotism, cronyism and corruption of the Suharto clique, there has been an increasing "*santri*fication" of *abangun* Muslims.

The Suharto regime has nurtured a special relationship with the "modernists," reflected in shifts in the army leadership and in the formation in 1990 of the Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI), led by Suharto's newly appointed vice president Habibie. Suharto has also sought to appease conservative Muslim interests by elevating the status of the Islamic courts and passing laws mandating, for example, compulsory religious instruction in the schools. In the late 1980s, registry offices were no longer permitted to perform marriages, making marriage between people of different religions virtually impossible to

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AFP

March 26: Malaysian security forces stand over bodies of "illegal" Indonesian immigrants they gunned down at detention camp. Thousands of immigrants are slated for deportation as financial crisis deepens.

Supri

AP

Hatred of Suharto regime has fed growth of bourgeois-nationalist and Islamic "opposition." Left: January march by supporters of Megawati Sukarnoputri, banned leader of Indonesian Democratic Party. Right: May 1997 election rally for Islamic United Development Party (PPP).

Indonesia...

(continued from page 5)

obtain. The rise of Islam as a political factor in Indonesia can only be as a force for reaction. It is necessary to fight for the separation of state and religion and to combat theocratic reaction, including opposing discrimination against all religious minorities.

The past few years have seen an increasing number of violent attacks by Islamic mobs on Sino-Indonesians and Christian churches, such as the attacks that broke out in towns around Tasikmalaya in West Java in 1996. Today, the Chinese minority, which includes a fabulously wealthy elite, is being made a scapegoat for the economic crisis besetting Southeast Asia. The British television program *ITN World News* carried a report recently that at least one of the recent anti-Chinese pogroms, in the town of Praya on the island of Lombok, was organised by government security forces. In the wake of the attack, many Chinese residents simply fled, too frightened to reopen their shops. Muslim shopkeepers interviewed by ITN described how they were warned in advance by cops to stay out of the marketplace that day. They said that the "rioters" had never been seen in the village before, but had been bused in by the police. It was only when the mob, finding Chinese shops closed, moved on to non-Chinese areas that security forces stepped in.

The capitalist rulers have long fostered national and communal divisions to ward off multiethnic *class* struggle. Chinese Indonesians have historically been the target of racist reaction. In the 1965 bloodbath, ethnic Chinese were singled out by anti-Communist mobs. In the wake of the massacres, Chinese organisations affiliated with the Stalinist regime in Beijing were proscribed and all Chinese-language schools closed down. Only since the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Indonesia and China and the expansion of tourism and trade between the two countries has Jakarta been compelled to make some concessions. In 1994, the ban on teaching Chinese was eased and Chinese-language tourist pamphlets were permitted. However, restrictions on the import, sale or distribution of Chinese-language material remain in force, and the prominent display of Chinese characters on buildings is banned. This year, the Suharto government even banned public celebrations of the Chinese New Year.

Today, anti-Chinese attacks are reaching a level not seen since 1965. In the absence of a revolutionary proletarian party uniting workers across ethnic and national lines, discontent is likely to be further deflected in the direction of pogroms. Every manifestation of anti-Chinese chauvinism must be fought down the line by class-conscious workers throughout Indonesia. Down with anti-Chinese terror!

Community Aid Abroad

East Timorese in city of Dili demonstrating in 1991 for end to Indonesian military rule, moments before troops massacre over 200 people.

Throughout Southeast Asia, there are millions of poor and working-class Chinese who are class brothers in the struggle against capitalist exploitation. The need for united, internationalist proletarian struggle is underlined by the fact that increasing numbers of Indonesian workers have been compelled to cross the straits to Malaysia and Singapore, where Chinese make up 30 and 78 percent of the population, respectively. There they often replace Chinese, Malay and Indian workers in the lowest-paid, hardest and dirtiest jobs. Over a million Indonesians legally worked overseas in 1997. Alongside them are an estimated equal number of so-called "illegal" workers, whose ranks have been swelled in the past year as thousands cross the straits to find work and even food. In the past three weeks, almost 4,000 Indonesians have been rounded up by Malaysian security forces, part of the mass of foreign workers throughout Southeast Asia who have been deported since last summer. We say: No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Tempo

Women workers have played key role in labor struggles throughout Southeast Asia, as in this strike in Indonesia.

For Permanent Revolution!

Just as the Dutch plundered massive wealth from Indonesia during its colonial rule, the country today is a rich source of superprofits for the imperialists, with impoverished workers brutally exploited in the factories, oil fields, mines and rubber plantations. Particularly in land-starved Java, industrial expansion has transformed the rural sector, with peasant households displaced by development projects. One result has been a significant depopulation of villages, particularly of women. Those from rural areas moving to the cities in search of work cannot fail to notice the vast gulf between the rich and poor. In Jakarta alone, millions live in shantytowns without running water or electricity.

Indonesia is a country where Leon Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution is manifestly applicable. In the backward countries in this century, the epoch of imperialist decay, the democratic gains achieved by the earlier European bourgeois revolutions, such as political democracy and agrarian revolution, can no longer be carried out by bourgeois nationalists, who are weak and dependent on their imperialist masters. The 1917 Russian Revolution showed the way forward for countries like Indonesia. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, the capitalist class was expropriated and a workers state erected on the foundations of a planned, collectivised economy—the precondition for an egalitarian socialist society. This happened in a country with a small but socially concentrated working class, alongside a large, backward peasantry and many national minorities.

The Bolshevik Revolution represented an enormous leap forward, particularly for women. The new Soviet government immediately removed all impediments to legal equality for women, giving them the right to vote, making marriage and divorce simple matters of civil registration, legalising abortion and outlawing discrimination against homosexuals. Day-care facilities and communal dining rooms and laundries were established to free women from household drudgery.

But in an isolated, backward country, these efforts could only hint at the possibilities for women had socialist revolution spread to the advanced industrial countries. In 1923-24, a consolidating, conservative bureaucracy led by Stalin usurped power through a political counterrevolution. Under the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," the Stalinist bureaucracy opposed the fight for international extension of the revolution. It glorified the backwardness of the young Soviet state and reversed many of the Bolsheviks' measures to liberate women. Strangled by the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Soviet Union was finally destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. This was an enormous setback for workers and oppressed the world over. However, it was not communism that died in the Soviet Union, but its nationalist perversion, Stalinism. Today, we raise the call for new October Revolutions—the only solution to the wars and poverty rooted in capitalism.

No to Class Collaboration!

The austerity measures dictated by the U.S.-dominated IMF clearly illustrate the dependent nature of the national bourgeoisie in backward countries like Indonesia. With unrest mounting under the rule of the aging Suharto, the U.S. and

Nation Reporter Deported for Exposé

U.S. Trains Indonesian Death Squads

When protests triggered by IMF-imposed austerity broke out in Indonesia last fall, the Suharto regime was quick to call out the army to ensure "order." Battalions of the dreaded Kopassus Red Berets, which are notorious for widespread torture and killing of suspected political opponents, were rushed to the capital city, Jakarta. Lurking in the shadows were U.S. operatives, who were training Indonesian special forces in urban combat and carrying out joint military exercises with Jakarta's assassination teams.

The role of the U.S. special forces in Indonesia, where the capitalist regime has a long history of unleashing military terror against national and ethnic minorities, trade unionists and leftists, was revealed by journalist Allan Nairn in the *Nation* (30 March). Barely two days after the article appeared, and only hours after Nairn had held a press conference with opponents of the regime, he was seized by Indonesian police intelligence officers and summarily deported.

In his article, Nairn described how for the past five years the Pentagon has been running a secret training program for Indonesian military units, including Suharto's presidential guard as well as Kostrad, the army command unit responsible for Jakarta. But the main recipients of U.S. military training have been the Kopassus death squads. Since 1992, of 28 joint exercises carried out by the Indonesian military and U.S. Green Berets or Air Force units, 20 have been with Kopassus. In the summer of 1996, as military forces were brutally suppressing mass protests following an army/police assault on the headquarters of Megawati Sukarnoputri's Indonesian Democratic Party, a team from U.S. Special Operations Command-Pacific was flown in to train Kopassus and other units in their terror operations.

Several Democrats in Congress have waxed indignant over the continued training of Indonesian special forces despite a 1992 Congressional ban on funds for such efforts following the Suharto regime's massacre of more than 200 people in East Timor the year before. In fact, the Pentagon's collaboration with the Indonesian military butchers has been vastly expanded under a subsequent program, known as "Joint Combined Exchange and Training." While occasionally pontificating about "human rights" violations, the U.S. imperialists have long propped up the bloody Suharto dictatorship, beginning with the 1965 military coup and subsequent massacre of over half a million Communists and others—*with hit lists supplied by the CIA* (see "CIA's Hit List for 1965 Indonesia Massacre," *WV* No. 503, 1 June 1990).

Today, Washington is moving to shore up its military presence from Indonesia and Malaysia to the Philippines, reflecting intensified U.S.-Japanese imperialist rivalry in the region. This only underscores the necessity for internationalist proletarian struggle from Indonesia to Japan and the U.S., led by Trotskyist parties fighting to end imperialist depredation and police-state terror through world socialist revolution.

Forum Keadilan

other imperialists are likely to play a big role in deciding his succession. We warn against any support to such bourgeois "oppositionists" as Megawati Sukarnoputri—the daughter of Sukarno—who was banned in 1996 from running in the regime's rigged presidential "elections." A recent historical analogue was Washington's promoting of the aristocratic Cory Aquino in the Philippines as a successor to the venal, hated regime of Ferdinand Marcos in the mid-1980s. Backed by fake leftists such as the DSP, who mislead the workers movement into the trap of class collaborationism, Aquino wholeheartedly defended the interests of her class, the capitalist rulers, and their imperialist patrons against the working class and oppressed masses.

Reformist "socialists" who seek to tie the working class and oppressed to a "progressive" wing of the capitalist class follow the Menshevik/Stalinist schema of "two-stage" revolution: fight for "democratic" capitalism today and socialism some time in a future that never comes. As repeatedly demonstrated by history—from the defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, which was drowned in blood by Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang Nationalists, to the Chilean military's overthrow of Allende's popular-front government in 1973—this program means the mass murder of communists and workers.

New York Times

Hundreds of thousands were massacred in 1965 anti-Communist bloodbath which ushered in Suharto's rule.

In Indonesia in 1965, the predominantly Javanese-based PKI was the largest Communist Party outside the Soviet Union and China, comprising some 3 million members and another 14 million supporters in trade-union, peasant, women's and youth organisations. But the PKI's political support to Sukarno under the watchword of *gotong royong*—"national unity" with the "progressive" bourgeoisie—paved the way for the massacres which decimated the organised working class and destroyed the PKI. Under Sukarno, the PKI gained cabinet posts, while using its authority to repeatedly ban strikes and suppress militant peasant movements. Pledging to enforce "the cooperation between the people and the Armed Forces, in particular the Police Force," the PKI served to strengthen the very repressive apparatus which later came down on it.

This regime was an example of a popular front, a class-collaborationist coalition in which the proletariat and oppressed are chained to the class enemy. The Indonesian masses were politically, organisationally and militarily disarmed when the generals, backed by imperialism, struck to behead the PKI. In carrying out the repression, reactionary Islamic fundamentalists were unleashed against the PKI, its allies and the Chinese minority. Members of Gerwani, the PKI-linked women's organisation, were particularly targeted for murder, torture and imprisonment. Those who survived were blacklisted and ostracised by their communities.

The U.S. and Australian imperialists were up to their necks in the 1965 massacres, providing the Indonesian generals with a hit list of 5,000 Communists. The mobilisation of Islamic reactionaries was also promoted by Washington. In 1950, John Foster Dulles, who later became U.S. president Eisenhower's secretary of state, explained:

> "The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us, and our task is to find it and develop it."
>
> —quoted in Paul Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth* (1973)

This "bond" was cemented in the blood of Indonesian workers and peasants.

The smashing of the PKI and stabilisation of Indonesia as an anti-communist bastion both emboldened Washington to massively escalate its war in Vietnam and created the conditions for the development of a "defeatist" wing of U.S. imperialism, which felt that withdrawal from its *losing* war in Vietnam would not jeopardise its strategic interests in the region. Since that time, Indonesia has played a key role in the counterrevolutionary ambitions of imperialism in East and Southeast Asia, for example as the central local player in the ASEAN anti-China bloc.

Today, the Stalinist regime in Beijing has brought the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state to the brink of capitalist counterrevolution. As Trotskyists, we call for the unconditional military

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Spartacist

(English Edition)

No. 53
Summer 1997
(56 pages)
$1.50

Spartacist is sent to all *WV* subscribers.

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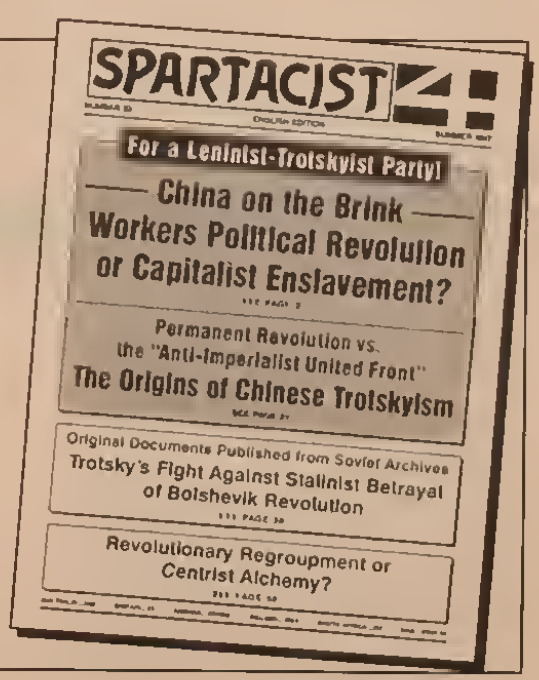

Indonesia...

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defence of China and the other deformed workers states—Vietnam, North Korea, Cuba—against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, while fighting for proletarian political revolution to stop the bureaucracy's drive toward capitalist restoration.

Vast amounts of military equipment, training and funds have been provided by the U.S. and other imperialist powers to prop up Suharto's generals and crush internal dissent. Agreements for joint military exercises between the U.S., Indonesia and Australia reflect not only the imperialists' strategic interest in China but their fears of instability in Indonesia itself. This is critical for the U.S. as it pursues its ambitions in the region against rival Japanese imperialism. The post-Soviet world is marked by the intensification of such interimperialist rivalries, which had previously been restrained in the greater interest of Cold War anti-Soviet unity.

Indonesia has special importance to the imperialists because of its strategic location. The Malacca Strait, running between the Indonesian island of Sumatra and the Malaysian peninsula and Singapore, provides the quickest shipping route between the Pacific Ocean and the oil-rich Persian Gulf. In the event of imperialist conflict, control of the strait will be vital. Indonesia is also the largest supplier of oil to Japan outside the Near East, while 90 percent of Japan's oil imports pass through Indonesian waters. Reinforcing the appetites of Japanese imperialism toward Indonesia is the memory of the U.S. naval blockade of oil which impelled Japan's entry into World War II.

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Over the last decade, workers' struggles in Indonesia have led to the formation of independent trade-union organisations such as the Indonesian Workers' Welfare Union (SBSI), founded in 1992 by Muchtar Pakpahan, and the Indonesian Centre for Working-Class Struggle (PPBI). The PPBI is led by Dita Sari, who has repeatedly been imprisoned for her role in organising strikes and protests, such as a 1995 demonstration against the occupation of East Timor. It is aligned with the left-nationalist PRD, which like the PPBI was formed in 1994. An umbrella group of student, worker and peasant associations, the PRD includes many students who have gone on to organise trade unions, strike struggles and anti-government protests in key industrial centres. A number of them have been arrested in the course of these struggles. Free all class-war prisoners in Suharto's dungeons!

The courage and dedication displayed by these militants in the face of military repression is evident. However, the PRD's political support to Megawati reveals its class-collaborationist strategy. The PRD explicitly calls for alliances with the two legal non-government parties, the Islamic-based United Development Party (PPP) and the bourgeois-nationalist Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), and all other so-called "democratic forces." Political groups which are simply the left wing of the existing capitalist order cannot offer any perspective for the liberation of women, or anyone else for that matter. As part of the fight to forge a revolutionary vanguard party of the working class, we seek to win the most advanced workers to the understanding that the political independence of the proletariat from the ruling class is a necessary precondition for successful struggle against the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression.

We seek to build an internationalist revolutionary party to act as a tribune of the people, mobilizing the proletariat in defence of all the oppressed against the common class enemy. Particularly in Asia, the fight for the emancipation of women is a key component of this perspective. We call for equal pay for equal work, and for their full integration into the workforce. We champion the complete equality of women. The elimination of women's oppression requires a tremendous leap from the existing material conditions. And this can only be achieved through socialist revolution, leading to the creation of an *international planned economy* based on elevating human production to meet the needs of all.

For Indonesian workers, revolutionary internationalism is a matter of life and death. A proletarian revolution would immediately face hostile imperialism. Thus the fight for proletarian power must be linked to a perspective of workers revolution in the imperialist centres—Japan, Australia, the U.S.—a perspective which requires the construction of internationalist vanguard parties. The Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League, stands with our class brothers and sisters of the region in opposition to all the imperialist machinations of the Australian ruling class—from its depredations in Bougainville to its role in spying for and training Suharto's military terror regime. We seek to break the most class-conscious elements away from the racist Labor Party—the key obstacle to forging the vanguard party necessary to lead the workers to victory in this country. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution!■

E.P. Dutton & Co.

First meeting of young women's political group in Tashkent, Central Asia, following October Revolution of 1917. Bolshevik victory was giant step toward liberation of women throughout former tsarist empire.

Australasian Spartacist

Spartacist League/Australia contingent at May 1997 Melbourne protest against Suharto dictatorship.

Korea...

(continued from page 4)

the American ruling class and refuse to defend the collectivized property forms of these deformed workers states. And while their newspaper, *Challenge*, notes the presence of the American troops still stationed in South Korea with their guns pointed north, Progressive Labor doesn't call for U.S. troops out of Korea!

The fate of the Korean workers on both sides of the 38th parallel is linked to the fate of workers' struggles throughout Asia, especially in the Chinese deformed workers state and in the industrial powerhouse of Japan. We fight for workers political revolutions to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies in North Korea and China, to put political power directly in the hands of the workers through the formation of soviets, or workers councils. Key to this struggle is the formation of Leninist-Trotskyist parties founded on the principle of revolutionary internationalism in Korea, China, Japan and throughout the region.

The SYC seeks to mobilize youth behind the power of the labor movement in class struggle to demand: U.S. troops out of Korea now! For the unconditional military defense of North Korea! For revolutionary reunification of Korea—through workers political revolution in the North combined with proletarian revolution in the South! Anti-imperialist, radical youth must align themselves in struggle with the social power of the integrated labor movement because student movements alone cannot fundamentally change things in this society. Only the multiracial working class has both the class interest and social power to put an end to capitalist oppression and imperialist war once and for all through socialist revolution!■

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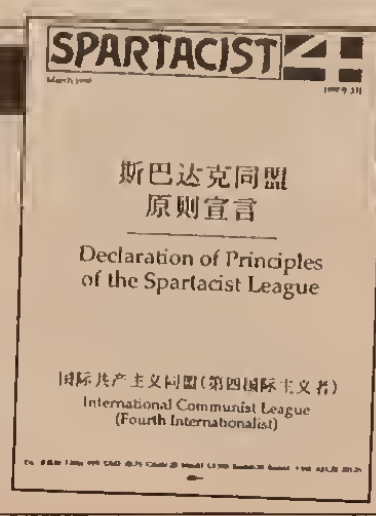
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"English Only" Racism...

(continued from page 12)

for school districts to choose to teach solely in English. Several districts in Southern California, including Westminster with its large Vietnamese population, have already ended bilingual programs. Today in California, which has the largest proportion of immigrants of any state in the country, some 36 percent of students speak a language other than English at home, but only one-third of those with limited English capacity are in bilingual classes.

This latest referendum comes hard on the heels of Proposition 187, passed in 1994, which banned undocumented immigrants in the state from attending public schools and receiving non-emergency medical care. While a recent ruling by the federal courts declared Prop. 187 unconstitutional, the referendum had its intended effect: opening the floodgates of racist reaction against *all* immigrants and setting the stage for renewed attacks on the black ghetto poor. In 1996, voters approved Proposition 209, which eliminated affirmative action programs in public education and government hiring and contracting. Black, Latino and Native American admissions to the University of California system, which had earlier abolished such programs, have been decimated—dropping over 60 percent at UC Berkeley and 36 percent at UCLA for 1998.

The Spartacist League calls to *vote no on Proposition 227!* But we warn that the bourgeoisie's assault on those at the bottom of this society will not be stopped at the polls. A barrage of racist attacks against immigrants and blacks has been unleashed by the capitalist ruling class as the front line of an offensive against the working class as a whole. Intent on ratcheting up the rate of exploitation to better compete with its imperialist rivals, the U.S. bourgeoisie seeks to eliminate the costs of social services, to break the back of the unions and to keep workers divided along racial and ethnic lines. The multiracial working class must be actively mobilized against Proposition 227 and all forms of anti-immigrant chauvinism. *For full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*

As Marxists, we oppose all attempts to impose English as an "official" language. We stand in the tradition of V.I. Lenin, the leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution, who wrote: "The national programme of working-class democracy is: absolutely no privileges for any one nation or any one language." At the same time, we understand that it is vital for those who live here to be able to learn English—the only means for incorporation into an English-speaking industrial society that requires a common language for production and commerce.

The problem is *not* the ability or desire of immigrants to learn English but the cruel reality that poor and dark-skinned immigrants are segregated into ghettos which lie outside the economy of this society. This makes learning English a fairly tenuous prospect. In the so-called "post-industrial" economy of decaying American capitalism, the racist rulers will not spend money to educate or provide other social services to those they deem just a surplus population. In the barrios and vast black inner-city ghettos, funds for education have been slashed to the bone. Meanwhile, billions are poured into the prison system where black and Hispanic youth are incarcerated way out of proportion to their numbers in this country.

We advocate free, quality bilingual programs as a rational approach to providing a bridge for students from their primary language to standard English. Learning a new language can be done through immersion, but that's pretty brutal, especially for young people as they simultaneously seek a basic general education. Knowledge of two languages, which is common in many industrial countries outside the insular North American continent, is an asset. In wealthy school districts outside Washington, D.C. and in San Francisco, the *public* school system offers "immersion" schools in French and a number of Asian languages—the rich and powerful know how to give *their* children an edge.

We fight for free, quality, integrated education for *all* children. But even such a just and basic demand runs up against the capitalist economic system of production for profit, with its inherent inequalities, ruled by an exploiting class which controls the means of production, distribution and finance. What is necessary is to *break the power of the bourgeoisie* through a *social revolution*. This requires the forging of a revolutionary workers party to fight for an egalitarian socialist society, which will eradicate the material basis for all discrimination based on race and ethnicity.

Education U.S.A.—Separate and Unequal

Proposition 227 is the brainchild of one Ron Unz, a Silicon Valley businessman and former Republican candidate for governor, and Gloria Matta Tuchman, a former Orange County school board president who has actively campaigned against bilingual education since 1985. The initiative would require that all public school instruction be conducted in English, replacing current bilingual programs with "English immersion" classes. Children under ten with little English capacity would be grouped together by English proficiency regardless of age or native language. After one year, the kids would be transferred to mainstream English-only classes. Those who don't manage to pick up enough English would be tracked into classes where "underperforming" children are warehoused, branded as incompetent, stupid or worse.

The racist measure includes a "waiver" allowing children to be taught in a bilingual setting, but only in very limited cases, e.g., older children deemed to have "special physical, emotional, psychological, or educational needs." Even then, among other restrictions, there would have to be 20 or more such children in a given grade level in the school. The proposition would also allocate $50 million for each of the next ten years to fund English language instruction for parents and others who "pledge to provide personal English language tutoring to California school children." In other words, trained—and unionized—bilingual educators are to be replaced by a kid's relative who is supposed to teach English while looking for a job or after putting in 12 hours of backbreaking labor.

According to a recent poll, Prop. 227 has the support of two-thirds of California voters, including among Asians, and is backed by a significant (but diminishing) number of Latinos. Its claim that "public schools of California currently do a poor job of educating immigrant children" is a truism that echoes widely among parents who know that their kids will never make it without fluent English and a real education. A recent major study noted that in the U.S. "40 percent of minority children attend urban schools, where more than half of the students are poor and fail to reach even 'basic' achievement levels" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 1 March). Indeed, an international comparison of high-school seniors has found the performance of American youth at the bottom of all industrial nations considered in the study.

The nationwide decline in education has been exacerbated in California by the effects of Proposition 13—a 1978 measure which substantially cut the property taxes that fund many of the social programs in the state. Prop. 13 was a "tax revolt" by older, white, middle-class property owners who didn't want their "tax dollars" going to programs perceived as benefiting blacks and Latinos. Thus, in the last decade the state budget has largely remained the same, while the school-age population has seen huge increases. California's school system rated last year as one of the very worst in the country. Although all poor and working-class kids suffer, the hardest hit have been in the inner-city schools. A couple of years ago, the mainly Latino parents of children attending Oakland's Lazear Elementary School led a three-week boycott in protest against its 40-year-old "portable" classrooms with no windows, poor ventilation, leaking roofs and rats.

Given the drastic cuts in education funding, it's no surprise that there is a dearth of bilingual education teachers. In a majority of school districts, many if not most classes are taught by a teacher-in-training or an English-only teacher aided by a bilingual assistant. According to one longtime Oakland teacher, even with existing bilingual programs, teachers have to fight to get the additional stipends due them—$2,200 a year—much of which they use for necessary materials. In many school districts, they receive no extra pay. Meanwhile, the grossly overworked teaching assistants, largely minority men and women working their way through college, receive no benefits and will face massive layoffs if the proposition passes.

Functionally, today, bilingual education does not exist. Seventy percent of Latino students attend segregated schools, isolated from English-speakers for the better part of their elementary

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Sebastião Salgado

Butow/SABA

U.S. rulers' anti-immigrant drive means increased terror along border with Mexico, feeds racist mobilizations like Los Angeles demonstration against "illegal" immigrants.

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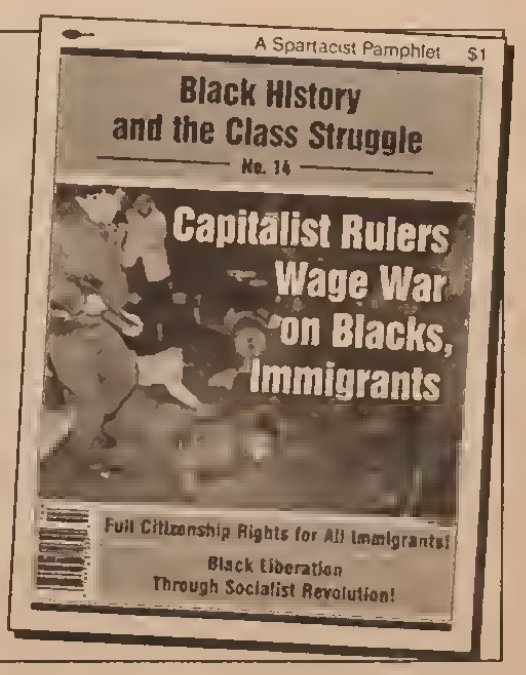


"English Only" Racism...

(continued from page 9)

school years. One fourth-grade bilingual education teacher in San Jose described to *WV* how half of his class enters with reading skills below grade level, some as low as first grade. A third-grade bilingual education teacher in Oakland noted the absence of any curriculum, program or teaching aids. Furthermore, segregation often takes place within the school itself. A former bilingual student who grew up in Southern California in the 1980s described the degrading treatment of non-English-speaking students:

> "When I was in high school, the recent immigrants were physically segregated to one little section of the school. The bus loading zone was 20 yards from their classroom, so they basically came and went without anyone even noticing them. If they ate in the cafeteria, they were guided in separately by their teacher so they never ate with the rest of the students."

For Latinos, the results of these policies are staggering. Latinos score one to two grade levels below the national norm in academic tests for reading, math and science. High-school dropout rates are as high as 40 percent, while 56 percent of students are functionally illiterate. An illustration of the utterly racist character of this system of public education is that black children and American-born Hispanics who speak only English are often dumped into bilingual education classes as "filler." As in the days of strict Jim Crow segregation in the South, today's public schools are "separate and unequal": the bourgeoisie ensures that a small minority get the requisite technical training to become the future administrators and skilled workers capitalism needs; the rest are recipients of society's "malign neglect."

Bilingual Education and Anti-Immigrant Chauvinism

There were times in the past when the capitalist rulers saw a need to teach immigrants English. The long history of bilingual education in this country dates from the middle of the 19th century, when an open-door immigration policy brought some 15 million new immigrants into the U.S. Beginning in 1839 in Ohio, laws were passed in various states authorizing bilingual public education in areas with significant numbers of newly arrived European immigrants. Thus, by the turn of the century, there were at least 600,000 children—4 percent of elementary school enrollment—receiving part or all of their education in the German language.

However, in the age of imperialism and war beginning around the turn of the last century, immigration and all its derivative aspects have been subject not only to capitalist economic crises but also to the political exigencies of bourgeois rule. With the onset of World War I, Theodore Roosevelt's cry that "a hyphenated American is not an American at all" exemplified the anti-immigrant xenophobic wave which saw the end of all bilingual education. During this time, 15 states designated English as the sole language of instruction in all schools. German-Americans were denounced as being agents of the Kaiser, German-owned businesses were burnt out and vigilantes aided government authorities in shutting down any and all German-language institutions.

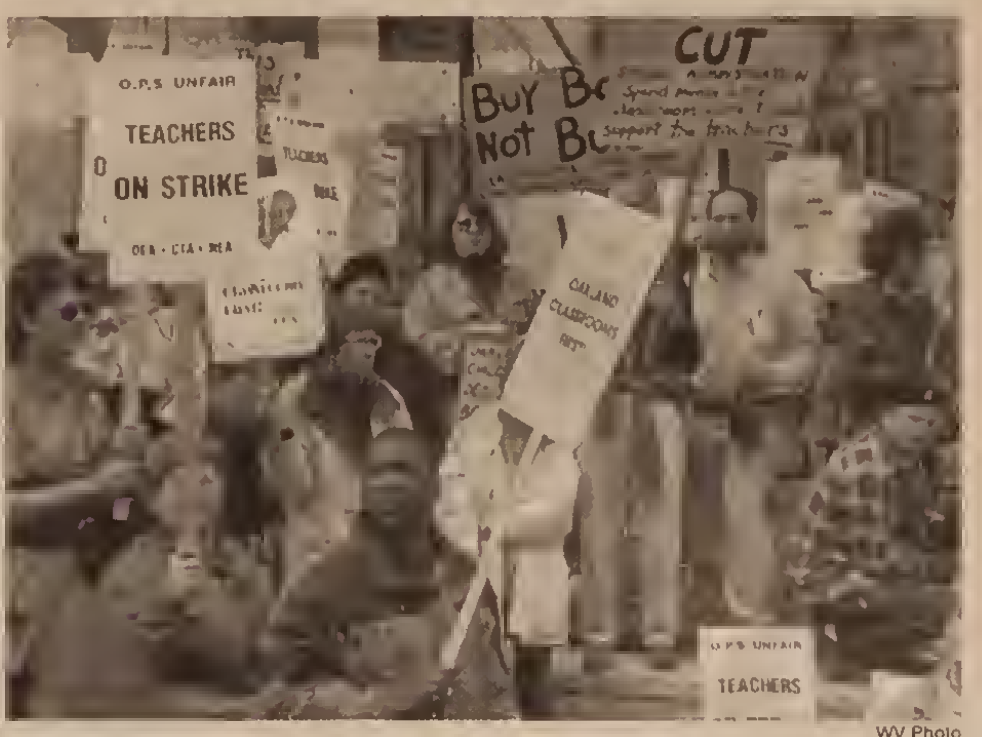
In states like California and Texas, anti-immigrant racism goes back to the period when these territories were seized from their Mexican-Spanish settlers, as codified by the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The *Tejanos* and *Californios*, seen as the "issue of Spanish and Indian blood," were the subject of both linguistic and ethnic discrimination. *Tejanos* were harassed for refusing to learn English while at the same time being segregated into Spanish-only schools. The racist logic behind these policies was expressed by an agricultural boss in Texas: "The illiterates make the best farm labor" (*Hold Your Tongue: Bilingualism and the Politics of "English Only"*, James Crawford [1982]).

In California, while the proceedings of the 1849 constitutional convention were published in Spanish and English, anti-Mexican laws were promulgated shortly thereafter. Beginning in the 1860s, black, Asian and Native American children were banned from California public schools for two decades. And in 1879, three years before the federal government adopted a law barring Chinese immigration and in the context of racist riots by nativist whites, the anti-Chinese Workingmen's Party succeeded in getting the state's first "English only" statute adopted.

This gives the historic dimension to the current anti-immigrant frenzy in the U.S. which is being promoted by the capitalist ruling class in order to split the proletariat and derail any possibility of united *class* struggle. It's no accident that the base for those pushing Prop. 227 is Orange County. The area has long been synonymous with white, right-wing conservatism. But now in one jurisdiction, the Orange Unified School District, one-quarter of its 30,000 students speak limited English. Moreover, the area is adjacent to the state's southern metropolitan center, Los Angeles, which is now 40 percent Latino (about the same proportion as whites).

The New Social Darwinism

Proposition 227 really has nothing to do with the utter failure of what passes for public education in this country, and everything to do with racist reaction. Proposition sponsor Gloria Tuchman is a former board member of the nativist "U.S. English" organization, whose founder, John Tanton, denounces the "great storm from the Third World" threatening America. The *Arizona Republic* published a memo by Tanton in 1988 which lays out the vile racism behind "U.S. English": "Will the present majority peaceably hand over its political power to a group that is simply more fertile?... As Whites see their power and control over their lives declining, will they simply go quietly into the night?"



WV Photo

1996 Oakland teachers strike won widespread support from workers, minorities in fight for more pay and against dismal conditions in schools.

The other leading light behind Prop. 227 is Ron Unz, who likes to posture as a friend of immigrants. (He was even featured as a speaker at a 100,000-strong demonstration against Prop. 187 in Los Angeles in 1994 organized by liberal Democrats and supported by the bulk of the reformist "left"!) To deflect accusations of anti-immigrant bias, he has recruited Jaime Escalante, the Bolivian-born Los Angeles teacher celebrated in the movie *Stand and Deliver*, to co-chair the Prop. 227 campaign vehicle, One Nation/One California.

In pushing the initiative, Unz rails that "several of California's most important industries, including agriculture and tourism, rely heavily on undocumented labor. What if that pool suddenly became unavailable?... How many business executives would feel comfortable if they knew that their offices were cleaned each night by native-born Americans with a long history of drug addiction and imprisonment?" (*Los Angeles Times*, 21 May 1995). In spewing these racist code words for blacks, Unz sets out his real program: a political alliance of conservatives and "family-oriented, and socially conservative" Hispanics and Asians with a "small-business background" against blacks and other "undesirables." While Unz is positioned on the right of the political spectrum, his program has largely been implemented by Democrats and Republicans across the country, from eliminating welfare benefits and savagely attacking immigrant rights to destroying affirmative action in the schools.

Unz reflects his base in California's Silicon Valley, which, in the minds of its denizens, is a gilded Horatio Alger utopia, flush with the proceeds of a giddy stock market, where new billionaires are made every day without anyone getting their hands dirty in messy factories. Nonetheless, last month the CEOs of some of the biggest computer firms in the Valley went to Washington, where they demanded an increase in the number of visas allowed for high-skilled foreign workers. Looking to reduce labor costs in the short run, Silicon Valley wants to use the "best and the brightest" among immigrants. At the same time, efforts such as Clinton's much-ballyhooed "educational reform" reflect a concern on the part of the ruling class that the U.S. is not producing sufficiently educated people to keep a competitive edge against its imperialist rivals.

In Unz's world, new immigrants are to be culled, sorted out and tested in straight "survival of the fittest" manner. Those with the ability to become bilingual on their own due to privileged circumstances—e.g., those with access to private tutoring, or who come from educated households—are deemed to be an asset to the country. The rest, often from impoverished, rural families where no one is literate in any language, are to be used as superexploited, terrorized and preferably illiterate unskilled labor—nannies, janitors, farm laborers, electronics assembly line workers. In this neo-Social Darwinian nightmare, blacks are simply given up for lost, the unsuitable issue of decades of liberal largesse.

Most every major politician in California has joined the anti-immigrant chorus, championing measures to increase the militarization of the border, establish a national ID system and the like. But the capitalist exploiters have never wanted the complete closure of borders. Rather, immigration has historically been turned on and off like a faucet, with restrictions lowered when the demand for cheap labor is high and raised when the economy cannot further absorb an immigrant workforce. Anti-immigrant repression, exemplified by Clinton's draconian 1996 immigration "reform" which has already led to a massive increase in deportations, also serves to cow immigrant workers in fields and sweatshops across the country, who are scared to seek medical treatment or send their children to school—much less join a union—lest they be targeted for deportation.

Black Oppression: Bedrock of American Capitalism

Prop. 227 follows the U.S. rulers' time-tested divide-and-rule policy, pitting different sectors of the oppressed against each other, the better to exploit the whole working class. In a viciously racist diatribe published in "Immigration or the Welfare State" (*Policy Review*, Fall 1994), Unz railed against "the rise of black xenophobia and the criminal pathology in many black neighborhoods," claiming that "black-Hispanic tensions in California have risen enormously since the Los Angeles riots, during which Hispanic families with small children were attacked and brutalized by black mobs."

In fact, the 1992 L.A. rebellion following the acquittal of the racist cops who beat Rodney King was remarkable for its multiracial character, as poor black and Latino youth took to the streets in outrage over racist cop terror and savage social inequality. This unity of the oppressed terrified the ruling class, which lately has sought to pit the ghetto against the barrio by arguing that the large influx of immigrants from Latin America and the Far East has led to greater black impoverishment.

Lending their hand to the racist capitalist ruling class have been black Democrats and nationalists, who helped whip up support among the black population for Proposition 187. Tensions between blacks and immigrants were also evident last year when the Oakland school board sought "bilingual funding" to teach "Ebonics" in its overwhelmingly black schools—a thinly veiled expression of their resentment against the funds, however pitiful, that go toward such programs for Latinos (see "Desperation, Segregation and the 'Ebonics' Controversy," *WV* No. 660, 24 January 1997). The United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA) has voted to oppose Proposition 227, but only by a very slim margin, with black teachers overwhelmingly opposed to continued

Espartaco

Publication of the Grupo Espartaquista de México

No. 10
Fall-Winter 1997

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bilingual education. At the same time, immigrants are taught to believe that blacks are responsible for the miserable conditions of life in the ghettos. Faced with Prop. 209's attack on affirmative action, many immigrants bought the line that either they get education and jobs or blacks do, but not both. Thus, blacks, Latinos and Asians are turned against each other for the benefit of the racist rulers.

The subjugation and segregation of much of the black population at the bottom of this society is an essential foundation stone of American capitalism. Blacks in the U.S. form a race-color caste which has historically been used as a "reserve army" of the unemployed, to be hired only during labor shortages. Today, the ghettos have simply been cut off. Immigrants are dropped right in the middle of the American racial divide. Upon arrival, they are left to eke out a meager subsistence with a standard of living often worse than blacks. Light-skinned immigrants tend to assimilate after a generation or two, with the possibility of advancement. Those with dark skin remain mired in poverty, trapped behind the color bar which is fundamental to capitalist rule in this country.

Unchain Labor's Power!

The question of education particularly resonates among workers, who know that their children are not receiving even the level of education and skills training that they themselves struggled to attain. But as long as the fight for the right to quality education remains within the framework of the capitalist profit system, it will only boil down to a squabble over the reallocation of scarcity, in which the children of both blacks and immigrants lose.

This is precisely the strategy offered by the bourgeois-liberal opposition to Prop. 227, notably the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund—which advocates rights for *legal* immigrants only—and the National Association for Bilingual Education. These groups are reduced to arguing that bilingual education "costs no more and often considerably less than English-only alternatives" and bemoaning that the Unz initiative would "violate the principle of local control." A host of reformist "socialist" groups tail after the liberals, despairing of the ability to mobilize the working class around a program of revolutionary change. Seeking to pressure the capitalist rulers to shift some money into education and other social programs, these outfits are in effect calling for a defense of the racist status quo.

Hernandez/SF Examiner

Day-care workers in San Francisco's Mission District who were harassed, threatened with disciplinary action for speaking Spanish on the job.

To win the right to free, equal educational opportunity for all requires a socialist revolution which rips the wealth of society out of the hands of the tiny class of capitalist exploiters and creates a planned economy where production is based on the needs of all. Those who labor must rule! The only force that can achieve this is the multiracial working class, which derives its power from its place in production. In freeing itself from exploitation, the proletariat will also liberate all sections of society from the manifold forms of oppression rooted in class divisions.

Thousands of students went out on the streets to protest Propositions 187 and 209, but their struggles were contained within the realm of electoralist pressure politics. The AFL-CIO union tops and liberal groups leading these demonstrations sought to channel opposition into votes for the capitalist Democratic Party, which has presided over the all-sided attack on workers and the poor. The same union tops who have allowed the introduction of two-tier wages and the massive expansion of part-time labor without a fight have not lifted a finger against the destruction of social welfare programs that has condemned millions of blacks and immigrants to starvation, disease and death. Many AFL-CIO officials openly support anti-immigration laws and appeal to anti-Asian racism in the name of "protectionism." The labor tops share the fundamental outlook of the racist capitalist rulers, embracing the aims of U.S. imperialism.

The California Teachers Association, representing 280,000 teachers throughout the state, remained neutral on the question of Prop. 227 until four months ago and has since offered only token opposition. For its part, the National Education Association issued a statement in March 1996 which "defends" bilingual education with an appeal to the interests of capitalist law and order:

> "Language restrictions also would make it more difficult for law enforcement officials to gather information from informants or victims who do not speak English.... (CIA operatives could not speak with foreign informants in their native tongue)"!

Last year's successful UPS Teamsters strike gave a taste of the potential to link the power of labor to the anger of the ghettos and barrios, as tens of thousands of black, Hispanic and immigrant workers manned picket lines which brought the wheels of profit to a halt. Translating that potential into a conscious, fighting labor movement requires a political struggle against the trade-union misleadership which keeps the working class tied to the capitalist rulers. The key to unlocking the chains that bind labor to its exploiters is the creation of a revolutionary party of the working class which seeks to mobilize labor in defense of blacks and immigrants against racial oppression, combatting the false consciousness that the bourgeoisie uses to keep the workers passive and divided along racial and ethnic lines. The multiracial working class must be won to the understanding that the source of exploitation and oppression is the capitalist system, whether administered by Democrats or Republicans. The state—the courts, cops and army—exists to keep the ruling class in power.

Doubly oppressed black workers, who are integrated into strategic sections of the proletariat, can and must play a leading role in the fight for proletarian revolution in the U.S. Latino immigrant workers often bring with them a tradition of militant class struggle, which has already enriched labor battles of drywall workers and janitors in Southern California. Immigrant workers are, in turn, a living bridge to the proletariat of Mexico, Latin America and Asia. We in the Spartacist League/U.S., then, take up the fight against Proposition 227 not least because we want to arm workers and the oppressed with the educational and linguistic tools necessary for them to become members and leaders of an internationalist, revolutionary party of the working class.■

Berkeley...

(continued from page 12)

Latinos, Asians and other minorities—against each other. With the inner-city ghetto population increasingly marginalized, *outside* the capitalist economy, the bourgeoisie no longer believes it has to offer even a token appearance of racial equality.

From the beginning of the current affirmative action battle in 1995, we have put forward a class-struggle perspective and warned that the liberal pressure politics of begging the Democrats and the UC Regents is a dead end that could only bring defeat. Reformist and liberal student organizers concentrated first on pleading with the Board of Regents to resuscitate the affirmative action programs they had just killed, then focused on an impotent voter registration campaign to defeat Proposition 209 which outlawed affirmative action throughout the state. The principal demand of the SCSC on April 2 was the truly pathetic call on UC Berkeley chancellor Berdahl to "break" the unjust law. But the university administration exists *precisely* to ensure that the dictates of the capitalist masters are enacted on campus. We say: Abolish the administration and Board of Regents! The university should be controlled by those who work and study there!

At the protest, the SCSC organizers handed demonstrators reams of petitions to get the "Equal Educational Opportunity Initiative" (EEOI) on the June ballot. But in fact, the EEOI accommodates the very forces of racist reaction who have destroyed affirmative action. Written by students at Berkeley's Boalt Law School in an attempt to allow the UC chancellors a way around Prop. 209, the EEOI states only that "in order to provide equal opportunity, promote diversity, and combat discrimination in public education, the state may consider the economic background, race, sex, ethnicity, and national origin of qualified individuals." The initiative asks the very state which is dismantling affirmative action programs to ameliorate the racist purge of the campuses and would actually restore *less* than the pre-Prop. 209 programs. The EEOI explicitly echoes the racist assumption that affirmative action has meant that "qualified individuals" have been dumped in favor of "unqualified" minorities, while its stated goal of "diversity" is a thoroughly meaningless concept that ducks the question of racial oppression. And nowhere does the EEOI even begin to address the question of discrimination in employment.

SCSC speakers at the sit-in invoked the "spirit of the '60s," which never transcended liberal protest politics. They put forward the perspective that minority students should organize for "empowerment" in "their" communities—Filipinos for Filipinos, blacks for blacks, Chicanos for Chicanos. This liberal sectoralism—the idea that each oppressed sector should "organize" itself—is no threat to the bourgeois social order. In fact, for the capitalists it is a positive boon, as the "sectors" fight each other for a piece of the shrinking pie. Sectoralism is counterposed to the class consciousness necessary to build a revolutionary party which can unite the multiracial working class against exploitation and *all* oppression in the fight for socialist revolution.

Despite its occasionally militant-sounding rhetoric, the SCSC politely handed the mike to City Councilman Kriss Worthington—a member of Clinton's racist Democratic Party which has pledged to "mend" (i.e., slowly strangle) affirmative action—while denying the communists of the SYC and the liberal radicals of the Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action By Any Means Necessary (BAMN) the right to speak. SYC members heckled Worthington, a representative of the class enemy.

BAMN is a front group of the self-styled "Revolutionary Workers League," which claims to be Trotskyist. But the BAMN journal, the *Liberator*, has nary a word to say about capitalism or the working class. BAMN has tried to stake out a role for itself as the "militant" wing of the affirmative action struggle, but its main slogan—"Don't Resegregate Higher Education"—merely yearns for the racist status quo before the dismantling of affirmative action. Imploring Democratic Party politician Jesse Jackson to "build a mass militant civil rights movement," BAMN's strategy is in essence no different from the liberal legalism of the SCSC.

The UPS strike last summer gave a small but real taste of the potential to unlock the social power of the multiracial working class. This social power—currently shackled by the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrats—must be unleashed to beat back the racist assault. This requires the leadership of a Leninist revolutionary party which fights for a socialist future. The SYC seeks to win students to the side of the working class in this struggle. As we wrote in a 1995 leaflet:

> "The elimination of affirmative action in hiring means students already have powerful allies in the workforce at every UC campus and beyond.... We need to appeal to these workers to join us in our struggle. We also need to appeal directly to the ghettos and barrios throughout the Bay Area. We can do that if we make our fight at Cal their fight—for an education for *every* child.... *The strategy necessary to win this struggle against the racist assault is one which seeks to build student/labor/minority mobilizations for open admissions and jobs for all.*"■

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No to California Proposition 227!

Down With "English Only" Racism!

For Free, Quality Education for All Children!

Bilingual first-grade classroom in New York City. Spartacist protest in San Francisco in defense of immigrant rights, 1993.

Rios/Photo Researchers

WV Photo

In a frontal assault on immigrants, a referendum for the California state elections in June called the "English for the Children" initiative would ban bilingual education in public schools and eliminate the pitiful amount spent each year for special language programs. The "English-only" bigots behind Proposition 227 are riding the wave of anti-immigrant frenzy pushed by America's racist capitalist rulers who have massively increased state repression against legal and undocumented immigrants, militarized the border with Mexico and condemned millions to starvation through axing welfare benefits.

Prop. 227 directly targets the estimated 1.4 million students in California—one-quarter of the student population—who have limited capacity in English. Although the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1974 that schools must provide some instruction in a child's primary language, "English only" has more and more become a reality in California schools. In 1986, English was made the "official" language by a state constitutional amendment, and last year, at the urging of Republican governor Pete Wilson, California officials mandated that statewide academic standardization tests be given only in English.

Individual school districts have long been able to opt out of bilingual programs, and just last month, the state Board of Education made it even easier

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UC Berkeley: Hundreds Protest Racist Purge

For Open Admissions, No Tuition!

Young Spartacus

The extent of the racist purge at the University of California (UC) was exposed last week when the elite Berkeley campus announced the racial breakdown for those admitted to next fall's entering class. These will be the first students selected since the Board of Regents axed affirmative action in 1995. And the figures are staggering. Of the 8,000 students admitted, only *191* are black—some 2 percent of the total. Berkeley accepted 66 percent fewer blacks this year, 58 percent fewer Chicanos and 61 percent fewer American Indians.

Administration spokesmen tried to paper over the damage done by pointing out that the overall drop in minority admissions was far less in the UC system as a whole. But this just points to increasing segregation, as blacks and Latinos are relegated to the less prestigious campuses like Irvine and Riverside, while Berkeley becomes a preserve for more privileged whites and Asians.

Calvert/Oakland Tribune

Berkeley, April 2: Hundreds protest elimination of affirmative action at University of California. Spartacus Youth Clubs demand free, quality, integrated education for all!

On April 2, hundreds of outraged students protested this racist purge in a noontime rally called by the Students of Color Solidarity Council (SCSC). Some 500 took off on a spirited march through downtown Berkeley, going past Berkeley High School. Gates were locked shut to prevent the heavily minority Berkeley High students from responding to the demonstrators' calls of "Berkeley High—Out!" Nevertheless, a few students scrambled over the fence and joined anyway. The demonstration then returned to the university, where some 300 students sat down in the central intersection for three hours.

The SYC participated in the march and sit-in, carrying signs calling to "Defend Affirmative Action and More—For Open Admissions, No Tuition!" and "Free, Quality Integrated Education for All!" We demand the right to education for all, with state-paid living stipends. In racist capitalist America, which was built on a bedrock of black oppression, to pose a fight for such a basic democratic demand requires a revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system.

Affirmative action programs were designed as a sop to the civil rights movement of the 1960s, aiming among other things to co-opt a small layer of black militants into the "middle class." Such programs *accept* racist social inequality under capitalism and are consciously designed to pit sections of the working class—as well as blacks,

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 689 24 April 1998

British Troops Out Now!

Northern Ireland: Imperialist "Peace" Fraud

Herbie Knott

Not Orange Against Green But Class Against Class!

For an Irish Workers Republic in a Socialist Federation of the British Isles!

We publish below a joint statement issued on April 21 by the Spartacist League/Britain and the Dublin Spartacist Group, sections of the International Communist League.

The "historic" agreement signed in Belfast's Stormont Castle on 11 April cannot and will not bring peace to Northern Ireland. This reactionary *imperialist*

AFP

Britain's Tony Blair with Clinton, who brokered agreement perpetuating oppression of Northern Ireland's Catholics.

deal will reinforce the subjugation of the oppressed Catholic minority. It will be enforced by the 18,000-strong British Army and the viciously sectarian Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), who work hand in glove with the fascistic Loyalist death squads in the murder of Catholics.

This agreement was imposed by British prime minister Tony Blair and Irish taoiseach (prime minister) Bertie Ahern, and brokered by U.S. president Bill Clinton and his emissary, former Senator George Mitchell. The hypocrisy of their tirades against "terrorism" is exposed not least by U.S. and British imperialism's starvation embargo of Iraq, which has killed over 600,000 children and a million people overall. Barely a month ago these self-proclaimed imperialist "peacemakers," with the active support of the capitalist Dublin government, were on course for a massive bombing attack against the people of Iraq.

The Spartacist League/Britain and the Dublin Spartacist Group (DSG), sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), categorically oppose the reactionary Stormont deal. We have warned from the beginning of the grossly misnamed "peace" process: "Any imperialist 'deal' will be bloody and brutal and will *necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority*. And it would not do any good for working class Protestants either" (*Workers Hammer* No. 138, November/December 1993). We demand: ***British troops out of Northern Ireland now!***

As we wrote in our 1977 document, "Theses on Ireland" (*Spartacist* [English edition] No. 24, Autumn 1977):

> "An essential element of our program is the demand for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British army. British imperialism has brought centuries of exploitation, oppression and bloodshed to the island. No good can come of the British presence: the existing tie between Northern Ireland and the British state can only be oppressive to the Irish Catholic population, an obstacle to a proletarian class mobilisation and solution....
>
> "At the same time we do not regard the demand as synonymous with or as a concrete application of either the call for Irish self-determination (that is, a unitary state of the whole island) or for an independent Ulster—two solutions which within the framework of capitalism would be anti-democratic, in the first case toward the Protestants and in the second toward the Irish Catholics....
>
> "Thus, the demand for the immediate withdrawal of the British army from Northern Ireland must be linked to and constitute a part of a whole revolutionary program."

There can be no just, equitable resolution to the communal conflict in Northern Ireland short of workers revolution on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea.

The key to breaking the bloody cycle of imperialist repression and communalist terror is to unite the proletariat—Protestant and Catholic; English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish—across national and religious lines in common struggle against the capitalist class enemy. That requires intransigent proletarian opposition not only to blood-soaked British imperialism and Orange supremacy, to anti-Catholic terror and discrimination, but also to Green nationalism and the clericalist state in the South. The ICL fights to forge Leninist-Trotskyist parties to lead the workers in the revolutionary overthrow of all their oppressors and exploiters and in the establishment of proletarian state power throughout the British Isles. ***Not Orange agninst Green but class ngainst class! For an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles!***

No to a New Stormont of Orange Supremacy!

The new agreement, whose terms are to be submitted for approval in referendums to be held in both the North and the South next month, proposes a Unionist-dominated assembly in Belfast and an impotent "North-South" body, which is a sop to the Republicans. The proposed Belfast assembly is reminiscent of the old Stormont parliament which lorded it over the Catholics prior to the imposition of direct rule from Westminster [the British Parliament] in 1972. However, the new assembly will have powers Stormont never had. The Unionists will have effective veto power over the North-South "consultative" body and all matters within Northern Ireland itself, including any change in its constitutional status as an integral part of the "United Kingdom." The referendum in the South is intended to repeal Dublin's historic claim to the Six Counties of the North. Loyalist die-hards such as Ian Paisley and elements within the Orange Order oppose any deal involving Dublin. But as Ulster Unionist Party leader David Trimble (slated to be First Minister in the new assembly) crowed, the agreement is "good for unionism and bad for republicanism" (*Irish News*, 17 April).

Leaders of Sinn Fein, petty-bourgeois nationalists committed to securing a capitalist united Ireland, entered the negotiations peddling the illusion that the British government, particularly under Labour, would "persuade" the Ulster Unionists to distance themselves from Britain and accept closer links to the South. The British Army has been unable to defeat the Irish Republican Army (IRA) militarily, and Northern Ireland is a net drain on the decaying British economy. Sinn Fein also viewed U.S. imperialism and the Dublin government as their allies and hoped to secure a commitment to British withdrawal and "reform" of the RUC. Contrary to nationalist illusions, the capitalist forces they look to are intent on breaking the IRA and subjugating the Northern Catholic population. But the Green nationalists of the IRA/Sinn Fein also serve to reinforce British imperialism's bloody divide-and-rule policy over the working class, pitting Protestant and Catholic workers against each other.

The Belfast agreement shows the social-imperialist British Labour Party—a bourgeois workers party, as Lenin called it—in its true colours. The Labour government is a capitalist government: viciously anti-working-class, racist to the core and totally committed to the monarchy and British imperialism. We base ourselves on irreconcilable opposition to Labourism; we seek to split Labour,

continued on page 10

Coleman Young: From CIO Union Organizer to Overseer for Auto Bosses

SEE PAGE THREE

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Yuppie *Boston Magazine*'s Vile Racist Slur

We reprint below an April 18 letter by the Boston Spartacus Youth Club to Boston Magazine *condemning the headline of the feature article in its April 1998 issue on Henry Louis Gates Jr., chairman of Harvard University's Department of Afro-American Studies.*

Young Spartacus

To the Editor:

It comes as no surprise that a magazine written for the Back Bay yuppie elite, and named for the city which is synonymous with racial segregation in the Deep North, would run an article about black scholar Henry Louis Gates Jr. with the demeaning title "Head Negro in Charge." This may have been considered quite droll in Newbury Street tanning salons, Cambridge latte bars and State Street brokerage firms, but it is racist garbage pure and simple.

The title of your article is racially derogatory in and of itself. But what becomes clear in the uproar provoked by the headline, and your response to it, is that the magazine's use of "Negro" was a surrogate for the word n----r. As you concede, the phrase dates back to plantation days. Following the defeat of Reconstruction in 1877, the imposition of "separate but unequal" segregation and the rise of Klan terror to keep blacks "in their place" betrayed the Civil War's promise of black freedom. What we see around us today in American society recalls that era, including the rise of cop terror against the black population and perhaps the most direct legacy of slavery—the racist speedup on death row.

What this article represents is the expanding acceptance in "polite" society of the racist lexicon (and with it pseudoscience like the *Bell Curve*) corresponding to the increasing marginalization of black people. The word n----r is a program: the denial of humanity to black people in order to justify doing anything to them, such as rounding up hundreds of young black men in a racist dragnet in 1989 when Charles Stuart tried to cover up the murder of his wife by telling the all-too-willing cops that she was killed by a black mugger. And as one would expect, its use is increasingly legitimized in Clinton/Gingrich's America.

The Spartacus Youth Club vehemently protests your racist headline. We are not writing because we expect you to clean up your act, nor are we "pc" liberals who believe that speech codes will purge this society of racism. Rather we are Marxists who seek to tackle the root causes of racial oppression. The social conditions imprisoning the impoverished black masses in the ghetto—with their mean streets, rat-infested housing, lousy schools and rampant cop terror—are materially rooted in the whole system of American capitalism.

As black scholars like Professor Gates, a champion of the liberal-led civil rights movement, lecture to an increasingly white sea of faces, it is ever more clear that the token gains of the civil rights movement have been virtually eliminated. By its very nature this movement, based on a program of liberal-democratic reforms, did not confront the underlying oppression and exploitation of blacks. What is required is a thoroughgoing proletarian socialist revolution. Blacks continue to have enormous potential economic and political power as a strategic component of the American working class. By smashing the color line once and for all through integration into a socialist America, we can forge a society dedicated to an expansion of human freedom and potential. That is the task to which the Spartacus Youth Club is dedicated. ■

TROTSKY

Revolutionary Consciousness and the Vanguard Party

LENIN

It is the task of the Leninist vanguard party to bring to the proletariat the consciousness of its historic role in seizing power from the bourgeoisie and ushering in a classless, communist society. Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V. I. Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and leader of the Left Opposition against the Stalinist bureaucracy, stressed this point as he fought to win the German Communist Party back to the program of workers revolution in the early 1930s. The Stalinists' utter bankruptcy in the face of Hitler's march to power led Trotsky to call for a new, Fourth International. Decades of Stalinist betrayal culminated in the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and a retrogression of proletarian consciousness internationally. This underscores the urgency of the ICL's fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International to lead the struggle for new October Revolutions.

The class, taken by itself, is only material for exploitation. The proletariat assumes an independent role only at that moment when from a social class *in itself* it becomes a political class *for itself*. This cannot take place otherwise than through the medium of a party. The party is that historical organ by means of which the class becomes class conscious. To say that "the class stands higher than the party," is to assert that the class in the raw stands higher than the class which is on the road to class consciousness. Not only is this incorrect; it is reactionary. There isn't the slightest need for this smug and shallow theory in order to establish the necessity for a united front.

The progress of a class toward class consciousness, that is, the building of a revolutionary party which leads the proletariat, is a complex and a contradictory process. The class itself is not homogeneous. Its different sections arrive at class consciousness by different paths and at different times. The bourgeoisie participates actively in this process. Within the working class, it creates its own institutions, or utilizes those already existing, in order to oppose certain strata of workers to others. Within the proletariat several parties are active at the same time. Therefore, for the greater part of its historical journey, it remains split politically. The problem of the united front—which arises during certain periods most sharply—originates therein.

The historical interests of the proletariat find their expression in the Communist Party—when its policies are correct. The task of the Communist Party consists in winning over the majority of the proletariat; and only thus is the socialist revolution made possible. The Communist Party cannot fulfill its mission except by preserving, completely and unconditionally, its political and organizational independence apart from all other parties and organizations within and without the working class.

—Leon Trotsky, "What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat" (January 1932)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Jacob Zorn

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jane Patterson

EDITORIAL BOARD: Ray Bishop (managing editor), Bruce André, Helene Brosius, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co , 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007 Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is April 21.

No. 689 **24 April 1998**

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Another Casualty in the Longest War

"So the vast majority of the creative Black minds in America who are males are locked up in prisons during their most productive years. In the years when most Euro-American males are present in universities, colleges, and training institutes, gaining the skills that are necessary to ensure that they can run the world the way that they have been running the world, our future leaders, future learners, future advocates, future directors can be found in the jails of America locked away, unable to think, under the daily watchful eye of sick minds who would rather see them dead than learning. Those who show the greatest promise of thinking, self-direction, understanding, comprehension are the least likely to ever get paroled. When they get paroled, they are stigmatized in such a way that they can never get the effectiveness in this society that they need to utilize what they know. They have been essentially removed, not by physical death, but by institutional death."

—Dr. Na'im Akbar, Ph.D., *Chains and Images of Psychological Slavery* (1984)

With dizzying, feverish frequency, African-American youth are being relegated to America's dungeons, at a rate, and in a proportion, that dwarfs other segments of this society.

Long-term readers of this column have doubtless read a numbing list of statistics and numbers on this subject, so the writer will not repeat them here. Suffice it to say that this fact is a deep feature of U.S. public policy, one so bred in the bone that no figure, nor set of figures, no matter how startling, can now check or change that policy. Arguments against the injustice of such a policy tend to fall on deaf ears, and the policy, christened by the blessings of what we call "political reality," hardens into unquestioned custom.

Until, in common consciousness, the very visage of a Black youth, buttressed by the negative projections of the majoritarian media, comes to connote an inherent criminality.

I thought of such things upon the prosecution and conviction of my son Jamal for weapons charges recently. A young man whose father has been in prison since he was a boy, Jamal had more than his share of hard and hellish times, making more than his share of foolish mistakes. As a man he grew to become a person who loved his family passionately.

His weapons possession arrest had to be one that stretches the bounds of coincidence to the point of disbelief. Active since 1995 in his father's defense, Jamal's handsome mustached face appeared on local and national TV, and in newspapers from coast to coast. Yet the cops who stopped him (on an alleged traffic violation) claimed they had no idea who he was. Just a coincidental stop. Just a coincidental search. Just a coincidence that his case would be transferred from a city prosecution to a federal one. One doesn't have to be a rocket scientist to see that Jamal was shadowed, stopped, busted and convicted because of who his father was, and because of his well-publicized efforts to secure a new trial for him.

A bright, articulate, loving father and husband, convicted actually for the unpardonable offense of resistance, he joins too many of his contemporaries in America's latest concentration camps, yet another *casualty* in America's longest war against Black life.

25 March 1998

© 1998 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist framed up for his political views, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Funds for his legal defense are urgently needed! Contributions should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mailed to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. To correspond with Mumia, write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Mumia's son, Jamal Hart, has been added to the list of class-war prisoners receiving monthly stipends from the Partisan Defense Committee. These prisoners are men and women who, while encompassing a range of political perspectives and views, have each fought in his or her own way against racist capitalist oppression. Contribute to the PDC's work by becoming a monthly sustainer! Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and all class-war prisoners! Contact the PDC—New York: P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252, e-mail: 75057.3201 @compuserve.com; Chicago: P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; San Francisco Bay Area: P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462, phone (510) 839-0852.

Coleman Young: From CIO Union Organizer to Overseer for Auto Bosses

When Coleman Young died last November, he was eulogized as the "hope" of black Detroit from the run-down streets of that city's black ghettos to the posh editorial offices of the *New York Times*. Young was the most eminent of a number of black mayors elected in cities across the country in the wake of the ghetto upheavals of the late 1960s, as the bourgeoisie co-opted a layer of former black activists to serve as front men for racist capitalist rule. Like Young, Chicago's Harold Washington, Atlanta's Maynard Jackson and others were placed in office to fire municipal workers, close inner-city hospitals, slash funds to social programs and holster racist "law and order." As New York City's former black Democratic mayor, David Dinkins, boasted at the time of his election in 1989: "They'll take it from me."

What made Coleman Young different from these other black Democrats was his background as a "red." Unlike the current crop of nationalist demagogues of the Farrakhan ilk and cynical liberal hustlers like Jesse Jackson, Young, part of a vanishing breed of black political figures, got his start as a working-class activist with a base of support among Detroit's black proletariat.

His political career, spanning five decades, took him from the orbit of the Communist Party (CP) on the eve of World War II to a position of prominence in the capitalist Democratic Party. There was nothing incongruous about this seeming shift in class allegiance. Thousands of militant black workers and intellectuals were drawn to the banner of Communism in the turbulent '30s, seeing in it a revolutionary challenge to the racism and exploitation of American capitalist society. But by then the CP had long since abandoned the revolutionary and internationalist program of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in favor of a futile, reformist strategy aimed at pressuring a supposedly "progressive" wing of racist U.S. imperialism.

Beginning in the mid-1930s, with its support to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal coalition," the CP embraced the Democratic Party of racism, strikebreaking and imperialist war. Even as he fought to organize trade unions and combat racist oppression in his earlier years, Young was being educated in the Stalinist school of class collaboration, preparation for his future role as a capitalist politician and an overseer for the Big Three auto bosses.

Indeed, it was Young's history as a black and labor activist which helped catapult him into the Detroit mayor's office. The "Motor City" was not only the center of American capitalism's principal industry, but also the bastion of a powerful and combative black proletariat. When Young was elected mayor in 1973, Detroit had experienced years of labor ferment and social struggle—from the 1967 ghetto upheaval to a wave of wildcat strikes. Young was installed in office precisely in order to put a lid on the city's rebellious black population and to quell the multiracial workforce in auto, as the bosses moved to dismantle and decimate the plants which had once provided a livelihood for tens of thousands of unionized workers. By the time he left City Hall in 1993, Detroit had been transformed into a crumbling shell, emblem of the Midwest "Rust Bowl" devastated by plant closures and runaway shops.

City of Detroit

Detroit mayor Coleman Young with banking magnate David Rockefeller and Henry Ford II. Young won office with reputation as labor and anti-racist militant only to oversee declmation of black Detroit in 1970s and '80s.

Washington Post

Young (right) served as bombardier in World War II after being driven out as pilot in all-black Tuskegee Airmen by FBI. He was later jailed for fighting segregation on army bases.

Bernice Grier

FDR's "New Deal": Racist, Anti-Worker

The Great Depression of the 1930s brought with it a marked radicalization of the American proletariat. The mass industrial unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) arose out of three citywide general strikes in 1934 in Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco. The first two were led by the Trotskyists and the A. J. Muste organization with which they fused later that year to form the Workers Party. The third was led by the CP, which quickly became a leading force in the CIO's organizing drive. With its campaign to save the Scottsboro Boys and its organizing of unemployed leagues, black sharecroppers in the South and tenants groups in the Northern ghettos, the CP also won the support of many thousands of black workers around the country.

But the Stalinists channeled these militant fighters straight into the arms of the racist capitalist Democrats. In 1935, Stalin's Communist International promulgated the "People's Front" policy, ordering the mass Communist parties of West Europe to support or enter into *capitalist* governments with "anti-fascist" or "progressive" bourgeois parties. Implementing this policy in the U.S., the relatively small American CP became a critical prop of FDR's New Deal coalition, whose central purpose was to contain the labor upsurge and ward off the spectre of workers revolution.

Where the Trotskyists fought to give the burgeoning labor radicalization political expression, calling for a workers party based on revolutionary opposition to the partner parties of capital and the whole profit system, the CP joined forces with social democrats and other pro-capitalist union bureaucrats to tie the CIO to Roosevelt's Democrats. Writing just before his assassination in 1940, Leon Trotsky noted that "the new 'leftist' trade union organization was no sooner founded than it fell into the steel embrace of the imperialist state. The struggle among the tops between the old federation and the new is reducible in large measure to the struggle for the sympathy and support of Roosevelt and his cabinet" ("Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay").

It was in the course of these historic battles—which shaped, and misshaped, the labor movement for decades to come—that Coleman Young served his political apprenticeship. Born in Tuscaloosa, Alabama in 1918, Young was still a small child when his family moved to Detroit to escape from KKK terror, only to find that Michigan was then home to tens of thousands of Klansmen. After being admitted to the University of Michigan but denied financial aid because he was black, Young qualified as an electrical apprentice at Ford's mammoth River Rouge complex in 1937. Here, too, he was subjected to racist discrimination, sent to work instead on the assembly line. Already drawn to radical politics as a teenager, he became an organizer for the nascent United Auto Workers (UAW). He was soon fired after decking one of Harry Bennet's "servicemen"—the notorious thugs hired by Ford's personnel director to keep out the union.

Black CP supporters like Young were key in breaking down the racial barriers to unionizing workers at Ford, which kept the UAW out until 1941 through sheer terror and racist "divide and rule." Young went on to become secretary of the Detroit branch of the National Negro Congress (NNC), a self-styled "united front" organization which aided CIO organizing drives in the heavily black steel and meatpacking industries. However, as we wrote in "How CP's Popular Front Betrayed Black Masses" (*Young Spartacus* No. 26, November 1974), the CP made the NNC and other front groups into "auxiliaries of the Roosevelt machine."

In his autobiography, *Hard Stuff* (1994), Young retailed the popular-frontist lie that "the only ones who gave a damn" about blacks "were the Communists and Franklin D. Roosevelt." In fact, with diehard segregationist Southern Dixiecrats a key component of this "progressive" coalition, Roosevelt's New Deal was racist to the core, excluding the

continued on page 4

Culver

1943: Racist rampage in Detroit (far left). Trotskyist SWP called for union action to stop lynch-mob terror, while CP Stalinists opposed struggle for black rights, pushed no-strike pledge in support of U.S. imperialists.

Coleman Young...

(continued from page 3)

majority of Southern black workers from programs like Social Security and the minimum wage.

CP: "Negro People, Be Ready to Sacrifice"

After briefly opposing the Roosevelt administration during the period of Stalin's "non-aggression" pact with Nazi Germany between August 1939 and June 1941, the CP came out as among the most ardent defenders of U.S. imperialism, hailing the American bourgeoisie's entry into World War II in December 1941. The CP worked overtime to enforce the AFL and CIO misleaders' no-strike pledge—denouncing United Mine Workers bureaucrat John L. Lewis as "treasonable" when he led a strike in 1943—and demanded that the black masses forsake their struggle for equality in the interests of the "war effort." The racist chauvinism promoted by the Stalinists on behalf of U.S. imperialism knew no bounds: the CP disowned its own members of Japanese origin as they were shipped off to concentration camps and rejoiced over the horrendous A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

The CP cheered when 18 leaders of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Minneapolis Teamsters were imprisoned under the newly passed "anti-subversive" Smith Act for opposing the imperialist war. While extending unconditional military defense to the Soviet Union—which remained a workers state despite Stalinist degeneration—the Trotskyists advocated *revolutionary defeatism* toward all the imperialist powers, calling, as Lenin did during World War I, to "turn the imperialist war into a civil war." The SWP opposed the no-strike pledge and championed the fight for black freedom, calling for armed black self-defense against racist terror.

In the armed forces as in industry, blacks were rigidly segregated and assigned to menial positions. As the U.S. prepared for war in the fall of 1940, Roosevelt reiterated that the War Department's policy "is not to intermingle colored and white enlisted personnel in the same regimental organizations." Echoing the imperialist rulers, black CP leader Ben Davis grotesquely urged the "Negro people to be ready to sacrifice," lecturing that "We cannot temporarily stop the war until all questions of discrimination are ironed out" (quoted in Philip Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619-1981* [1981]). The CP's *Daily Worker* vilified Harlem residents as "fifth columnists and pro-fascists" when they exploded in anger in 1943 following the police shooting of a black soldier.

That same year, Detroit was hit by one of the bloodiest racist rampages in American history, as cops gunned down 17 black people and lynch mobs killed eight more. Provoked by fierce competition over scarce housing, white workers who had recently migrated from the South staged racist strikes at Packard and other auto plants against the hiring or promotion of black workers. The mass lynchings elicited little more from the UAW tops than a pious call to end racial discrimination and a self-congratulatory pat on the back that the bloodshed had not entered the plants. In contrast, the SWP's *Militant* (3 July 1943) called on the unions to

> "take determined and organized action against the instigators and organizers of these lynch mobs. The unions of Detroit could have repulsed this threat to their very existence as they repulsed General Motors in 1937 and Ford in 1941. Detroit would be far different today and the native fascists would be cowering in their holes, demoralized instead of triumphant, had the union leaders called out the veteran flying squadrons to defend the Negro people."

Hundreds of black workers in Detroit joined the SWP during this period, though many of them left in the face of the Cold War witchhunt.

For his part, Young remained wedded to the CP's class-collaborationist politics, though he personally refused to acquiesce to the Stalinists' utter abandonment of the struggle against racism during the war. Drafted in February 1942, Young was assigned to the 370th Infantry Regiment, part of the famed black "Buffalo Division." He joined the famed "Tuskegee Airmen," the segregated unit of black Army pilots, but the FBI targeted him as a "red" to get him washed out as a pilot and shipped off for bombardier training instead. Wherever he was stationed, Young fought to integrate the officer clubs. In 1945, he and 100 other black officers at Indiana's Freeman Air Field were arrested and imprisoned for refusing to accept segregated facilities. Young recalled that their arrest prompted "nearly a full-scale mutiny on the base." Weeks later, Young and the other protesters were released.

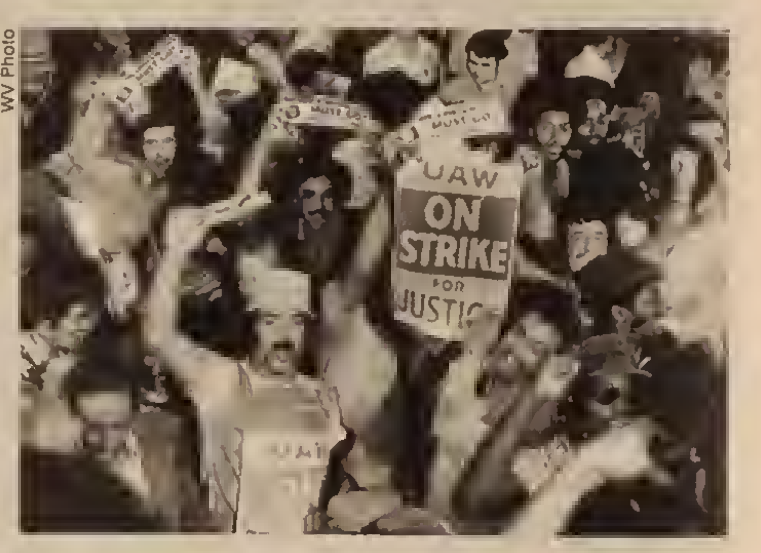
"You Have Me Mixed Up with a Stool Pigeon"

After the war, Young plunged back into CIO activity. As a result of the wartime migration to Northern industrial centers, Detroit's black population now numbered over 200,000. When 2,000 robed and hooded Klansmen attacked the homes of two black families who had moved into the Corktown neighborhood near Briggs (Tiger) Stadium, Young and other armed union members succeeded in turning back the racist mob. During this period, he was also involved in the leadership of a militant sanitation strike. The union ringed City Hall with dozens of trucks piled high with garbage, and the drivers then threw the truck keys away and walked off. As mayor, Young later broke the strikes of Detroit sanitation workers.

UPI

1967: U.S. military occupies black Detroit. Over 7,000 were arrested and 43 killed in bloody suppression of ghetto upheaval.

The war's end brought the greatest strike wave in American history. So ingrained was the CP's support to U.S. imperialism that it initially argued for continuing the no-strike pledge and tried to sabotage the 113-day 1946 GM strike. But the American bourgeoisie was now gearing up for Cold War against the Soviet Union and war against the trade unions at home. As General Electric head C. E. Wilson put it, "The problems of the United States can be captiously summed up in two words: Russia abroad, Labor at home." With its ties to the Kremlin bureaucracy and its influential position in the CIO, the CP became the chief target of the witchhunt. The CP's class betrayals during the war had helped lay the basis for its isolation among union militants when the Cold War purge was launched.



WV Photo

Ford River Rouge workers join 1976 nationwide auto strike. Detroit was center of black proletarian militancy until Big Three auto bosses gutted industry in league with pro-capitalist UAW tops.

Within the labor bureaucracy, social democrats like the UAW's Walter Reuther served as the spearhead of Cold War repression. Reuther had led the fight to ban communists from elected union office as far back as 1941, and supported the breaking of a CP-led strike against North American Aviation in June 1941 (see "How the Reuthers Tamed the UAW," *WV* No. 128, 8 October 1976). Though no less craven in enforcing the no-strike pledge, Reuther garnered support after the war with his call for "wage increases without price increases."

In September 1948, Reuther moved to purge Young and other CP supporters from the Wayne County CIO. Two years later, he seized on the outbreak of the Korean War to drive out of the UAW all those "found guilty" of not supporting U.S. imperialism's onslaught against the North Korean and Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers states. As the witchhunt escalated in Detroit, Communist workers were beaten up, teachers fired and attempts were even made to evict "reds" from public housing. Particularly in labor/black Detroit, the anti-red hysteria was shot through with racism. The CP supporters who were victimized were preponderantly black. A front-page headline in the *Militant* (17 March 1952) read, "Detroit Witch-Hunt Hearings Create a Lynch Atmosphere," and the article reported: "Even the hangman's rope, symbol of Southern Ku Klux Klan lynch terror, was in evidence in Detroit auto plants."

Reuther & Co. worked hand in hand with the notorious House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). Among their targets was the National Negro Labor Council set up by the CP in 1951, in which Young was active. In 1952, Young was ordered to appear at the Detroit HUAC hearings. Denouncing the racist union-busters, Young turned the hearings into a forum against lynch-rope terror in the home states of the Southern Congressmen trying to grill him. Refusing to name names, Young declared, "You have me mixed up with a stool pigeon, sir." The tape recording of Young's testimony was played over and over in black working-class Detroit, enhancing his reputation for years.

Today, apologists for the "new" AFL-CIO of John Sweeney hark back to the "progressive" Reuther as their inspiration. In his book, *The Most Dangerous Man In Detroit*, social democrat Nelson Lichtenstein writes, "Reuther was at heart a moralist whose chest still burned with a passion for social justice." In fact, Reuther's "passion" was to clean up the image of racist U.S. imperialism in order to more effectively pursue the drive to destroy the Soviet Union. In his review of Lichtenstein's apologia, labor historian Michael Goldfield debunks the image of Reuther as an advocate of black rights, noting that he "consciously allied himself with the most racist forces in the union," including "the racist and FBI-linked Association of Catholic Trade Unionists" (*Against the Current*, March/April 1997).

A City on the Boil

After a number of unsuccessful electoral campaigns, Young won a seat as a Democrat in the state Senate in 1964. But it was the Detroit ghetto upheaval of July 1967 that set the stage for Young's ascent to City Hall. Thousands of National Guardsmen and federal troops were poured into Detroit; as tanks rumbled down the streets, the inner city was turned into a war zone. Young joined his former antagonist Reuther in calling on President Johnson to send in federal troops. By the time the rebellion was suppressed, 43 blacks had been killed, hundreds injured and over 7,000 arrested. Young then joined Reuther in the bourgeoisie's "New Detroit Committee," aimed at saving the Motor City for the Big Three.

The conflagration of July 1967 was the bloodiest, and one of the last, of a series of anti-cop ghetto rebellions—from Harlem in 1964 and Watts in 1965 to Newark and Detroit two years later—that buried the liberal illusions of the civil rights movement. In the South, with its rigid Jim Crow segregation, the civil rights movement led by liberal preachers like Martin Luther King Jr. managed to achieve some token reforms granting black people formal equality before the

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law. But when the movement came North, it collided head-on with the reality that black oppression in America is rooted in the very foundations of American capitalism.

This was palpable in Detroit. The tens of thousands of black workers who had been hired into the auto plants were excluded from the skilled trades and remained trapped in the dirtiest, most arduous and dangerous jobs in the foundries and on the assembly lines. Many thousands more were jobless: in 1961, the unemployment rate for blacks in Detroit was 39 percent, and 78 percent for black youth. Meanwhile, the Reutherite UAW bureaucracy was virtually lily-white and manifestly hostile to any action in defense of the union's growing black membership. As the 1967 explosion made clear, Detroit was a seething cauldron of race and class tensions.

This was reflected in the rapid growth of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW), based on factory formations like the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM). The young black auto workers hired into the plants in the late 1960s scorned the sort of one-sided appeals for "nonviolence" pushed by King, which he accompanied with calls for "as powerful a police force as possible" to be deployed against the rebellious ghetto masses in Watts and elsewhere. Nor was the petty-bourgeois nationalist orientation to lumpen ghetto youth pushed by the Black Panther Party seen as an answer in a city where 60,000 militant blacks worked in the strategic center of American industry. While no less nationalist, the LRBW had some sense of the social power of the black proletariat—and tapped into it. Only weeks after it first appeared, DRUM led a three-day wildcat which shut down Dodge Main and drew 3,000 workers to a rally outside the plant (see "Soul Power or Workers Power? The Rise and Fall of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 [Revised], "What Strategy for Black Liberation?").

Joining forces with the racist Big Three management, UAW Secretary Treasurer Emil Mazey vilified DRUM as "black fascists" and a "black peril" more dangerous than the "red peril" of Communism. But the LRBW's nationalist outlook rendered it incapable of taking on the racist, pro-capitalist UAW bureaucracy. Hostile to integrated class struggle, the LRBW actively discouraged white workers from joining wildcat strikes and soon succumbed to its own contradictions, preparing the way for a layer of slicker, more left-talking union bureaucrats and "radical" Democratic Party politicos.

As opposed to the liberal integrationism of King & Co., and the nationalism of the LRBW and Panthers, the Spartacist League fights for the perspective of revolutionary integrationism, the understanding that the historic struggle for black equality can only end in victory if it culminates in the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system and the integration of the black masses into an egalitarian socialist society. In a 1966 founding document of the SL, "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," we wrote:

> "From their arrival in this country, the Negro people have been *an integral part* of American class society while at the same time *forcibly segregated* at the bottom of this society....
>
> "The Negro people are an oppressed race-color caste, in the main comprising the most exploited layer of the American working class. Because of the generations of exceptional oppression, degradation and humiliation, Black people as a group have special needs and problems necessitating additional and special forms of struggle. It is this part of the struggle which has begun today, and from which the most active and militant sections of Black people will gain a deep education and experience in the lessons of struggle. Because of their position as both the most oppressed and also the most conscious and experienced section, revolutionary black workers are slated to play an exceptional role in the coming American revolution."

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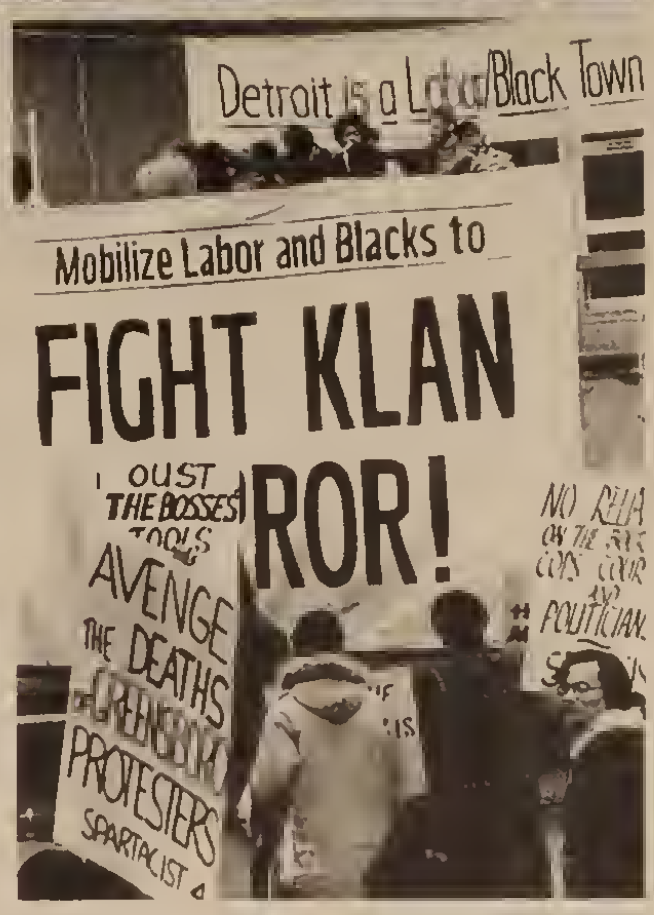

Spartacists raise class-struggle program at July 1979 protest against auto plant closure. Four months later, 500 mostly black auto workers joined SL-initiated demonstration which defied arrest threat by Young and stopped planned KKK march in downtown Detroit.

The fight against the special oppression of blacks is inseparable from the struggle to emancipate all of the working people from capitalist exploitation. We fight to forge a multiracial Leninist vanguard party to lead that struggle to victory. For black liberation through socialist revolution!

The Devastation of Detroit

The 1967 ghetto rebellion and the explosive rise of black working-class militancy shook the racist rulers, leading to one attempt after another to clamp down on struggle until they finally decided to move much of the auto industry out of Detroit entirely. In an attempt to foment further divisions within the workforce, the auto companies set up special recruiting offices in the Near East, bringing over large numbers of Arab workers. But these workers soon demonstrated their own militancy by staging a wildcat protest against the UAW bureaucracy's purchase of Israeli bonds.

At the same time, there was a massive intensification of police repression. Notoriously racist police commissioner John Nichols set up a special "decoy unit" called STRESS which gunned down 21 blacks between 1969 and 1972. In 1972, Nichols personally led a squad of cops into Chrysler's Mack Avenue Stamping Plant to arrest the leaders of a sitdown strike there.

Amid sharp polarization, the 1973 mayoral election pitted Young against Nichols. While campaigning against STRESS and denouncing racist cop terror, Young joined Nichols in calling for putting more of these armed thugs on the streets. Nonetheless, the CP, a host of other reformist "socialists" and remnants of the LRBW gave open or backhanded support to the black Democrat. Against such opportunists, the SL wrote: "Far from being a working-class victory, the victory of a 'responsible' black 'progressive' fits in nicely with the liberal bourgeoisie's current game plan for siphoning off racial tensions by giving the oppressed minorities the illusion of political power" (*WV* No. 33, 23 November 1973).

Cynically expressing the outlook of Detroit's capitalist establishment, department store magnate Joseph Hudson remarked: "The black man has the feeling he is about to take power in the city. But he is going to be left with an empty bag." Having won the election, Young oversaw the decimation of Detroit—200,000 auto workers lost their jobs as the Big Three moved their operations to the low-wage, non-union South. In 1974-75, Young laid off city workers by the thousands. Services were slashed, museums closed, school funding cut and the streets flooded with cops. He opposed a proposed ordinance to disband the Detroit "red squad" and busted a 1980 strike by city workers in order to make the Motor City "safe" for the Republican Party convention.

A measure of how far Young's political journey had taken him over the years was expressed in his attempt to ban a march *against* the KKK in Detroit in 1979. Young threatened to arrest militant auto workers who joined an SL-initiated labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK from coming to Detroit to "celebrate" the fascist massacre of five leftists and union organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina. An SL leaflet declared: "Mayor Coleman Young said we who oppose the Klan have no more rights than the KKK killers, that we should not show our faces on fear of arrest. We say no to Coleman Young...and Coleman Young better think about it." The mobilization went ahead, and as a special *WV* supplement (16 November 1979) reported: "500 at Detroit Labor/Black Rally Say: The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" Addressing the rally, SL spokesman Don Alexander said:

> "You know what Coleman Young is—the awful example of what selling your black political soul to the Democratic Party means. You sort of go morally and politically blind. After a while you can't tell the difference between the guys in white sheets and the guys on the other side."

By the early 1980s, what was once the heart of the black proletariat and the strategic center of American industry was a rusting hulk. As Young's capitalist masters hoped, all this was carried out without any major protest. That is why Coleman Young's death was mourned by mouthpieces for the bourgeoisie like the *New York Times*.

Uniquely on the left, the SL advanced a class-struggle program to defeat the bourgeoisie's savage attacks on the Detroit proletariat. Against the UAW bureaucracy's appeals for government subsidies to salvage Chrysler in 1979, setting the stage for mass layoffs and the gutting of union benefits, we called for workers to seize the plants, auction off the assets and keep the proceeds. Three years later, as Chrysler workers faced further attacks and teachers walked out against Young's demand for an 8 percent pay cut, we called for labor to "Shut Down Detroit!" (*WV* No. 313, 17 September 1982). Emphasizing the need for a political struggle against the pro-capitalist union tops to break workers and minorities from the Democrats, we declared:

> "*There is no way out within the capitalist system.* What is needed is a workers party to fight for a workers government which will rip the productive wealth of this country out of the hands of the capitalist class."

This task remains all the more urgent today, in the face of all-sided attacks on the working class and the ghetto and barrio masses—the devastation of welfare and other social programs, the massive cut in real wages, the ongoing assault on union rights, the enormous increase in police terror and the racist speedup on death row. We fight for a multiracial vanguard party—like Lenin's Bolsheviks, a tribune of all the oppressed—to lead the fight for a socialist future. ■

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PRF/IG: Pabloite Desertion from the LTF

The Struggle for a French Section of the ICL

The following article is translated and adapted from Le Bolchévik *(No. 145, Spring 1998), newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.*

LE BOLCHEVIK

On January 26, the Central Committee of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), French section of the International Communist League, expelled two members for violation of our Leninist party discipline. These two ex-members, D. and Z., who six weeks earlier had declared themselves as the "Permanent Revolution Faction" (PRF), refused to speak with a Control Commission established to investigate their flagrant collaboration with a hostile political opponent organization, the "Internationalist Group" (IG). The IG consists of a handful of renegades from Trotskyism who deserted our ranks in 1996. Their *líder máximo*, Jan Norden, was for many years the editor of our American newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*.

Impelled by the pressures of this period of post-Soviet reaction, Norden and his small coterie defected from our international tendency, in the search for and accommodating to social forces other than the proletariat and vehicles other than a Leninist vanguard party to advance the cause of the struggle for human emancipation. And it was precisely over the party question, the question of revolutionary leadership, that the IG's newfound adherents in our French section went into political opposition. The election of the Jospin popular-front government was what drove them from revolutionary Trotskyism to centrist accommodation to the capitalist order.

This political flight began during last November's truckers strike, in the crucible of class struggle against the popular-front government of Socialist Party (PS) prime minister Lionel Jospin and Communist Party (PCF) transport minister Jean-Claude Gayssot. The embryonic PRF went into opposition against directives from the ICL International Secretariat (I.S.) to mobilize the entire LTF and its youth group, Jeunesse Spartaciste (JS), to get out to the truckers' barricades, using our Marxist newspaper to introduce ourselves to the strikers as *the only left group in France which did not vote for this racist, strikebreaking popular-front government*.

November 1997: French truckers conduct first strike against new popular-front government. LTF went to strike pickets and barricades with newspaper declaring: "It Is Necessary to Break With the Capitalist Government of Jospin!"

AP

The future PRF *opposed* selling subscriptions to our paper to strikers, incredibly accusing the I.S. of inculcating "routinism" and "abstentionism"! Instead, they proposed issuing an utterly economist leaflet calling on the workers—from completely outside the industry—to adopt more militant strike tactics. This leaflet was to say *nothing* about the necessity of forging a revolutionary leadership against the treacherous, reformist misleaders of the unions and of the PCF and PS in the popular-front government. Nor would it have a word about our centrist opponents, most of whom issued leaflets qualitatively similar to what the PRF wanted the LTF to publish.

Meanwhile, the I.S. and others in the ICL—including, in particular, LTF youth—were fighting against a right-centrist bloc in the LTF leadership which wanted to abstain from active intervention in this important strike. Thus the "left-centrist" PRF argued to "intervene" in the truckers strike on the purely trade-unionist basis of strike tactics, while the right-centrists wanted to ignore the strike altogether. Both capitulated to the opportunist left groups which try to conceal the fact that the popular-front government was as determined as the Gaullists to carry out austerity measures against the French working class. The common denominator between both expressions of centrism is that both regarded our Trotskyist program as irrelevant.

A few weeks later, on December 19, D. and Z. declared themselves the Permanent Revolution Faction. The weight of their first factional declaration—some 35 pages—was the unmistakable paw print of the windbag Norden. Unreservedly defending every one of the IG's positions, this factional document, manifestly written from afar, made not the slightest effort to explain how and why they had become totally converted. Yet not long before, Z. had given several presentations in the LTF against the IG, including one exposing the IG's fraternal comrades in the Brazilian LQB (Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil, previously known as Luta Metalúrgica [LM]).

The ICL broke off fraternal relations with LM/LQB in June 1996 after months of intense discussion and joint work on site in Brazil. Despite the LQB's formal pretensions to revolutionary Trotskyism, their ingrained trade-union opportunism made them an obstacle to building a revolutionary party (see "A Break in Fraternal Relations with Luta Metalúrgica," *WV* No. 648, 5 July 1996). The LQB sought to control a cop-infested union from the top while having no communist fraction at the base. When the ICL learned of this and of the presence of cops in the union, we pushed LM to fight for the principle that cops are not part of the workers movement and do not belong in the union. This forced a split within the unprincipled union leadership bloc brokered by LM/LQB. Their one-time ally, pro-cop thug Artur Fernandes, sued LQB member and union president Geraldo Ribeiro, an ex-cop. The LQB and its equally squalid competitors dragged the union through the capitalist courts while the IG ran an international campaign of "solidarity"—a cover-up for their class treason in Brazil.

Following Lenin's exhortation that anyone who takes anybody else's word for something is a fool, the LTF looks forward to soon publishing the documents from the factional struggle for the edification and sanitation of the workers movement. Pending publication of the full documentation, we urge readers to order our "Internationalist Group Truth Kit," which exposes these shamefaced defectors from Trotskyism as nothing but apologists for the Stalinist bureaucrats who sold out the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Europe and for the trade-union opportunism of their fraternal comrades in Brazil.

Although it was evident that the PRF in the LTF was controlled by Norden's IG, we chose not to take organizational measures against the PRF earlier for our own reasons: to fully thrash out the political issues in dispute in order to strengthen the party. Our party has not been immune to the pressures bearing down on the entire left in this period, particularly since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Internal political struggle is the means by which a revolutionary party maintains its programmatic integrity against the disintegrative pressures of bourgeois society. Thus this internal challenge was seized upon as an opportunity to programmatically strengthen the French section of the ICL against the pressures of popular-frontism and national narrowness so fervently represented by the Permanent Revolution Faction.

At the same time, the right to factional struggle, which our international organization cherishes, is a right for *disciplined members*. As the PRF was repeatedly warned, they could fight the ICL's program from inside the party or from outside the party, but not both simultaneously. The LTF's organizational rules specifically spell out: "Political collaboration with non-members of the LTF must be formally authorized by the LTF body having jurisdiction." After dozens of documents, several plenary meetings and a national conference of the LTF on January 17-18, the anti-Trotskyist politics of the PRF had been fully exposed: they had not managed to recruit *a single supporter* in the LTF or internationally, and our organization came out of this fight considerably strengthened.

The recent Third International Conference of the International Communist League passed a motion endorsing the LTF's expulsion of the Permanent Revolution Faction:

> "We note that the immediate protest on the Internet by supporters of the Internationalist Group serves as confirmation of the organizational collaboration between the erstwhile French minority and the IG.
>
> "The documents of the LTF majority and majority motions passed at the LTF's 17th National Conference document the Permanent Revolution Faction's flight from revolutionary Trotskyism, to which their organizational disloyalty was a corollary. The Permanent Revolution Faction's misidentification of working-class combativity with revolutionary consciousness negated the need for a revolutionary party. This was the Permanent Revolution Faction's bridge to the Jospin

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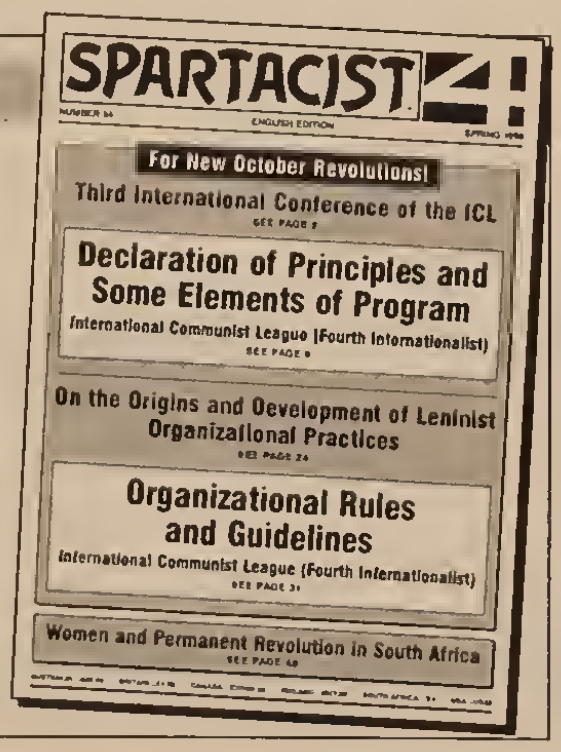


popular front and to the Internationalist Group. As a caricature of the LTF's most rotten impulses and accommodation to alien political forces, the faction served to illuminate the LTF's longstanding disorientation and accommodation to the PCF wing of the popular front. This glorification of French national chauvinist traditions is the rotten legacy of the French Trotskyist movement's Pabloite liquidation and capitulation to the popular front—a history which the French section of the ICL stands in opposition to. The factional struggle served as a useful device to politically and organizationally cohere a French section. The test now for the LTF is to turn outward, intervene against our opponents with our revolutionary program and recruit."

Pabloites of the Second Mobilization

Trotsky noted in *The Lessons of October* (1924) that sudden changes in the world situation always provoke disorientation and confusion within the revolutionary party, especially within its leadership. At the onset of the U.S.-led Cold War II, prevailing public opinion regarded the Soviet Union as the "evil empire." One should have expected political opposition within our international at that point. Instead, those now constituting the "International Bolshevik Tendency" (IBT), currently in the process of disintegration, quit individually or were expelled for petty crimes against the party or the proletariat, while of course proclaiming that they stood on the revolutionary program and heritage of the Spartacist League. Then in 1991-92, there was capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union—the final defeat of the only successful proletarian revolution—and an onslaught of bourgeois triumphalism over the alleged "death of communism," accompanied by huge splits and regroupments on the left. One would have expected political opposition within the ICL at that point, too. Instead, four individuals who became the Internationalist Group engineered their own expulsions...while claiming to stand on the revolutionary traditions and heritage of the ICL.

Neither grouping waged any struggle inside the ICL as a declared faction to openly fight out any political or programmatic issues. Now the IBT of Bill Logan has made a marriage proposal to the IG of Norden on the basis of shared lies of bureaucratic abuse (see "Willful Blindness," *1917* No. 20, 1998). This puts their allegedly divergent worldviews—the IBT's Stalinophobia and the IG's Stalinophilia—at the level of a clique fight in a college faculty. After all, how much can any alleged principles matter in the groves of academia? Moreover, the Russian question is considered passé by the reformist and centrist swamp in which the IG swims—so much so that the supposed irrelevance of the Russian question was a guiding "principle" of delegates to a recent Trotskyoid "regroupment" conference in South Africa attended by...the IBT's Logan.

Like Michel Pablo before him, who abandoned the very reason for the Fourth International's existence by denying the need for revolutionary Trotskyist leadership and asserting that the Stalinist parties were capable of "roughly outlining a revolutionary orientation," Norden adapted to the very forces which led capitalist counterrevolution in the former deformed workers states. Having abandoned the Trotskyist program and a proletarian compass, he is capable of leading his pathetic followers anywhere—including across the class line by suing unions in Brazil—just as Logan's IBT crosses picket lines in New York City.

As the LTF majority wrote in its Perspectives and Tasks document: "The IG can be characterized as a post-Soviet BT. We must note that in a 35-page document they are silent on the Russian question, and in particular on the central task for Trotskyists, the fight for the revolutionary defense of the Chinese deformed workers state. Since it doesn't matter, why mention it and why fight? In other words, this document is the exit visa from Trotskyism for D. and Z."

With the PRF, we finally had an opportunity in the LTF to pursue the political issues which Norden fled from fighting out in the ICL, and we were able to thrash out the full panoply of post-Soviet Pabloism, or what we've termed "Pabloism of the second mobilization." Reflecting their contempt for internationalism, the PRF complained that more than 15 responses to their factional document had poured in from comrades around the world within 24 hours after the International Secretariat had translated and circulated their document to all members of our international. As Trotsky wrote, "By its very nature opportunism is nationalistic, since it rests on the local and temporary needs of the proletariat and not on its historic tasks.... International unity is not a decorative facade for us, but the very axis of our theoretical views and our policy."

The whole of Trotsky's writings is a testament to his relentless struggle to build a Fourth International and forge, against centrist adaptations to bourgeois rule, the necessary subjective factor in history: a revolutionary, internationalist Leninist vanguard party. The necessity of continual struggle against the pressures of bourgeois society is incomprehensible to megalomaniacs like Jan Norden who believe first and foremost in their own infallibility. While a member of the ICL, Norden repeatedly tried to insist on "one-man rule" (for a Leninist newspaper that's supposed to serve as the *collective organizer* of the party!) and once even appealed for "plenipotentiary powers" on international assignment, to be free of the collective leadership Norden correctly perceived as an impediment to pursuit of his impressionistic appetites. "One-man rule," "plenipotentiary powers"—this kind of personal prestige politics is very typical of Stalinist and Pabloite organizations, but utterly alien to genuine Leninists. Among the dozens of documents written by comrades in every section of the international against the minority in the French section, comrade Peter M. from Australia perhaps best captured the PRF and IG's political pathology:

> "The Islamic Commission at the forthcoming international conference of the ICL (and our work directed towards China and Southeast Asia) is part of our fight for, and determination to build, sections in the 'Third World'; a struggle to reforge the Fourth International. The cowardly exit of the 'IGlets' from our party came centrally over their opposition to our fight for Trotskyism in Brazil (following the pathetic necrophilic overtures towards the Stalinist-turned-social-democrat has-beens in Germany). It is not we who are 'turning away' from the struggles of the working class, but the Nordenites who would substitute the chase after ex-Stalinists who spearheaded the fight against proletarian political revolution in East Germany, the 'struggle' for trade-union sinecures in Brazil, and an economist path of 'spurring on' French workers' strikes while burying the fight for revolutionary leadership in the service of the popular-front government.
>
> "The opposition to the supposedly 'new I.S.' expresses hostility to the fights waged by our international leadership in the various sections to steel our ranks against the pressures of this period. It is also a trawling operation for any weak, worn-out or petty-bourgeois elements who have ever had their feet trodden on, or nose put out of joint, by these necessary political fights. The fight against this anti-Trotskyist faction will strengthen our French section. Ongoing political struggle is also necessary in the Australian section to build a Leninist organisation capable of our great tasks."

Factional Struggle and Party Leadership

Unique among left organizations, the ICL codifies the right to declared factional struggle in its organizational rules. This is the result of our experience as a bureaucratically abused minority in the right-centrist American Socialist Workers Party in 1961-64. Having been on the short end of a very nasty organization as a revolutionary minority, we were keenly sensitive to the questions of the democratic side of democratic-centralism, which ultimately means factional democracy—the right to combine in an organized way in order to oppose the existing leadership of the party based on an assumption that the present program is incorrect, that the party has departed from a revolutionary program and therefore requires a new program and a corresponding new leadership.

The PRF had full factional rights within the LTF. They were granted time to make their opening debut in a meeting of the LTF's youth group, the JS. (Our youth group is not a front group but a politically subordinate and organizationally independent youth organization. Thus, disputes within the party are also brought into the youth group for discussion.) All members of the LTF and JS were expected to read the minority's material and had the right to meet and discuss with them and decide for themselves. A majority caucus was formed in opposition to the minority. Except for the two members of the PRF, every member of the LTF and the JS, after having read the documentation on which the majority faction was based, joined the majority caucus. The declared minority and majority faction each had the right to private factional meetings and correspondence. (For the PRF, that meant the two of them could write each other letters, or sit in a room by themselves, as they had found no supporters anywhere in the entire ICL.)

Discussions at LTF meetings were organized according to our democratic-centralist norms: equal time for presentations on the issues in debate by both majority and minority factions. The whole purpose of this was to ensure that what emerged from this struggle was ***maximum political clarity*** and that the waters were not muddied in any way by secondary organizational grievances. At the same time, the minority was held politically accountable. Several times the majority was forced to codify in motions the minority's brazen flaunting of its failure to adhere to our organizational rules regarding contact with hostile political opponent organizations. This was noted several times for the record while we continued to move on to clarify the political issues in dispute.

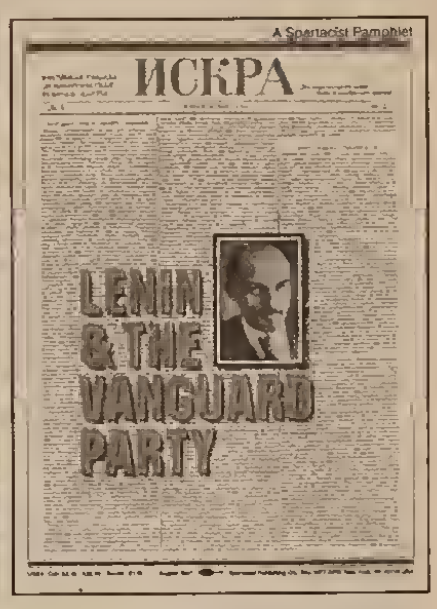
In addition to scrupulously upholding the democratic rights of the minority, the majority faction responded with a great deal of factional zeal and ***humor***. This enraged the minority, which saw nothing funny about their unexplained 180-degree turnaround in political views, or our suggestion that a PRF member debate himself, as we had several tapes of this renegade giving presentations in LTF meetings against the Internationalist Group! But most of all, the PRF was distinctly reluctant to *fight*. Thus the I.S. Secretary wrote a letter to the PRF suggesting that they tour the sections of our international to try and win supporters—an offer the PRF *declined*.

Similarly, majority faction comrades challenged the PRF to win over the majority on the key question of Norden's infamous January 1995 speech at Berlin's Humboldt University. In this speech, embraced by the PRF, Norden junked Trotskyism, groveled before Stalinist hacks and disappeared the role of the ICL as the revolutionary leadership for the incipient workers political revolution against the Stalinist-led counterrevolution

continued on page 8

N.A. Kasalkin

VAAP



Left: early Russian Marxist study circle. Center: Petrograd's Putilov works, a key base of proletarian support for Bolsheviks. Spartacist pamphlet describes Lenin's fight for a vanguard party representing the fusion of revolutionary intellectuals with advanced workers, the necessary instrument in developing proletarian class consciousness.

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ICL...

(continued from page 7)

in the DDR (East Germany) in 1989-90. Comrades offered to build a stage and invite some elderly people from the neighborhood to sit in as surrogate SED (former DDR Stalinist ruling party) "youth" while our own comrades would listen to the PRF read Norden's Humboldt speech out loud and then engage in democratic discussion afterward. The PRF refused, stating we couldn't be convinced. One must wonder then, if they had no confidence in their ability to convince anyone in the party of the correctness of their views, why did they form a faction in the first place?

But what really drove the PRF wild was a little redecoration of our Paris office. Comrades from the majority honored Trotsky and hung a poster of him as head of the Red Army on our office wall. We also honored the memory of Cuban general Ochoa, who defeated the racist apartheid army in Angola only to be criminally executed in 1989 by the Stalinist Castro in Cuba—an execution Norden attempted to excuse. But the majority also allocated a wall of the office to illustrate the despicable "heroes" of the minority faction. That wall included: Stalin, the gravedigger of the October Revolution, who IG honcho Norden gratuitously hailed as commander in chief of the Red Army (indeed the Red Army smashed Hitlerite fascism *despite* Stalin); Erich Honecker, whose SED led the counterrev-

AP

Leon Trotsky denouncing assassination attempt shortly before his murder by Stalinist agent in 1940.

olution in the DDR; and lesser lights orbiting the Stalinist firmament, like Norden and Negrete themselves. Apoplectic, the minority faction squealed, "What next, dunce caps?" *Et voilà*, an able youth immediately affixed a dunce cap on the head of Stalin, the PRF's "commander in chief."

While eschewing humor—which requires an appreciation of contradiction sorely lacked by the IG and PRF—this ersatz faction's real unseriousness toward fighting to change the party program or the party leadership is underscored by the fact that these marionettes, like their puppet master Norden, did not even bother to *appeal* their expulsions. They knew full well that they could have appealed not only to the French section, but to the imminent International Conference of the ICL. This exposes their "faction" for what it was—not a struggle to change the party's program or leadership, but oppositional camouflage for shamefaced defectors from Trotskyism. (Or, to borrow a favorite phrase from the IG, the PRF was just an oven mitt for two renegades eager to "pull their hands out of boiling water.") The PRF was glad to be freed from the program and organization which held them back from the popular-frontist political milieus they seek to swim in.

As James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, wrote:

> "Trotsky once wrote that a revolutionist is tested under all kinds of circumstances and in all kinds of actions, from strikes and street fights up to the revolutionary struggle for power, but that the most important test of all is his attitude toward the disputes within his own party."

M.S. Nappelbaum

Lenin (at left) during First Congress of the Communist International, March 1919. The ICL fights to build a democratic-centralist International based on program of early Comintern and Trotsky's Fourth International.

The Crisis of Revolutionary Leadership

In "Stalinism and Bolshevism" (1936), Trotsky observed:

> "Reactionary epochs like ours not only disintegrate and weaken the working class and its vanguard but also lower the general ideological level of the movement and throw political thinking back to stages long since passed through. In these conditions, the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow: it must swim against the current. If an unfavorable relation of forces prevents it from holding the positions that it has won, it must at least retain its ideological positions, because in them is expressed the dearly purchased experience of the past. Fools will consider this policy 'sectarian.' Actually it is the only means of preparing for a new tremendous surge forward with the coming historical tide."

The IG and PRF consistently misidentify the *will* of the workers to struggle with the *revolutionary consciousness* needed to *triumph* over the capitalist rulers, which must be brought to the workers from without. Thus, the IG and PRF adapt to the lower level of consciousness engendered by the destruction of the Soviet Union and ensuing bourgeois triumphalism. In contrast, the ICL fights to win militant workers to understand the broader context of their struggles: that the post-Soviet world is very much like the pre-1914 period, with interimperialist hostilities threatening a new world war, posing once again urgent revolutionary tasks for the proletariat internationally.

Trotsky never maintained that the mass of workers (as opposed to their leaderships) always and everywhere were "spontaneously" desirous of "red revolution" and that therefore the problem was "reduced" to its leadership. The Trotskyist movement never utilized the concept of the crisis of proletarian leadership to absolve itself of responsibility for combatting the backward consciousness of the workers, whether in the form of parliamentary reformism or national chauvinism and racism. It is precisely here that the opportunist character of Norden and his PRF supporters and their abandonment of Leninism are most obvious.

The Bolshevik Revolution and the formation of the Communist International led to a qualitative elevation in the political consciousness of the working class and leftist intelligentsia throughout the world. But in no country today can we say, as Trotsky said about the workers of Spain in the 1930s, that the political level of the proletariat is above that of the Russian proletariat on the eve of the February Revolution. Indeed, there is no longer any significant current of advanced workers and leftist intellectuals who consider themselves communists in the Leninist sense. This condition does not at all rule out mass, militant struggles by the workers and other oppressed layers, or even revolutionary upheavals in countries where the bourgeois political order is currently fragile and the existing regime widely hated (e.g., Mexico and Indonesia). But whether in the imperialist centers or in unstable Third World countries, we have to fight to overcome the historical retrogression in the political consciousness of the working class and the left. To deny this, as does the IG/PRF, is to capitulate to it and liquidate the role of the party.

As stated in the "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" adopted by the ICL at its Third International Conference:

> "Trotsky's assertion in the 1938 Transitional Program that 'The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of leadership of the proletariat' predates the present deep regression of proletarian consciousness. The reality of this post-Soviet period adds a new dimension to Trotsky's observation. The only way in which this regression can be overcome and the working class can become a class *for* itself, i.e., fighting for socialist revolution, is to reforge an international Leninist-Trotskyist party as the leadership of the working class."

The Popular Front: Not a Tactic but the Greatest Crime

During the strike wave of December 1995, when the right-wing Juppé government was in power, the ex-comrades of the PRF played an important role in fighting a centrist obstacle in the LTF Central Committee which then wanted to abstain or tail our fake-Trotskyist opponents in the strike wave. In 1995, a fight led by the I.S. was waged for the LTF to make an intervention as a fighting propaganda group, centered on the question of revolutionary leadership. But in 1997, with the Jospin popular front in power, D.'s maximum program was militant economism, which her bloc partner Z. tried to belatedly camouflage by tacking on more programmatic points. This, and their insistence that, with Jospin in power, now was the time to concentrate North Africans in France—even as thousands of foreigners are being deported by the racist popular front—indicates deep-going and profound disorientation on the popular front. At bottom, they have a position of pressuring the popular front rather than mobilizing the proletariat for its revolutionary overthrow.

Even before the formal declaration of faction by the minority on December 19, the political outlines of a fight for a Leninist-Trotskyist party vs. centrist tailism were clear. Thus, a motion adopted on November 9 by the LTF said:

> "The documents of D. and Z. define our revolutionary program as calls to spread the strike, elected strike committees, i.e., on primarily union tactics. This is in contradiction to Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*, which makes the point that to approach the working class purely on the basis of trade-union militancy (i.e., 'seeking to lend the economic struggle a political character') has the effect, whatever one's intention, of reinforcing the authority of the existing reformist leadership. The role of Marxists is to bring revolutionary consciousness to the working class in complete opposition to the existing reformist leadership and *their centrist tails*. Our job is to politically motivate the need for a *conscious* break from the reformist leadership. The conception that this break will come automatically through more militant union struggle is 'spontaneism,' which is an adaptation to the existing consciousness of the working class, which is bourgeois consciousness—for which the reformist bureaucracy is the transmission belt.
>
> "The leaflet outlined by D. and Z. would be simply a more militant version of the leaflet of VdT [Voix des Travailleurs, a split from the reformist Lutte Ouvrière (LO)] which 'criticized' the existing leadership of the strike and even poses the question of a general strike. D. and Z. are looking for a *shortcut* to reach the workers and throw the revolutionary program overboard as if it were excess baggage. That is why D.'s proposed leaflet makes no mention of any polemics against our opponents, most notably our centrist opponents who are most vulnerable and dangerous now in the crucible of struggle and with the popular front in power.
>
> "Seeking to intervene in the truckers strike with an economic militancy line would have to be an adaptation to our centrist opponents who voted for this popular-front government.
>
> "The twin policies of 'left' and 'right' centrism are in continuity with the policies which paralyzed the section at the beginning of the strike wave of December '95. The leadership at first ignored the strikes, then intervened with the line 'For a May '68 which goes all the way,' a version of militant economism, and the LTF was unable to write any propaganda on the necessity of revolutionary leadership. Then there was an obstruction to distributing the propaganda produced by the I.S. which was titled: 'Smash Vigipirate! Unite "immigrants," women, youth behind the power of the working class! For a new, revolutionary leadership! For a workers government to sweep away the whole rotten capitalist system!'"

The clearest measure of a revolutionary party is its attitude toward its centrist and reformist opponents. The need to politically combat opponents derives from the Marxist premise that the false consciousness of the proletariat can and must be changed to a higher class consciousness of its revolutionary tasks. This means combatting reformist illusions which tie the working class to its "own" bourgeoisie. The centrists are more dangerous because they couch their accommodation to the reformists, and therefore to the existing capitalist order, in pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric. Therefore, the logic of avoiding political combat with our centrist opponents represents the

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abandonment of a revolutionary perspective. It means becoming the left tail of parliamentary electoralist reformism.

As discussed at the Third International Conference of the ICL, the pressures on our various international sections are different: in Australia it's the pressure of the Labor Party in opposition; all the problems of our British section mainly reduce themselves to a difficulty in dealing with the Labour Party; in Mexico it's the pressure of bourgeois nationalism; in Germany comrades feel the pressure from the social democrats of the SPD and PDS and from anarchoid *autonomen*; in the U.S. the pressures are the backwardness of the proletariat and the arrogance of the most vicious military power in the world. Throughout the entire history of French Trotskyism, the pressure has been one of accommodation and capitulation to popular-frontism. All these pressures are deforming in different ways in different sections. Our task is to render the cadres conscious of the political pressures so these pressures can be fought and the party can intervene effectively in the fight to build the party that will lead the proletariat in struggle for new October Revolutions around the globe.

The factional struggle with the PRF illuminated historic problems of the LTF and thus enabled the party to understand and begin to break from what had been a nearly continuous history of blunting our program to accommodate centrist and reformist opponents. During "Cold War II"—an imperialist crusade against the Soviet Union which raged white-hot in Mitterrand's France—every fake Trotskyist from Ernest Mandel and French Mandelite Alain Krivine to reformist Pierre Lambert and LO spokesman Arlette Laguiller enthusiastically joined in the anti-Sovietism of their own capitalist rulers. The LTF stood at its post as staunch Soviet defensists, opposing imperialism and capitalist restoration. But there was a persistent tendency to capitulate to the PCF wing of the popular front because of the Stalinists' supposed "pro-Sovietism."

Let's be clear: when we talk about accommodating to the PCF wing of the French popular front, we are talking about an accommodation to social democracy. The policy of all the parties in the Stalinized Communist International officially became reformism—that is to say, Menshevism, social democracy—with the declaration on the "People's Front" at the Comintern's Seventh Congress in August 1935. ***The pro-Soviet adjective is a Stolinist myth:*** they were pro-Stalin. The ostensible pro-Sovietism of the French Communist Party was intended purely to deceive the proletariat, while the actual practice of the PCF tied the proletariat to capitalism.

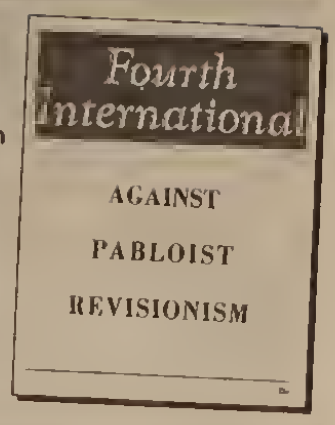
In contrast to this understanding, the PRF and the IG glorify the existing consciousness of the French working class and its present misleadership in what the IG calls "the classical European country of revolution." Against this, the LTF majority wrote:

> "Our song is not the 'Marseillaise' but the 'Internationale.' Regarding the France whose praises they sing, they have forgotten the colonial empire. The 'classical country of the revolution,' as they call it, massacred Algerians at Sétif on 8 May 1945, as it was celebrating the so-called Liberation. It took Africa with fire and blood, and continues to plunder this continent through the IMF. It terrorizes immigrants and their children. It shut its borders to Algeria (among others) with the Vigipirate plan. It keeps in check its present-day colonies (the latest repression that we know about came down on high-school students fighting for better study conditions). In the country of the 'rights of man' (that myth of the bourgeoisie), political refugees have no right to engage in politics, under threat of losing their residency cards. Immigrant parents whose children have been killed have no right to demonstrate, under threat of losing their residency cards on a charge of disturbing the peace. That's what bourgeois democracy is."

Never in all their voluminous documents on France do the IG/PRF mention the necessity to split the reformist

Pathfinder

The ICL upholds the fight waged by SWP leader James P. Cannon in early 1950s against the revisionists led by Michel Pablo, whose program of liquidating the Trotskyist party is voiced today by Norden's IG.



parties. In fact, in its factional declaration the PRF *alibied* the role of the PCF and PS in the popular front, asserting that: "Mass workers organizations are subordinated to the class-collaborationist program through the popular front." This statement of the PRF is simply wrong. The PCF and the PS are not victims of a thing called the popular front that subordinates them to a class-collaborationist program. Class collaboration *is* the program and practice of all ***bourgeois*** workers parties. A parliamentary government based on reformist workers parties, such as Tony Blair's Labour government in Britain today, is also a capitalist government.

A popular front is a coalition between reformist workers parties and bourgeois formations. The importance of the inclusion of even the most modest non-proletarian political formation (what Trotsky called "the shadow of the bourgeoisie") is to act as a ***guorantor*** of the program of the popular front—a ***copitolist government***. This is the alibi used by "Labor," "Socialist" or "Communist" parties to justify their refusal to follow their nominal programs to their own followers. The contradiction implicit in such parties between subordination to the interests of the capitalist system and their pretense of expressing the workers' interests is thereby suppressed. In the process of building a Leninist-Trotskyist party in France, the PCF and PS must be split along political lines.

Comrade Petersen of the ICL's German section captured the symbiotic capitulation by the IG to the Stalinist bureaucrats who sold out the deformed workers states and to the Stalinist and social-democratic union and party tops who sell out trade-union struggles:

> "Norden maintains today that the Stalinists did not lead the counterrevolution. One must ask oneself: what is the difference between 'sold out the DDR' and 'led the counterrevolution'? Let's take the example of the IG Metall bureaucracy during the metal workers strike in 1984. The strike lasts six weeks, they mobilize only 35,000 workers. Millions want to participate. And then the final agreement reached is that the 35-hour week will be realized in seven years—or in eight. That is called a sellout. I mean, what did they do? What did the IG Metall bureaucracy do with the strike? They betrayed the strike. Was the IG Metall bureaucracy also a 'semi-willing victim' [as Norden sees the former ruling Stalinist bureaucrats]? Or did they *betray* the strike?"

The "welfare state" presently under attack in Europe long represented a sort of "tribute" that the capitalist class paid to the Soviet Union. In other words, the capitalists recognized that they had to cut into their own profits and provide the working class with some kind of "safety net" lest a new October Revolution be brought to ***their*** doors. For decades, the reformist parties were supposed to deliver reforms and based their authority on their capacity to successfully do so. Now they have been called on to govern in many European countries in order to themselves proceed to dismantle the workers' gains. This is why reformism, despite its ***apparent*** strengthening (at the electoral level), is in reality entering a crisis. This implies an opening to undermine parliamentary reformism and its centrist apologists among the most conscious workers and radicalized intellectuals, ***provided*** we intervene as Leninists on the basis of our revolutionary program.

But instead, in its 35-page founding document, the PRF does not even manage to characterize the popular front as racist! In fact, the PRF began to germinate when the popular front came to power. The popular front's electoral victory aroused real illusions even among North African immigrants. A provocation against our North African party comrades some time before had led us to particularly protect these comrades, with their agreement. But in the PRF's eyes, these protective measures were an "abandonment of the perspective of regrouping North African cadres in exile to forge the nucleus of a Trotskyist party around an exile journal"! Here their dishonesty is flagrant. The PRF defines itself as "Trotskyist militants of the former colonial countries," who therefore could in no way capitulate to French chauvinism. They saw themselves not as internationalist communists but as "experts" on their own country of origin, and in a parochial fashion oriented particularly to the demoralized elements of the exile milieu, having little or no interest in winning the second-generation "immigrant" youth.

In opposition to this sectoralism—which mirrors the divisions fostered within the working class by the capitalist rulers—we revolutionary Marxists understand the need to fight racism and national chauvinism and defend the rights of immigrants, as the most vulnerable section of the proletariat, as a *class* question. In the course of the class struggle and as economic need demands, modern capitalism, i.e., imperialism—which extends into all parts of the planet—draws new sources of cheap labor into the lowest layers of the proletariat. These new proletarians are principally immigrants from poorer and less-developed regions of the world—workers with few rights who are deemed more dispensable in times of economic contraction. Thus capitalism creates different strata among the workers in an ongoing fashion, while simultaneously bringing together the workers of many different lands. Abetted by aristocracy-of-labor opportunists, the capitalists everywhere try to poison class consciousness and solidarity among the workers by fomenting religious, national and ethnic divisions. The proletarian vanguard is thus confronted with the necessary task of struggling for the unity and integrity of the working class against chauvinism and racism.

As the majority faction's Perspectives and Tasks document, adopted at the LTF's 17th National Conference, states: "The LTF, section of the ICL, reaffirms its internationalist commitment to fight for revolutions, whose fates are inextricably linked, on both sides of the Mediterranean. We seek to recruit among the second-generation youth, including those who left Algeria as exiles these past few years."

The PRF Against Permanent Revolution

The IG and the PRF talk (a little) about the theory of permanent revolution—i.e., the necessity for a *workers* revolution in economically backward countries oppressed by imperialism and its extension, in order to solve the agrarian question and free these countries from the imperialist yoke. But their class betrayal in Brazil shows that this is only empty rhetoric for them.

Similarly in Mexico, they liquidate the proletariat into a mass of petty-bourgeois sectors behind the bourgeois PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution), pompously rebaptizing it a "popular front." In fact, the Mexican proletariat was historically—and still is—directly subordinated to its own bourgeoisie through "anti-Yankee" bourgeois nationalism, without the intermediary of a workers party as is the case in most European countries. This is the truth the IG wants to hide because of their orientation to anti-Yankee nationalism.

To cover their tracks, the IG/PRF make a big fuss over an erroneous characterization about the Mexican countryside, where we inaccurately spoke of "feudal" remnants in describing the backwardness and oppression there. It would have been more accurate to describe the terrible backwardness of the agrarian masses in Mexico as the heritage of Spanish mercantile capitalism, rather than as "feudal remnants." Trotsky in *The Permanent Revolution* used the term "modern feudalism" to, for example, describe China in the late 1920s. But the reality is that remnants of early capitalism, no longer found in countries like the U.S. or France, do exist alongside the most modern forms of concentrated industrial capitalist exploitation.

This multifaceted reality of capitalist oppression is what the IG/PRF denies, characterizing everything from Mexico to Jospin-Gayssot's France as a "popular front." But if you want to seriously struggle for power you must study the particular forms taken by capitalist oppression. As Trotsky wrote in his preface to the German edition of *The Permanent Revolution*, "In reality, the national peculiarities represent an original combination of the basic features of the world process. This originality can be of decisive significance for revolutionary strategy over a span of many years."

The essence of permanent revolution is the fight for proletarian socialist revolution against bourgeois nationalism in countries of combined and uneven development. The prettification of the bourgeois-nationalist PRD as a "popular front," implying that it has a proletarian component for the IG to capitulate to, betrays the IG's real program of scrapping the application of the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution.

In countries of belated capitalist development, the national bourgeoisie is too weak and too subordinated to imperialism to lead or support a fight to achieve basic democratic tasks like agrarian revolution or genuine national independence. On the contrary, earlier forms of oppression and exploitation are maintained and reinforced by the capitalists and their imperialist masters. In these countries, the tasks previously associated with the victory of bourgeois-democratic revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries can be resolved only through the victory of socialist revolution, as the proletariat emerges as the head of the nation, rallying behind it the most oppressed sections of the peasantry. The indispensable instrument for victory is a revolutionary proletarian party forged through an intransigent struggle to break the working class and toiling masses from illusions in bourgeois nationalism.

As the LTF majority proclaimed in the title of one of its documents, "We Are Still the Party of the Russian Revolution." Against defectors from Trotskyism like the IG/PRF, the ICL is based on "the necessity, as the continuity of the Bolshevik Party, to build the world party of socialist revolution, a reforged Fourth International, with sections struggling to raise the level of consciousness of the proletariat to its historic tasks. For us the Russian question is the party question—a party fighting for the independence of the proletariat, to mobilize it on the basis of its historic interests for the conquest of power." ■

Ireland...

(continued from page 1)

winning its working-class base away from the pro-capitalist misleaders to a revolutionary programme and party. As opposed to reformists like the Socialist Party (SP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and centrists like Workers Power (WP)—who all march in lockstep behind Labour—the SL/B refused to extend an iota of support to Blair's Labour Party in the election.

We gave critical support to Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party (SLP)—recognising that its opposition to Blair represented a crack in Labour's political hold over the workers movement—while opposing the SLP's "old Labour" reformism. While calling for withdrawal of British troops, the SLP accepts the framework of the imperialist "peace" process, which means at bottom placing confidence in the British state to reach a just solution.

When IRA prisoner Bobby Sands died on hunger strike in British imperialism's H-Block prison in 1981, we denounced Tory prime minister Margaret Thatcher and the Labour lackeys—"left" and right—who supported her as "Westminster Butchers" (*Spartacist Britain* No. 32, May 1981). We declared:

> "The British labour movement today bears the brunt of endless vicious attacks by a government seeking to make them pay for the decrepitude of British capitalism. And this is the same government that has unleashed the troops on the population of Northern Ireland. To the labour movement of Britain we say: Black [boycott] all military transport to Northern Ireland! Demand troops out now! Throw out your misleaders who uphold imperialist repression in Ireland just as they betray your own struggles at home!"

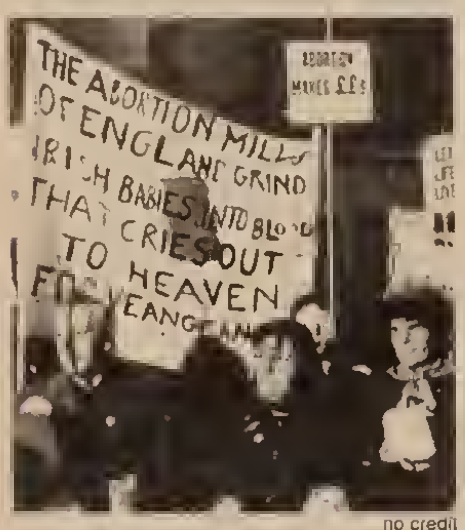
This is no less the case today under Blair. From the time of Karl Marx it has been clear that the struggle of the British workers against the capitalist rulers can only go forward on the basis of firm opposition to imperialist oppression in Ireland.

Workers Hammer

1981 London protest shortly after hunger-strike death of IRA prisoner Bobby Sands. SL/B contingent advanced revolutionary perspective against British imperialist butchers.

No to Forcible Reunification!

Successive Dublin governments, often including the wretched Irish Labour Party, have backed British Army repression in Northern Ireland. The DSG fights for the revolutionary overthrow of the



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Clericalist Irish Republic is viciously anti-women.

clericalist state in the South. We oppose this capitalist state's vicious oppression of workers. In the face of state repression and Youth Defence clerical-fascist terror against abortion rights for women, we call for *free abortion on demand*. As a tribune of the people, we call for defence of Travellers against hideous oppression and attacks by police and vigilante mobs.

If endorsed, as is expected, the Stormont agreement will be taken by the governments in London, Dublin and Belfast as a mandate for intensified repression. Ominously, RUC Chief Constable Ronnie Flanagan has called for increased "security" and "vigilance" in the wake of the deal and "security sources" in the South have warned that the police "response to the peace-breakers will be unprecedented and decisive" (*Irish World*, 17 April). These threats are directed against nationalist groups, leftists, militant workers and anyone deemed to be an opponent of British imperialism, the Orange statelet and the capitalist state in the South. Meanwhile, mass Loyalist mobilisations in the North have grown dramatically since the "peace" process began. Last July, Catholic Garvaghy Road in Portadown was subjected to a massive assault by the British Army and RUC as they cleared the way for a thousand Orangemen to march, flaunting their bloody Union Jacks.

The latest agreement is designed to replace the 1986 Anglo-Irish Accord, a Cold War, pro-NATO deal which granted the Southern state the pretence of a "say" in the running of the North and tried to cajole the Unionists into "power-sharing." In return, Ireland was to provide a base for NATO's war drive against the Soviet Union. That deal saw 100,000 outraged Loyalists marching through Belfast, a big crackdown on the IRA and more British troops in Northern Ireland. The "model" for Northern Ireland today is meant to be the disastrous U.S.-sponsored Near East "peace process" which followed in the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and which has meant increased Zionist terror against the Palestinian people, buttressed by United Nations forces which include Irish troops. We say: Irish/UN troops out of Lebanon! Israel out of the Occupied Territories!

In the South, the referendum to be held in May involves removing Articles 2 and 3 of the constitution, outlining Dublin's claim to the Six Counties. We recognise that in revising these articles Bertie Ahern is stitching up a deal with British imperialism and Ulster Unionism to break the back of the IRA and to cow the Northern Catholics into submission. At the same time, we do not uphold the irredentist nationalist claim of the Dublin bourgeoisie to rule the whole island.

Prior to 1922, revolutionaries opposed partition, striving to cement revolutionary unity in the struggle for independence of all Ireland from British imperialism. However, since partition, which resulted in the consolidation of the bourgeois, clericalist republic in the South and the hardening of communal lines in the North, it is necessary to oppose the forcible reunification of Ireland. The oppressed Catholic minority in the North is geographically interpenetrated with the Protestants, who represent a *distinct community*. As we wrote in "Theses on Ireland":

> "In the case of interpenetrated peoples sharing a common territory, we oppose the exercise of self-determination by one nation where this flatly conflicts with the same right for another nation.... Under capitalism this would simply be a formula for reversing the terms of oppression, for forcible population transfers and expulsions and ultimately genocide. It is a 'solution' repeatedly demonstrated in history, for example in the cases of India/Pakistan, Israel/Palestine and Cyprus....
>
> "Though not yet a nation, the Protestants are certainly not a part of the Irish nation and are distinct from the Scottish and English nations. Presently their separate existence is defined in large part as against the Irish Catholic nation and at the ideological level is expressed in religious terms."

Our call for an Irish workers republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles leaves open what form a democratic resolution of the Protestant question will take under proletarian rule. As proletarian internationalists, we seek to *undercut* legitimate Protestant fears of their being oppressed in an enlarged clericalist state of Ireland—an outcome they would violently resist. Such fears serve to compact the Protestant working class behind Orange demagogues who fuel anti-Catholic Loyalist terror. Within the framework of imperialism, the door is open to a "Bosnian solution" predicated on undoubtedly bloody forced population transfers.

Disillusion with the outcome of the negotiations has fuelled sentiment in the ranks of Sinn Fein and the IRA to renew the armed struggle. Yet the "armed struggle" and "negotiations" are two sides of the same coin, designed to *pressure* the imperialist oppressors. Terrorism as a method of struggle is antithetical to the task of mobilising the proletariat against its imperialist oppressors, of imbuing it with the consciousness of its historic task in sweeping away the murderous capitalist system. Nonetheless, when the IRA strikes a blow against the forces of British imperialism or fascistic Loyalist killers, we defend the perpetrators of such acts against the capitalist state. But we take a fundamentally different attitude to indiscriminate terror, such as the Shankill bombing in Belfast or bombings in British cities. From a proletarian perspective, these are criminal acts which only serve to deepen hatred between Catholic and Protestant, English and Irish workers, expressing the genocidal logic of nationalism.

We fight *for progrommaticolly bosed, onti-sectorion workers militios to combot Oronge and Green terror*. Such militias, integrating Protestant and Catholic workers, would necessarily have to be organised on an internationalist basis, requiring the leadership of cadre of a Leninist vanguard party.

For an Internationalist Proletarian Vanguard Party!

Notwithstanding their occasional "revolutionary" flourishes, that the various reformist and centrist groups in Britain *capitulate* to British imperialism is clear from their unfaltering loyalty to the Labour Party. Both the SP, which spent decades buried inside the Labour Party, and Tony Cliff's British SWP refuse to raise the elementary demand for the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland (which is raised, in the fine print, in the Irish Cliffite press—some "international"!). The Cliffites *cheered* when an earlier Labour government sent the troops in in 1969, lying that this would provide the oppressed Catholics with a "breathing space"! Today the SWP's *Socialist Worker* (18 April) appeals to Blair to carry out his imperialist "peace" deal, whining that the "only way to secure real peace in the future is if the British government stands up to Paisley and confronts the Orangemen."

Particularly given their acceptance of the imperialist presence in the North, the economist "unite and fight" rhetoric pushed by the SWP and the SP is simply a capitulation to the Labourite trade-union bureaucracy and the prejudices of the most backward sections of the working class—i.e., to British imperialism and Orange reaction. The SP are outright apologists for Billy Hutchinson, spokesman for the Progressive Unionist Party, a front for the fascistic Ulster Volunteer Force death squads. In January, both the SP and SWP supported and participated in a Belfast "peace" demonstration sponsored by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions that was in fact an anti-Catholic, pro-Unionist, pro-imperialist mobilisation embracing Hutchinson and British Northern Ireland secretary Mo Mowlam. The SP openly justified attempts to exclude placards protesting Loyalist murders of Catholics, shamelessly calling them "one-sided slogans and sectarian undertones." The Irish *Socialist Worker* (7-20 February) cheered, "ICTU Rallies in the North Show the Way."

For their part, the equally Labour-loyal centrists of Workers Power, while calling for the withdrawal of British troops, tail behind Green nationalism. *Workers Power* (April 1996) argued:

> "We recognise that a progressive solution requires that the working class come to the head of the national struggle. But that does not prevent us from solidarising with those who are fighting for independence under the banner of petit-bourgeois nationalism—i.e. a capitalist united Ireland."

In other words, WP want to yoke the working class into pulling the ox-cart of petty-bourgeois nationalism and the Southern bourgeoisie. Far from combatting the communal divisions within the working class, WP's line can only result in deepening them. Its support to the forcible reunification of Ireland is a recipe for drowning the proletariat in communalist slaughter.

Intervening at an 18 April SP public meeting in Belfast which featured Irish SP parliamentarian Joe Higgins, a DSG spokesman denounced Higgins' stated intent of meeting with the Orange Order. Our comrade noted that this anti-Catholic outfit "was used throughout its history to smash unity of the working class in struggle—in Belfast in 1907, 1912 and especially in 1919 in the crucially important engineering strike. This strike of mainly Protestant workers was led by a Catholic; the defeat of this strike was sealed in blood. The result of this defeat of the working class in struggle laid the basis for the reactionary partition."

The Orange Order worked hand in hand with the British imperialists and the trade-union bureaucracy to smash the 1919 Belfast engineers strike. They were aided in this by the Green nationalists. In its aftermath, Catholic and Protestant shop stewards and strikers were driven out of the shipyards and tens of thousands of Catholics were forced to flee from their homes. Likewise, the mass unemployment marches in the 1930s, which also cut across the sectarian divisions, were countered with massive sectarian mobilisations intended to wipe out the fragile proletarian unity.

The struggle to unite Catholic and Protestant workers around their common class interests will not be an easy one. But there will be no class unity on an economist basis, which accepts the oppression of the Catholic minority, nor without uncompromising combat against the nationalism both of the oppressed and the oppressor. Both the Loyalist chauvinists and the Green nationalists will attempt to sabotage, as they have in the past, any possibility of joint proletarian struggle. On the other hand, through the intervention of a revolutionary-internationalist vanguard, even transitory instances of working-class solidarity can provide the basis for altering the course of the conflict toward a class determination and proletarian revolution.

In any case, there can be no other road to peace and social and national justice in Northern Ireland. The ICL commits itself to the urgent task of forging the revolutionary leadership needed to lead the proletariat in transcending the bitter sectarian hatreds which divide it and struggling in common for socialist revolution and an egalitarian, classless society.■

Australia...

(continued from page 12)

locked out 170 workers while an army of private security thugs invaded Webb Dock in Melbourne. Having kept MUA members at other firms working, on 16 February Coombs called off the Melbourne strike, bowing to an order by the government's arbitration board, the Industrial Relations Commission.

For the past two weeks, Patrick scabs have been loading and unloading ships. That the company has moved almost no cargo on or off the wharves is largely due to the courage and determination of MUA picketers and their supporters. But instead of building mass, militant picket lines, the bureaucrats insist that the MUA pickets are merely "peaceful demonstrations," ordering picketers to sit down in the road to be dragged away by the cops and actually aiding the cops in opening up the lines to let busloads of scabs through. Criminally, the MUA leadership has kept the rest of the union—including the strategic tugboat crews and linesmen—working, even as another major stevedoring company, P&O, is gearing up to go after the MUA.

A solid national strike that shuts down the docks by mobilising not only trade unionists but youth, immigrants and Aborigines is clearly necessary. Heavily based on exports of bulk materials, the Australian economy is highly dependent on the ports, giving dock workers exceptional social power. But, particularly in the face of a government-orchestrated union-busting effort, militancy alone is not enough to win this fight. The ALP-loyal union bureaucrats push the lie that there can be a "partnership" between labour and capital. What is required is a leadership armed with the Marxist understanding that the capitalist state—with its cops and courts—is the *enemy* of the working class and the oppressed.

Spartacist contingent at 1997 Melbourne anti-fascist protest. Unlike Labor-loyal fake left, Marxists fight to split ALP and win working-class base to revolutionary program.

Before the Howard government opened fire on the MUA it prepared its legal arsenal. The Workplace Relations Law makes secondary boycotts and virtually every other key union weapon illegal. It's now even a crime to give money to a strike deemed "illegal"! This anti-union law was drawn up with the help of Cheryl Kernot, a former bourgeois Democrat who is now a star in the ALP. Bowing to the bosses' anti-union laws, MUA and ACTU leaders cry that it is "illegal" for pickets to stop scabs. They also push to *strengthen* the Arbitration system, which for a century has directly tied the unions to the capitalist state and mandates the compulsory settlement of labour disputes in special, supposedly "neutral" courts. The ACTU tops police the workers on behalf of the bosses, helping transform the unions from fighting organisations of labour into auxiliary instruments of the capitalist state for shackling the proletariat.

The union tops' role in this regard was made clear during the February strike at Webb Dock, when the MUA leadership launched a violence-baiting tirade against "political agitators" and banned militant workers from the picket line. In notes for a meeting of the local Trades Hall Council, MUA leaders grotesquely slandered Trotskyists: "Keep control over trots/made people/spies etc." The Labor Party, MUA and ACTU tops are doing everything they can to sacrifice the waterfront workers' struggle in the pursuit of an ALP victory in the federal elections. A Labor government, no less than the Liberal/National Coalition, would be a *capitalist* government committed to enforcing the dictates of the racist exploiters. This is clear not only from the record of the Hawke and Keating governments, but is evident today in Britain, France and Italy, where bourgeois workers parties—either in their own name or in coalition with capitalist parties—are carrying out savage attacks on the working class.

The workers movement has never won a decisive gain by relying on the bosses' laws, courts and Parliament. The strength of the working class lies in its numbers, organisation and discipline, and above all in the fact that through its labour it uniquely makes the wheels of profit turn in capitalist society. We fight for the proletariat to take power through a socialist revolution, replacing the capitalist state with a workers state that expropriates the bourgeoisie.

This was the political consciousness which the American Trotskyists under James P. Cannon brought to bear in leading the 1934 Minneapolis general strike and the successful fight to organise over-the-road truckers, forging the Teamsters as a powerful industrial union. As Cannon explained in *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944):

> "The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions. The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups....
>
> "Therefore they prepared everything from the point of view of class war. They knew that power, not diplomacy, would decide the issue."

Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The stepped-up attacks on the unions and racial minorities are a direct by-product of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the sharpening of interimperialist rivalries. This was seen last October in the U.S. government's outrageous threat to embargo Japanese ships, which in turn was linked to a campaign by U.S. and Japanese shipping companies to cripple the Japanese dockers unions. This only underscores the need for an *internationalist* leadership of the working class, which understands that the main enemy is our "own" capitalist rulers.

While the MUA has a record of carrying out acts of often heroic international solidarity over the years, including protest strikes against the imperialist war in Vietnam, the union leadership has also long carried the torch for Australia's "national interest," i.e., the interest of the capitalist ruling class. At a strike rally at the Fremantle docks on 8 April, one union sign called for "Aussie ships, Aussie cargos." This nationalist line is also promoted by the so-called Communist Party of Australia (CPA—formerly the Socialist Party of Australia), who have long acted as auxiliaries to the chauvinist Laborite bureaucracy. Thus the CPA's *Guardian* featured a photo of a placard reading "Soldiers for wars not for wharves" at the very time Australian troops were being sent to aid the U.S. imperialists' drive to slaughter Iraqi men, women and children.

Chauvinist protectionism is *poison* to workers struggles, fueling xenophobic "White Australia" racism. This was seen in Sydney and Fremantle, as some strikers grotesquely hurled racist epithets at dark-skinned security guards. There is no place in the labour movement for such bigotry. The racist chauvinism fostered by the ALP and the ACTU tops is counterposed to the urgent need to link up with the tens of millions of workers in Indonesia, Thailand, South Korea and throughout the Asian Pacific Rim who are battling imperialist austerity dictates. Whatever their race or ethnic background, the strikebreaking thugs deployed against the MUA are brothers to the cops and prison guards who kill Aboriginal people in custody, lock up immigrant workers in hell-hole detention centres and harass black and immigrant youth on the streets.

As elsewhere around the world, the Australian capitalist rulers use such racist attacks as a wedge to destroy trade-union rights and social welfare programs in their drive to jack up the rate of exploitation. The workers' cause can only go forward in tandem with the struggle against all forms of bigotry and oppression: this was exemplified at the mass Canberra protest in August 1996, when militant unionists came to the defence of Aborigines against racist cop attacks.

We fight for a Leninist vanguard party which would serve as a tribune of the people, championing full citizenship rights for all immigrants and placing the trade unions in the forefront of the defence of Aborigines against the racist onslaught. Combatting the profound anti-woman bigotry that permeates every level of this misogynist society, a class-struggle leadership would mobilise trade unionists to defend abortion rights. Against the retrograde craft-union divisions which have historically meant the exclusion of minorities and women, a revolutionary party would fight for industrial unions and union-run programs to recruit among the oppressed.

The various reformist "socialist" groups which are wedded to Laborism and other forms of class collaboration cannot even conceive of unchaining the power of the working class, because that requires *breaking* the political stranglehold of the "labour lieutenants of capital." Both the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) and the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) offer themselves as tactical advisers to the union tops. The ISO, inveterate supporter of the ALP, hails the call by the Victoria union brass for "solidarity" with the MUA through a one-day protest strike...more than two weeks from now. The DSP calls on the ACTU to launch an "industrial campaign"...as long as it doesn't "inconvenience" the "community" too much. Not surprisingly, the DSP has no problem in calling for votes to the *bourgeois* Democrats!

Unlike these opportunists, the Spartacist League seeks to *split* the Labor Party, winning its working-class base to a revolutionary program to unite all the oppressed behind the proletariat in the struggle for socialist revolution to expropriate the capitalist exploiters. As the *Australasian Spartacist* article on the waterfront struggle stated:

> "By sowing racist division at home and dividing Australian workers from their class brothers and sisters in Asia, the ALP and union tops serve to line up the working class behind the capitalists, including in imperialist wars for markets and spheres of influence. It is the job of a revolutionary vanguard party to introduce communist, i.e., class consciousness, countering the backwardness fostered by the union bureaucracy and by bourgeois society in general. We Trotskyists fight for a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia."

Victory to the MUA! Smash the union-busters! Those who labour must rule! ■

Spartacist League of Australia Forum

Capitalist Rulers Wage War on Waterfront Workers

Victory to the MUA!
Bust the Union-Busters!

Friday, May 1, 7 pm
AMWU Council Room, 1st Floor
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SYDNEY

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WORKERS VANGUARD

War on the Waterfront

AP

Financial Times

Sydney: Dock workers face cop attack on picket lines as they fight to defeat union-busting assault.

Smash Bosses' Union-Busting Offensive in Australia!

SYDNEY, April 20—From Melbourne and Sydney on Australia's eastern coast to the Indian Ocean port of Fremantle, the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) is fighting a battle for its very existence. Backed up by the full power of the capitalist state and the right-wing Liberal/National coalition government of Prime Minister John Howard, the waterfront bosses are carrying out long-prepared plans to destroy one of the country's most powerful and militant unions.

Late on the night of 7 April, Patrick Stevedores sacked their entire unionised workforce at ports around the country. In a coordinated military operation, hundreds of black-uniformed security guards with attack dogs swarmed onto the docks. One unionist reported: "They jumped into the forklift cabins, grabbed the drivers and said turn the lifts off, you've been sacked." A Queensland docker called it "a military-style junta." Within hours, some 2,000 MUA members had been thrown out of work, their jobs taken by scabs.

The next day, construction workers in Sydney—many of them Maoris and Pacific Islanders—walked off the job in solidarity. As picket lines including MUA members, their wives and other supporters went up at the ports, the government deployed armies of baton-wielding riot cops. On 15 April, Patrick was forced to suspend its operations in Newcastle, citing "fears for the safety of its new non-union workforce" (Reuters, 15 April). Two days ago in Melbourne, the country's largest container port, a mobilisation of hundreds of cops failed to clear some 3,000 MUA members and supporters who occupied rail lines and roadways to keep trucks and trains from the Patrick docks. Today, a thousand building workers joined the picket line in Melbourne, while 70 truckers tied up rush hour traffic by parking their rigs along a main road. Now the Victoria Supreme Court has issued a draconian strikebreaking injunction barring any pickets within 200 metres of the key Melbourne docks, while the cops are preparing two prison facilities to hold arrested picketers.

The outpouring of support for the MUA indicates a widespread sense that a defeat for this union, in what is the last closed-shop industry in the country, would greatly embolden the capitalist rulers' drive against all unions. But the evident determination to defeat the union-busters is being sapped from within by the pro-capitalist Australian Labor Party (ALP) and trade-union misleaders. With federal elections likely later this year, the *Australian* (13 April) reports that the ALP tops are directing the unions to "limit disruptive and violent industrial action as far as possible for fear of alienating voters."

The Australian Congress of Trade Unions (ACTU) has now vowed to defy the court injunction. ***That is absolutely necessary.*** But ACTU president Jennie George earlier declared that the union misleaders would not be "provoked" into an "all-out war" (*Australian*, 13 April). And the MUA leadership has worked to keep this crucial battle within the straitjacket of the bosses' anti-union laws—many of them introduced by ALP governments—and appeals to the capitalist courts.

The attack on the MUA is only the latest in a series of attempts by the shipping bosses and capitalist governments around the world—from Liverpool to Manila—to "rationalise" the industry. Thus, a defeat here would lead to escalated attacks on dock workers everywhere, particularly in Japan where the shipping companies are intent on smashing union controls over shifts and working conditions. Railing that "the MUA accounts for 25 per cent of all worldwide dock disputes" and has a "working-class mystique that in Britain once surrounded the miners," the London *Financial Times* (17 April) clamoured to "resolve" the dispute "on terms that remove the MUA's closed shop and leave Australia more competitive."

The capitalists' screaming for the blood of the MUA should be a clarion call for genuine international labour solidarity action. But union bureaucrats from Tokyo to San Francisco have offered nothing more than token protests at Australian consulates to plead with the strikebreaking Howard government. And the London-based International Transport Federation (ITF) has used legalistic excuses to refuse to mobilise real union power, such as "blacking"—refusing to handle—struck cargo from Australia.

As the showdown with the waterfront bosses loomed, MUA leader John Coombs promised defeat in advance, wailing, "When governments attack us they inevitably win" (*Australian*, 26 March). ***This strike can be won.*** But that requires a political struggle against the class-collaborationism of the ALP/ACTU tops. As the Spartacist League of Australia wrote in the current issue of *Australasian Spartacist* (No. 163, Autumn 1998), which has been well-received by strikers from Melbourne to Perth: "The first step to victory is to understand exactly what the MUA is up against: the capitalists and what revolutionary Marxist Friedrich Engels termed their 'executive committee'—the state." We stressed:

> "To take on and *defeat* this government-orchestrated union-busting requires a serious, politically organised *class-struggle* fight. The class-collaborationist union tops are joined at the hip to the ALP who necessarily rule for the bosses. Fighting under these misleaders is like fighting with both hands tied behind your back: workers need a class-struggle leadership imbued with the understanding that the interests of workers and capitalists are irreconcilably counterposed. A revolutionary workers party, able to lead all of capitalism's exploited and oppressed, is the crucial instrument for victory not only in this struggle, but in the battle to do away with the profit system once and for all."

ALP, ACTU Tops Push "Partnership" with Capital

Howard came to power in 1996 vowing to crush the MUA and to intensify racist repression. Now he hopes to impose a stinging defeat on the union to kick off a racist re-election campaign which is also aimed at furthering the government's attack on Aboriginal land rights. Howard's attacks were prepared by the ALP governments of Bob Hawke and Paul Keating, which oversaw the loss of thousands of jobs on the wharves and carried out the destruction of the airline pilots union and the militant Builders Labourers Federation. This went hand in hand with the escalation of racist attacks against immigrants and Aborigines.

Everyone knew that a showdown between the waterfront workers and the Howard government was coming. For nearly a year, the government and maritime bosses have staged one anti-union provocation after another in the name of "waterfront reform." A brazen attempt to use scabs on the Cairns docks in Queensland last September was turned back by the union. Then in December, details emerged of a sinister plan to train former Australian military and police personnel in the Arabian port of Dubai to work the waterfront. The scab mercenaries were hired by the "Fynwest" outfit, which is run by two former Special Air Service commandos. In the face of a threatened ITF boycott, the government of the United Arab Emirates pulled the plug on the scheme, cancelling the Australians' visas.

On 28 January, the Patrick bosses

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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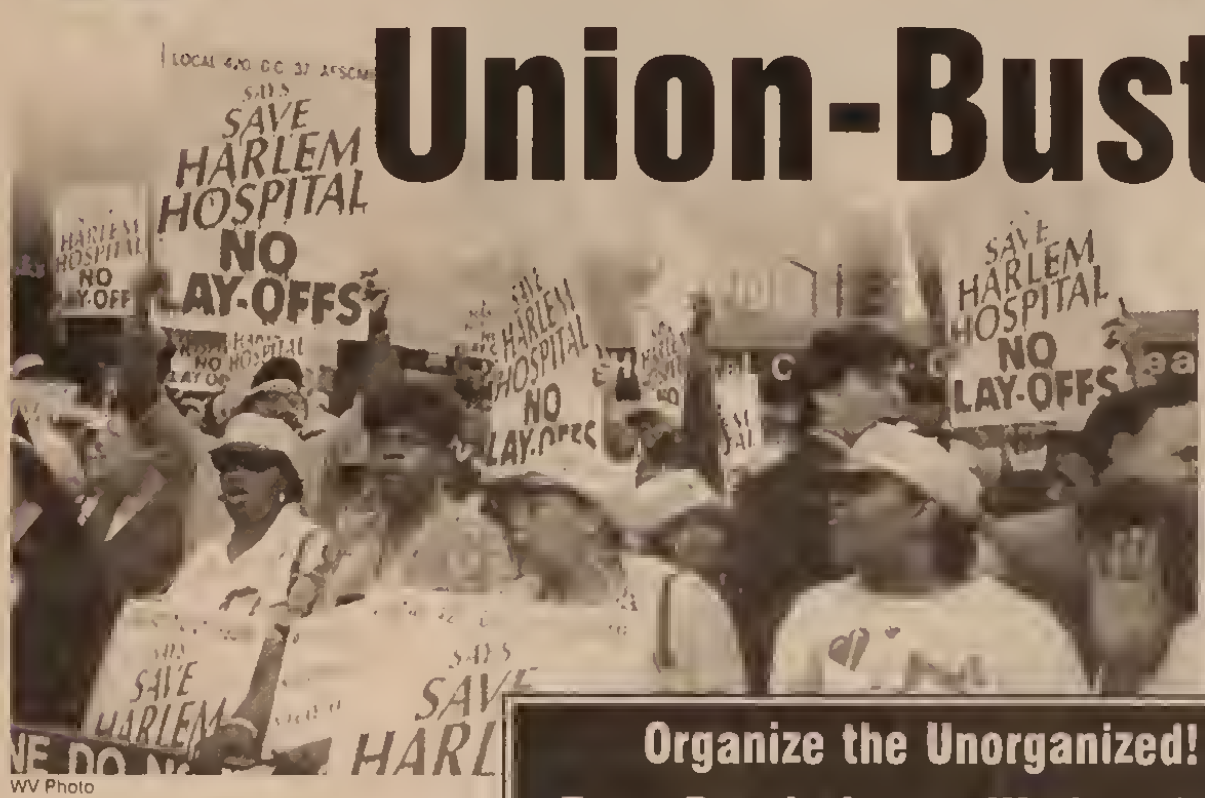
No. 690 8 May 1998

Millions Consigned to Starvation, Homelessness

Workfare: Slave Labor Union-Busting



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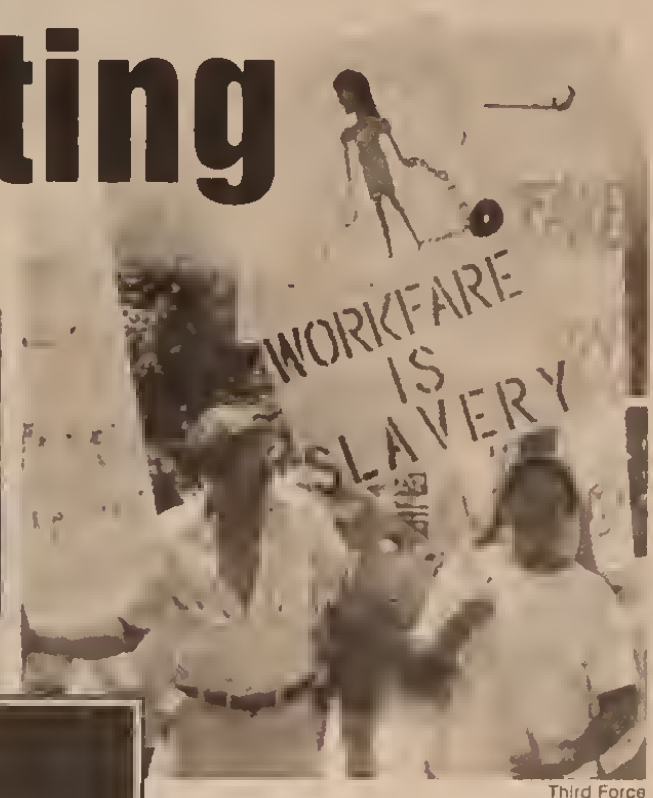

Third Force

April 1: Harlem Hospital workers protest as Mayor Giuliani tries to force welfare recipients to replace them. Right: Protest by Milwaukee group against "workfare."

Organize the Unorganized!
For a Revolutionary Workers Party Which Champions the Cause of All the Oppressed!

Looking down on its subjects from its plush, leather-couched offices, the American capitalist class is gloating over the "success" of the bipartisan "welfare reform" signed by Democratic president Clinton in 1996. Hundreds of thousands have been forced into slave-labor "workfare," replacing unionized municipal workers. Some two million more have been purged from the welfare rolls entirely, left to die through starvation, hypothermia or medical neglect. Flush with record profits on Wall Street and imperialist triumphalism over the "death of communism," the capitalist rulers are intent on rolling the clock back to the days before mass industrial unions and social welfare programs.

Spokesmen for the bourgeoisie no longer even pretend that the aim of "welfare reform" is to move the unemployed poor into jobs that pay a living wage. In Mississippi, whose legacy of Jim Crow segregation has left it the country's poorest state, a recent five-county study projected one available job for every 254 families thrown off welfare. The "solution" offered by the state's "human services" director is to hark back to the vast westward migration of impoverished dirt farmers during the Great Depression of the 1930s: "If you've seen 'The Grapes of Wrath,' that's what it was all about."

And in the world financial capital of New York City, Republican mayor Giuliani prates about the "ennobling" experience of "workfare." Of the 30 percent cut off welfare in the past three years, not even one in three manages to make $100 in their first three months off the rolls. Many of the rest have been drafted into a huge slave-labor force to replace unionized city workers. Ten years ago, the Health Department building had 20 salaried maintenance workers; by 1995 it had three—and 50 "workfare" participants who make as little as $62 for a 24-hour

continued on page 5

Germany: Mass Unemployment, Kohl/SPD Racism Fuel Fascist Growth

Stop the Nazis Through Worker/Immigrant Mobilizations!

MAY 2—Hard on the heels of the biggest electoral victory ever scored by fascists in postwar Germany, thousands of blackshirted Nazis stormed through the streets of Leipzig yesterday. Organized by the National Democratic Party (NPD), this was one of the largest fascist marches in Germany in decades. Emboldened by racist assaults on immigrants and asylum seekers by Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic (CDU) government and the "opposition" Social Democrats (SPD), a range of Nazi organizations have registered ominous growth by capitalizing on massive unemployment and despair particularly among youth in eastern Germany. In a special *Spartakist* (27 April) supplement, some 1,500 of which were sold to anti-fascist protesters and trade unionists in Leipzig and elsewhere, the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), German section of the International Communist League, motivated

continued on page 7

Reuters

Leipzig, May 1: Cops arrest anti-Nazi protesters.

Protest Murder of Leftists in Iraqi Kurdistan!

ICL Statement

The following is a statement of solidarity with the Worker-Communist Party (WCP) of Iraq and Iran by the International Communist League in response to the murders of WCP Politburo member Shapoor Abdul-Kadir and Kabil Adil, a member of its Kurdistan Leadership Committee. The statement, initially issued in slightly different form on April 23 by the Trotskyist League of Canada, has been distributed at WCP memorial meetings in Toronto and Vancouver, as well as in Sydney, Australia and Cologne, Germany. ICL spokesmen were also invited to address these meetings.

An April 23 statement by the Politburo of the WCP of Iraq indicated that these assassinations were the result of murderous *fatwas* (edicts) by Islamic reactionaries in Iraqi Kurdistan "against communists and militant women and youth." The WCP statement noted: "The Islamists' target is not only our party, but this terrorism is an attempt to create an atmosphere of horror, to intimidate women, freedom-loving and civilised people of Kurdistan."

Reactionary Islamic terror sharply escalated throughout the region following the Khomeiniite "Iranian revolution" in 1979, which was supported by virtually every left group internationally and in Iran. As a Trotskyist League spokesman noted in his greetings to the Toronto memorial meeting:

> "This so-called revolution opened up a period of ascendant political Islam in the historically Muslim world, a development which contributed to and was powerfully reinforced by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. Khomeini's seizure and consolidation of power in Iran was similar to Hitler's crushing of the German proletariat in 1933, albeit on a narrower, regional scale. The International Communist League's slogan 'Down with the Shah! No support to the mullahs!' and our focus on the woman question—as in our slogan 'No to the veil!'—stood in sharp opposition to the rest of the left's capitulation to mullah-led reaction."

* * *

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) denounces the brutal assassination of leaders of the Worker-Communist Party of Iraq in Arbil, Iraqi Kurdistan, on April 18. These anti-communist killings by the so-called "Islamic Movement" are aimed against all fighters for the liberation of workers and the oppressed, in Iraq and around the world. We express our solidarity with the WCP of Iraq against these bloody murders.

WCP photos

Kabil Adil and Shapoor Abdul-Kadir (far right), Worker-Communist Party of Iraq leaders assassinated by Islamic reactionaries on April 18.

The Islamic Movement is a vicious enemy of the oppressed. Like other forces of Islamic reaction—from the ruling Taliban in Afghanistan to the Islamic Republic of Iran—it attacks workers, leftists and women with brutal terror. The Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), which controls Arbil and much of Iraqi Kurdistan, is also an enemy of the working people, just like its petty-bourgeois competitor, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. The KDP nationalists even support the murderous air strikes by Turkey on Iraqi Kurdistan, part of Ankara's war of annihilation against the nationalist Kurdish Workers Party (PKK).

We Trotskyists defend the Kurdish people against all their oppressors, and call for a socialist republic of united Kurdistan. But we emphasize that this requires joint revolutionary struggle with the Arab, Turkish, Persian and other workers of the region against their

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TROTSKY

The Social Democracy and the Fight Against Fascism

LENIN

Where the centrist and reformist organizations in Germany look to the Social Democrats (SPD), Trotskyists fight for worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash the growing fascist menace. This requires intransigent political struggle against the Social Democratic class traitors, who are sworn to the defense of the capitalist order and fear above all the independent mobilization of the working class. In fighting to build a revolutionary vanguard party by splitting the SPD's working-class base from its pro-capitalist misleaders, the Spartakist Workers Party, German section of the International Communist League, bases itself on an understanding of the treacherous role of the Social Democracy laid out by Leon Trotsky before Hitler's rise to power.

The decay of capitalism results in social and cultural decomposition. The road is barred for further normal differentiation within nations, for the further growth of the proletariat at the expense of the diminution of intermediate classes. Further prolongation of the crisis can bring in its trail only the pauperization of the petty bourgeoisie and the transformation of ever larger groups of workers into the lumpenproletariat. In its most acute form, it is this threat that grips advanced capitalist Germany by the throat.

The rottenest portion of putrefying capitalist Europe is the Social Democratic bureaucracy. It entered upon its historical journey under the banner of Marx and Engels. It set for its goal the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie. The powerful upsurge of capitalism caught it up and dragged it in its wake. In the name of reform, the Social Democracy betrayed the revolution, at first by its actions and later by its words....

The war came. The Social Democracy supported the war in the name of future prosperity. Instead of prosperity, decay set in. Now the task no longer consisted in deducing from the inadequacy of capitalism the necessity for revolution, nor in reconciling the workers to capitalism by means of reforms. The new task of the Social Democracy now consisted in making society safe for the bourgeoisie at the cost of sacrificing reforms.

But even this was not the last stage of degeneracy. The present crisis that is convulsing capitalism obliged the Social Democracy to sacrifice the fruits achieved after protracted economic and political struggles and thus to reduce the German workers to the level of existence of their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers. There is no historical spectacle more tragic and at the same time more repulsive than the fetid disintegration of reformism amid the wreckage of all its conquests and hopes.

—Leon Trotsky, "What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat" (January 1932)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is May 5.

No. 690 **8 May 1998**

L.A. Cop Vendetta Against RCP

In an attack on the left and all opponents of anti-immigrant racism, on March 18 the Los Angeles Police Department arrested two people distributing *Revolutionary Worker*, newspaper of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), at an immigrant rights demonstration called by the L.A. Coalition Centroamericana. The arrests bore the sinister mark of the LAPD's "Anti-Terrorism Division," the "red squad" whose particular purpose is to target leftist "subversives" for surveillance, harassment and worse. Such functions are in the very nature of the capitalist police, whose role is to enforce the rule of the exploiters against workers and the oppressed.

The arrest of the RCP supporters coincides with the "Operation Buttonhole" dragnet being carried out by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in Los Angeles. In the past month alone, the INS has raided dozens of garment factories, arresting and deporting hundreds of workers. One worker who jumped from a window to escape the racist thugs of *la migra* is now in INS custody while being hospitalized. The March 18 arrests demonstrate that the capitalist government seeks to criminalize not only immigrants but also those who would defend them. Down with *migra* terror! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

The arrests fit a long pattern of LAPD attacks on the RCP. The cops had undoubtedly been smarting from a recent setback, when charges were dismissed against the "Nickerson 7"—participants in an RCP-initiated protest at a housing project in Watts which was attacked by the cops. But while building protests against cop repression, such as the annual October 22 "National Day of Protest to Stop Police Brutality," the RCP promotes the illusion that cop terror and the whole "power structure" can be stopped by turning "our communities into strongholds of resistance" (*Revolutionary Worker*, 26 October 1997). This denies the basic Marxist understanding that state violence is fundamental to this racist capitalist system and will only be ended through socialist revolution. To fight against "police brutality" without this understanding can only mean reformist and utopian schemes to "clean up" the police.

Below we print a May 4 letter protesting the cop vendetta against the RCP sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to Los Angeles city attorney James K. Hahn.

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee staunchly condemns the repeated harassment and subsequent arrest of immigrant rights activists at the March 18 "March for Permanent Residency" in Los Angeles. Carlos Soto and Betsy Brines, supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party, were plucked out of the march and arrested on false charges of "creating a disturbance" simply for their distribution of the RCP's newspaper, *Revolutionary Worker*. While they were in custody, the police officers made clear the politically repressive character of the arrests, ostentatiously pulling up computer files on the arrestees' past political activities and associations. One officer made a veiled death threat, stating, "I love this country and I am willing to die for it and I would kill anybody that ever is a threat to its stability."

The arrests are in the long tradition of heavy-handed police repression in Los Angeles targeting labor leaders, black militants and immigrants. The case of former Black Panther Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), whose conviction was overturned last year after 27 years of prison hell, showed the complicity of the LAPD with the FBI in racist political frame-ups. In 1983, the LAPD "Public Disorders Unit," subject of a lawsuit and scandal for massive spying operations on leftists and others, was replaced by an "Anti-Terrorism Division" which has carried on its functions. The rollback last October of restrictions on the "Anti-Terrorism Division" imposed in a 1984 court settlement gave a green light for police repression.

Drop the charges against Carlos Soto and Betsy Brines! Hands off leftists and immigrant rights protesters!

Steve Bull
for the PDC

Legacy of 1991 Desert Slaughter

Iraq Cancer Epidemic Made in U.S.A.

The U.S.-led imperialist slaughter during the 1990-91 Persian Gulf War led to the deaths of tens of thousands of Iraqis. More than a million others, including well over 600,000 children, have died since that time through starvation and disease—a direct result of economic sanctions dictated by Washington and imposed by the United Nations. What has been suppressed in the American media is that thousands of Iraqis have been killed in a cancer epidemic which has ravaged the country since the imperialist onslaught. An article in the London *Independent* (4 March), one of a series of recent exposés in British newspapers and television news programs, reported:

> "Seven years after the end of the Gulf war, a nightmare 'epidemic' of leukemia and stomach cancer is claiming the lives of thousands of Iraqi civilians who live near the former war zone, including children so young that they were not even born when hostilities ended. Iraqi doctors in the southern city of Basra have recorded a four-fold increase in cancer—especially among young children—since 1991."

An extensive report by Hugh Livingstone on "Depleted Uranium in the Gulf," posted on the Internet by London's "Edge Gallery," also documented a sharp rise in birth defects, meningitis, breast cancer in young women and male infertility. A doctor at a Baghdad hospital noted that many of the birth defects, including truncated limbs, were of the sort not seen since the 1950s, when thalidomide was widely used by pregnant women. "We don't know what they have dropped on us," she exclaimed. Another doctor in Basra told the *Independent*, "We rarely saw these types of tumours before the war."

The ravages of these diseases have been accentuated by the UN blockade. Many cancer patients lie helplessly in "wards of death" in Iraqi hospitals, deprived by UN sanctions of the equipment and drugs needed for the bone marrow transplants or chemotherapy that might save their lives. The imperialist embargo has so devastated the country's economy, including what was once a relatively modern health care system, that even those few medications which are available are out of reach of much of the population. One father explained that he had sold his car in order to pay for cytotoxins for his dying daughter which cost the equivalent of three months' wages. We say: ***Down with the imperialist starvation blockade!***

While the precise causes of this wave of cancer and other diseases have not been pinpointed, they are clearly related to the U.S./UN imperialist war seven years ago. A disproportionate number of the new cancer cases come from Basra and other towns directly to the east of the area in southern Iraq which was bombarded for weeks and then overrun by U.S. forces. This was the grisly site of the "highway of death," where U.S. troops and planes gunned down thousands of fleeing Iraqis. Clearly, the U.S. onslaught poisoned the soil, air and water in this area. "There are canals as well as farms throughout this area," noted an Iraqi doctor.

Robert Fisk

Five-year-old Iraqi girl dying from leukemia. Cancer epidemic triggered by 1991 U.S. military onslaught has claimed thousands of lives.

Langevin/Sygma

The imperialist rape of Iraq left a multitude of possible causes of widespread disease. The massive U.S. bombing virtually destroyed the country's infrastructure—power generators, water pipes and purification plants. The destruction of industrial installations released millions of gallons of noxious pollutants into the atmosphere and water—fuel oil, sulfuric acid, insecticides, ammonia and other chemicals. And the bombardment of hundreds of oil wells produced vast clouds of toxic gases. Meanwhile, the starvation blockade has reduced the average diet to a daily intake of slightly over 2,000 calories, the bare minimum for physical survival. It has also meant that water pumps and purification plants damaged or destroyed by U.S. bomb and missile attacks have not been repaired, causing widespread contamination of the drinking supply and accelerating the spread of disease.

Doctors and researchers investigating the cancer epidemic have pointed to one factor in particular: the use by U.S. and British troops, for the first time in the history of warfare, of shells made of depleted uranium (DU), a toxic radioactive waste product with a density 2.5 times that of steel. DU shells erupt in flames on impact, penetrating tanks and other armored vehicles. Radioactive dust then settles on the ground or is spread by the wind, contaminating soil, water and crops. In a May 1996 report to the UN Center for Human Rights, the Iraqi government declared that such shells had caused "widespread contamination of the environment in Iraq and human suffering to which not only the present generation but also the future generations will be subjected."

The U.S. itself acknowledged in a May 1991 Defense Department report that these weapons would have "adverse impacts on human health, primarily through the water pathway." The Pentagon has sought to cover up its use of depleted uranium shells in the Gulf War. But various international agencies estimate that anywhere from ***300 to 700 tons*** of DU shells were fired on Iraq in a matter of weeks. U.S. officials cynically claim that depleted uranium emits no more radiation than "a 1950s t.v. set," but this ignores the fact that once ingested, uranium remains permanently in the body.

The American ruling class has whipped up a frenzy about Iraq's supposed weapons of mass destruction. Earlier this year, the U.S. threatened to bomb Iraq yet again, supposedly in order to force Saddam Hussein to allow UN "weapons inspectors" free rein in looking for chemical and biological weapons. Yet U.S. imperialism maintains not only the world's largest nuclear arsenal but enormous stores of chemical and biological weapons as well. And the U.S. is the only country to have used nuclear weapons in wartime, incinerating over 200,000 people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. During the dirty, losing imperialist war in Vietnam, in which upwards of two million people were slaughtered, the U.S. carried out massive chemical warfare. Huge amounts of napalm were dropped on the population while thousands of gallons of Agent Orange, a toxic defoliant, were sprayed in the countryside, leaving a legacy of cancer and birth defects among inhabitants of those regions.

The horrendous slaughters perpetrated by the U.S. and other imperialist powers in the course of this century underscore the stark choice posed by the great revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg: that in this epoch of decaying capitalism, the alternative is socialism or barbarism. The death and destruction rained on the Iraqi population in 1991 and in subsequent missile attacks represent an attempt by the U.S. to assert control of the region through projecting its military power. Behind this lies the intensification of interimperialist competition in the wake of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, which has led to a renewed scramble among the three major powers—the U.S., Japan and Germany—to redivide markets and spheres of exploitation.

This points out the inherently rapacious and murderous nature of the imperialist system. Since the consolidation of the major imperialist powers toward the end of the 19th century, they have carried out a seemingly endless string of bloody wars and military interventions in Latin America, Africa and Asia, aimed at keeping colonies and nominally independent semicolonies under their jackboot. And the competition among the rival capitalist powers has culminated in two interimperialist world wars which have wreaked untold destruction and death.

During the Gulf War and the subsequent attacks against Iraq, the International Communist League forthrightly called for military defense of Iraq against imperialist attack. The Spartacist League fights to forge the revolutionary vanguard party needed to lead the multiracial U.S. proletariat in a socialist revolution which sweeps away this racist imperialist bourgeoisie and puts an end to its global reign of terror. ■

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Young Spartacus

Trotskyist League Debates Vancouver Anarchists

Maple Leaf Eco-Freaks

We reprint below a report by a comrade from the Trotskyist League of Canada/Ligue Trotskyste du Canada on a March 26 debate in Vancouver.

The Vancouver branch of the Trotskyist League was invited by the "Left Unity Caucus" of the "International of Hope" (or IHOP, as we call it) to participate in a panel-style debate consisting of "three local Marxists" and "three local anarchists." The audience numbered about 80 people, mostly youth, almost all "anarchists." The debate period was very raucous, and all of our floor speakers were heckled. We clearly polarized the meeting, turning it into a debate centrally over three questions: Quebec, "Copwatch" and Afghanistan, with the underlying theme the necessity for a Leninist vanguard party.

Jaggi Singh—whom readers of *Spartacist Canada* (No. 115, Winter 1997/98) will recognize as having called on the racist Canadian state to arrest Indonesian president Suharto for "war crimes" upon his visit to Canada for the APEC summit last November—spoke first for the anarchists. He asserted that the anarchists were the genuine communists and the debate was really between anarcho- and "totalitarian"-communists. He railed against the Leninist "glorification of work" (read, recognition that the working class is the only revolutionary class), its "cult of ideology" (recognition that there is no revolutionary practice without revolutionary theory), "faith in industry" (opposition to capitalism's gutting of industry along with general pro-science attitudes) and belief in a "necessary stage of capitalism," while saying Marxism was "anti-scientific" and anarchism was "class-based."

William Kay of the "Left Unity Caucus" spoke next for the "Leninists." (This guy is a real political chameleon; if one of the anarchists had gotten sick, he certainly would have filled in.) His speech was primarily a mating call for "uniting" the various "Marxists" in Vancouver into one party and for "building bridges with the anarchists." He also distorted Marxism by saying that we would need a state after the revolution—presumably into the indefinite future—not to fight counterrevolution, but to coordinate economic planning. Marxists, however, believe that the proletariat "needs only a state which is withering away" (Lenin, *The State and Revolution*) and then "the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production" (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*).

Sarah S. spoke next as a "feminoanarchist." The highlights were that she said "modernism has ended," which meant that workers revolution in Canada is "not viable" and that Marxism has been stagnant and unable to keep up with changes in society. So, she said, Marxism can't deal with women's and racial oppression and that Marxism portrays special oppression as a "side issue." Next, Native peoples better, which is a typical excuse for the rad-libs here to capitulate to Anglo chauvinism. One funny story is that, in response to a point from a TL comrade that we seek to intervene into the proletariat, as opposed to among bears and wolves, the environmentalist speaker heatedly responded that whales and other mammals had self-consciousness, "use rudimentary technology" and generally "compose distinct nations" (as opposed to the Québecois, I guess).

We had only ten minutes to make four points: 1) why the working class is central; 2) the need for a vanguard party; 3) the Marxist understanding of the state vs. the anarchists and the "fake left" who supported counterrevolution in East Europe and capitulate to the social-democratic New Democratic Party at home; 4) that the Stalinists led the counterrevolutions in East Europe and the Soviet Union in the late 1980s and early '90s and today threaten to do the same in China, Cuba; we fight for new October Revolutions. At the point where our speaker turned to the two self-styled "Marxists" to take them out, there was general laughter among the anarchos in the audience since the "Marxists" were supposed to stick to debating the anarchists, but everyone in the crowd knew the "Sparts" wouldn't miss an opportunity to blast "their fellow Leninists."

The debate from the floor was 57 varieties of anarchism vs. the TL, especially after we rocked the room with our presentation from the floor on Afghanistan (there was nothing in the other two "Marxist" presentations, which were totally toothless and liberal, for the anarchos to object to). A TL comrade got up and contrasted our hailing of the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan, where the Red Army defended women's rights against the CIA-backed *mujahedin*, against Sarah S.'s defense of feminism and the anarchists' denunciation of "Soviet imperialism." Also, a young woman TL comrade made a very powerful intervention on why Marxists fight for Quebec independence, pointing out the need for a Leninist party to fight against national oppression. In response, Sarah S. baited her by asking why she wasn't the speaker on the panel for the TL, as opposed to a man, and whether it was because she was "lower down on the hierarchy" than the men. Our comrade jumped back up and hollered out that she had total faith in *all* her comrades to defend our revolutionary line. Sarah S. looked appropriately sheepish.

Comrades made points in the discussion on the "Copwatch" organization with its strategy of "policing the police," which is supported by anarchists, and showed why it breeds illusions in the reformability of the capitalist state. Our speakers also took out illusions that the racist Canadian federal government would defend Native peoples' rights. The point was made, against the anarchists who denounce capitalists and communists "evenhandedly," that defending the anti-Soviet 1921 Kronstadt revolt and Mahkno's anti-Semitic bands means, in practice, siding with the White Army against the Russian Revolution; opposing Quebec independence means siding with the Anglo-chauvinist Canadian bourgeoisie.

In his summary, the TL speaker spoke to how many anarchists—like Alfred Rosmer and Victor Serge—were won over to communism by the example of the Russian Revolution and how the state would wither away through the international extension of the revolution. The USec supporter made a few capitulatory points on "socialist feminism" and William Kay sided with Bakunin against Marx that "revolutionary will" was more important than a material basis for socialism. All in all, a good time was had by all comrades, and the debate turned into a hot topic in the "radical" milieu in Vancouver overnight. We succeeded in making the point, against the anarchist polemics against "vanguardism," that, as the TL speaker said:

> "History is full of examples like Spain in the 1930s and France in May 1968, where potential opportunities for revolution were betrayed and defeated only because of the lack of a party. Yet the anarchists are hostile to the very idea of a vanguard party, and thus doom the workers to defeat after defeat."■

Spartacist Canada

Trotskyist League contingent at Toronto anti-fascist protest, April 1993.

Spartacist
(English edition)

No. 54
Spring 1998
$2 (48 pages)

Spartacist is sent to all *WV* subscribers.

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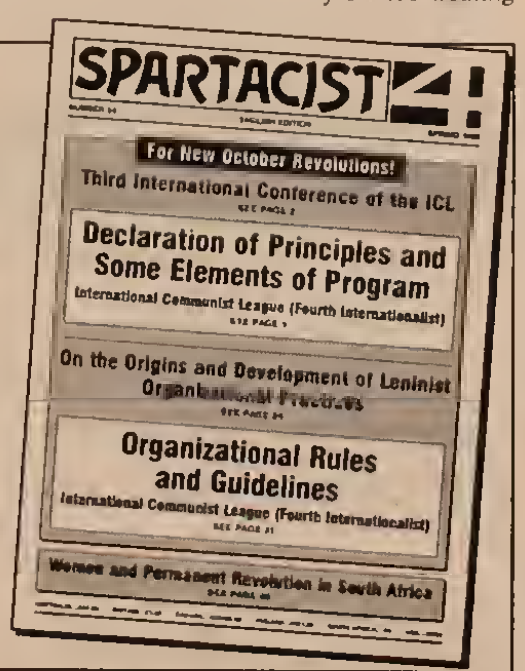

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Workfare...

(continued from page 1)

week. The Parks Department had nearly 2,800 workers in 1990; now it has barely a third of that, the void filled by over 6,000 "workfare" recipients.

The multitudes thus far affected are only the tip of the iceberg; as the time limits on welfare benefits expire, countless more will be thrown onto the streets. From racist pig Giuliani to black Democrat Willie Brown in San Francisco, the big-city mayors have unleashed brutal cop terror to roust homeless people from subways, parks and alleys, even arresting those who feed the homeless. The capitalists don't care if the largely black or Hispanic women and children deprived of any life line die, as long as yuppies dining al fresco aren't subjected to this "eyesore."

The destruction of welfare is part of an all-sided assault on the living standards of workers and minorities, conditioned by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the abject refusal of the trade-union tops to lift a finger in defense of their membership, much less of the masses of unorganized workers and oppressed. From Wall Street to Tokyo to Berlin, the imperialist rulers are in a heated race to increase their competitive edge on the world market by driving down wages and destroying hard-won union gains.

In racist America, class exploitation has always been wrapped in the envelope of raw racism: the percentage of blacks living below the official poverty line is more than triple what it is for whites. Today, the desperate conditions of life—rotten schools and rotting housing, no health care, low-wage jobs—that were visited first on blacks and immigrant workers are increasingly a reality for the working class as a whole. The expansion of "workfare" and forcing millions off welfare will further decimate the overwhelmingly black and Hispanic inner cities and drive down wages overall even more.

The defense of even the most basic necessities of life for the mass of the population—employment, education, health care, housing—requires the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed. As revolutionary Marxists, we fight against the destruction of welfare and other social programs benefiting the working class and poor. But our goal is not to reintroduce programs that were designed to simply sustain the unemployed in permanent poverty. Ours is the fight for a proletarian socialist revolution and the establishment of an egalitarian, planned economy where everyone will have a place in social and economic life.

Union Tops: Low-Wage Labor Contractors

Perhaps nowhere is the human cost of "welfare reform" so glaring as in New York City. "Tough Workfare Rules Used As Way to Cut Welfare Rolls," headlined the *New York Times* (13 April) in one of a series of recent articles. Giuliani has made it clear that he intends to make even deeper cuts in the municipal workforce as his slave-labor program expands. His new "human resources" administrator is Jason Turner, the architect of the Wisconsin plan hailed by Clinton as a model for the nation. In 1996 alone, 25,000 were dropped from the Wisconsin rolls. Only 34 percent of those found full-time jobs, while barely 15 percent have incomes over the poverty line. Not unexpectedly, homelessness in Milwaukee jumped 30 percent in the winter of 1996-97.

In New York, the racist rulers' war on the poor—whether under Giuliani or his black Democratic predecessor, David Dinkins—has meant "gentrified" surroundings for Wall Street yuppies and sidewalk cardboard "homes" for the dispossessed, with a thick blue line of racist, trigger-happy cops to keep the ghetto and barrio masses in line. Many minority working families spend half or more of their income on increasingly exorbitant rents. And a new study reports that over a quarter of all black families, and an even higher proportion of Hispanic immigrants, live in apartments which are rat-infested or have no kitchen or bathroom. As essential infrastructure is allowed to crumble, barely a week goes by without some pedestrian being maimed or killed by falling brickwork, including from ramshackle school buildings. Yet while applauding Republican governor Pataki's recent veto of $500 million for school construction, Giuliani is promoting a $1 billion handout to convicted felon George Steinbrenner to build a luxurious new stadium for the Yankees in Manhattan.

Over 6,000 people in New York City are already cut off welfare every month simply on the basis of technicalities, adding to the more than 320,000 who have been set adrift in the past few years. Meanwhile, the unionized jobs in municipal hospitals, offices and sanitation which once provided one of the only avenues to a decent livelihood for minorities are being sealed off, their places filled by welfare recipients. This is aggravated by ever-deeper inroads into

Washington/NY Times

Giuliani with AFSCME union top Stanley Hill, front man for union-busting "workfare" schemes.

minority enrollment in the City University (CUNY) system—a flagrantly racist purge imposed through tuition hikes, stiffer entrance requirements and "workfare" rules which pull students out of the classrooms. Hardest hit by such attacks are the most vulnerable sections of the population, like immigrant workers. We demand: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants, "legal" or "illegal"!

As the *Times* article coyly noted, "Mr. Giuliani's efforts to expand workfare have been greatly helped by the acquiescence of the labor leader with the most potential to create a storm," AFSCME District Council 37 chief Stanley Hill. When the leaders of Transport Workers Union Local 100 signed a contract with state transit authorities two years ago mandating the replacement of 500 union jobs by "workfare" cleaners, Giuliani and Hill threw a fit—because it threatened to upset their own longstanding "sweetheart deal," which replaced 20,000 city workers. Hill's role as front man for Giuliani blew up again last month when the mayor moved to lay off another 905 hospital workers, after putting in a thousand "workfare" recipients. The slated layoffs particularly target Harlem Hospital, one of the few municipal health facilities left in black neighborhoods.

As we observed in "NYC Transit 'Workfare' Deal: Enslaving the Poor, Busting the Unions" (*WV* No. 652, 27 September 1996), the union tops are today "acting more like low-wage labor contractors than even labor lieutenants of capital." Last summer's successful Teamsters strike at UPS offered a hint of labor's potential power. If they wielded the power in their hands, NYC transit workers could bring the city to a screeching halt, rallying behind them not only the rest of the unionized workforce but the unemployed in the ghettos and barrios, CUNY students and the rest of the population fed up with incessant, grinding attacks. But that would pose a confrontation with the ruling class, which the pro-capitalist labor tops seek to avoid like a plague. The predictable anti-union blowback following the UPS strike has simply given the labor misleaders one more excuse for *opposing* class struggle in favor of reliance on their Democratic and Republican "friends."

At bottom, the union tops see the world through the same lens as their capitalist masters, subordinating the interests of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie's drive for greater profits. That is why the AFL-CIO bureaucracy has presided over two decades of union-busting and wage-slashing. Labor's power can only be mobilized through a political struggle against the union tops who chain workers and minorities to the class enemy. Karl Marx stated the basic truth in *Wage-Labour and Capital* 150 years ago: "The interests of capital and the interests of wage-labour are diametrically opposed to each other."

Capitalism Immiserates the Workers

Now that communism is supposedly "dead," even bourgeois ideologues have lately been acknowledging Marx's trenchant analysis of the workings of the capitalist economic system, particularly in light of the financial crisis racking the Asian Pacific Rim. In a piece on the 1848 *Communist Manifesto* titled "Marx's Masterpiece at 150" (*New York Times* Book Review, 26 April), Steven Marcus notes "much that remains striking and pertinent, and nothing more so than Marx and Engels's vision of capitalism's triumphant globalization." Marcus of course dismisses as fantasy Marx and Engels' conclusions, asserting for example that "the ever-deeper pauperization of the working class was not part of the system's 'inevitable tendencies'."

In fact, Marx's understanding that the tendency toward immiseration was endemic to capitalism could not be more evident than it is today. The American bourgeoisie has been crowing that its "leaner, meaner" economy has meant rising employment. But aside from a relative handful of professional positions in brokerage houses and high-tech computer firms, few of these jobs, which are largely in service industries, pay enough to feed, clothe and house a family. In the absence of affordable day care, women workers are forced to leave their kids to fend for themselves—and then face imprisonment for "child neglect"—while welfare mothers who refuse "workfare" assignments risk losing any means of support.

Under capitalism, the average wage is only enough to provide for the maintenance of the worker and his family and for raising the next generation of labor. To the extent the trade unions engage in struggle, they can secure a temporary increase in wages, only to have them driven down again when the bourgeoisie regains the offensive. The impact of the trade-union bureaucracy's criminal betrayals is clearly seen in the fall in living standards. Nearly one in three workers today makes less than $7.28 an hour, as compared to fewer than one in four in 1973. Over the past quarter century, real wages have plummeted by 20 percent. In the same period, welfare benefits were slashed by half.

These figures illuminate another essential fact of life in racist capitalist America: attacks on the black population spearhead broader assaults on workers' living standards. The ghetto masses have historically served as a "reserve army" of the unemployed for American capitalism, to be hired in times of economic upturn and thrown out on the streets when the bourgeoisie no longer needs them. In *Capital*, Marx explained how the maintenance of such a "reserve army" serves to degrade working conditions and to lower wages for all workers:

> "The over-work of the employed part of the working-class swells the ranks of the reserve, whilst conversely the greater pressure that the latter by its competition exerts on the former, forces these to submit to over-work and to subjugation under the dictates of capital. The condemnation of one part of the working class to enforced idleness by the over-work of the other part, and the converse, becomes a means of enriching the individual capitalists."

Now that many of the big urban industrial plants—especially in the Midwest and Northeast—which once provided jobs have been turned into rusting hulks, the bourgeoisie has come to view a substantial part of the ghetto masses as a "surplus" population. That is what's behind the elimination of welfare, replete with racist diatribes against a "culture of dependency," and the wholesale cuts in inner-city public education and social services. Nonetheless, black workers remain a strategic component of the organized labor movement, which can only go forward by combatting the bourgeoisie's attempts to use racism to divide the working class.

What's urgently needed is a class-struggle fight for *jobs for all*. Equally urgent is the need for *free, quality medical care* and *quality, integrated housing and education for all*. We call for a *massive program of public works at union wages*. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program, the 1938 founding document of the Fourth International, in fighting for such demands "the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery."

The mobilization of the proletariat in class struggle requires its complete and unconditional independence from the capitalist state and the bourgeoisie's political parties—courts and cops out of the unions! The key to this lies in uncompromising political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. To advance the interests of working people, and especially of immigrants and the black and Hispanic masses, requires the forging of a multiracial Leninist vanguard party to lead the proletariat in the overthrow of the entire capitalist profit system. ■

Spartacist Educational Weekend

Forum: Saturday, May 16, 7 p.m.

The Struggle for Trotskyism in the Post-Soviet World

Speaker: John Masters, Trotskyist League of Canada

Ida Noyes, West Lounge, 2nd Floor, 1212 E. 59th St., University of Chicago

Classes: Sunday, May 17, 11 a.m. and 3:30 p.m.

1917—How the Bolsheviks Took Power

Socialism and War

Cobb Hall, Room 102, 5811 S. Ellis, University of Chicago

For information and readings call: (312) 454-4930, e-mail: spartacus@uchicago.edu

CHICAGO—Saturday-Sunday, May 16-17

Pol Pot and Imperialist Hypocrisy

U.S. Slaughtered Millions in Indochina

The death last month of Pol Pot, who launched a reign of terror after taking power in 1975 which led to the killing of more than a million and a half Cambodians, provoked an orgy of hypocritical outbursts from American imperialist spokesmen. While President Clinton calls for an international tribunal to try remaining Khmer Rouge leaders for genocide, Henry Kissinger cynically declaimed that behind Pol Pot lurked other war criminals. He ought to know: as secretary of state in the Republican Nixon administration, he was a key executor of U.S. imperialism's dirty, losing war in Indochina, in which a million Cambodians and two million or more Vietnamese were slaughtered during the 1960s and early '70s. Now this sinister Dr. Strangelove smirks, "Why should we flagellate ourselves for what Cambodians did to each other?"

Julienne/Sygma

Imperialist mass murderers: Henry Kissinger and Richard Nixon presided over slaughter of one million Cambodians as U.S. bombing razed country.

Echoing Kissinger's lies was fellow Cold Warrior Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser under Jimmy Carter's 1977-81 Democratic administration. Railing against a tame statement by the *New York Times* (17 April) that "the Carter Administration helped arrange continued Chinese aid" to Pol Pot, Brzezinski tried to put all the blame on the Beijing Stalinist regime, claiming, "We told the Chinese explicitly that in our view Pol Pot was an abomination and that the United States would have nothing to do with him—directly or indirectly" (*New York Times*, 22 April). Brzezinski sang a different tune at the time, crowing: "I encourage the Chinese to support Pol Pot" (*New York Times*, 17 April).

U.S. imperialism did far more than simply "encourage" Beijing. As Australian journalist John Pilger observes in an article titled "Pol Pot: The Monster We Created," Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge "would be historical nonentities—and a great many people would be alive today—had the United States not helped bring them to power, had the governments of the US, Britain, China and Thailand not supported, armed and sustained them" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 26 April).

By the time the Khmer Rouge seized power, the country had already been razed to the ground. Between 1969 and 1973, U.S. forces dropped 100 tons of bombs for every man, woman and child in Cambodia. The Spartacist League hailed the 1975 defeat of the U.S. and its imperialist allies and Indochinese puppet forces—centrally at the hands of the North Vietnamese deformed workers state (DRV) and its South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF) allies—as a tremendous victory for workers and oppressed around the world. We fought for military victory to the NLF/DRV and raised the call, "All Indochina must go communist!" At the same time, we warned against any illusions in the Stalinist NLF/DRV leadership, raising the call for proletarian political revolution from Hanoi to Moscow.

The victory of the NLF/DRV meant the overturn of capitalist property relations and the extension of North Vietnam's planned, socialized economy to the South. But when the Khmer Rouge marched into the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh, they proceeded to assassinate pro-Vietnamese Communist militants and forcibly depopulate the city, driving millions into slave labor in the countryside. While opposing the imperialists' anti-Communist hue and cry, we described this as "Peasant Stalinism Run Amok" (*WV* No. 180, 4 November 1977). When Vietnam invaded Cambodia in the winter of 1978-79 and drove out Pol Pot, while opposing a long-term occupation, we queried whether the Cambodian people might not prefer a Vietnamese presence ensuring food, medicine, wages, children and voluntary marriage to the xenophobic tyranny of the Khmer Rouge. In fact, they did.

Meanwhile, the imperialists seized on the invasion to intensify their vindictive crusade to punish Vietnam, embracing the Khmer Rouge as a proxy force. In early 1979, Washington encouraged Beijing to act as its cat's paw in a failed invasion of Vietnam. Between 1980 and 1986, under both Carter and his Republican successor, Ronald Reagan, Washington doled out $85 million to the Khmer Rouge, which was now allied with the right-wing and monarchist Cambodian forces it had earlier defeated. After former CIA deputy director Ray Cline visited the Khmer Rouge base in November 1980, Pilger writes, "some 50 CIA agents were running the secret US war against Vietnamese-occupied Cambodia from the US embassy in Bangkok and along the Thai-Cambodian border." The Khmer Rouge and its monarchist allies were also trained by Britain's elite SAS "counterinsurgency" killers. In the United Nations, Washington insisted that the Pol Pot/monarchist coalition be seated as Cambodia's official representative.

In 1983, the international Spartacist tendency (now International Communist League) organized protests to demand the seating of the Vietnamese-backed Phnom Penh regime at the UN. In our protest call, we raised the slogans: "Pol Pot Killed Real Khmer Communists, then Committed Genocide! Hail Liberation of Khmer People! Hail Reconstruction—Kampuchean People Now Have a Future!" (*WV* No. 338, 23 September 1983). We noted:

> "The logical extension of Pol Pot's Cambodia wasn't even Stalin's purges and labor camps, it was Jonestown! Pol Pot's abolition of cities, of factories, of money and his massive reversion to subsistence agriculture—a pre-feudal program based on fantasies of recreating the barbaric Angkor Wat slave kingdoms—utterly shattered any rational economic base for the regime, thus any restraints on the ruling clique."

The utter destruction of the economic base carried out by the Khmer Rouge is diametrically opposed to a Marxist program, which aims to vastly *expand* society's productive forces. As we wrote some years later in an article headlined "U.S., China Arm Pol Pot Butchers" (*WV* No. 493, 12 January 1990), Pol Pot's "grotesquely misnamed 'Democratic Kampuchea'" was "a barbaric nightmare which was not even a hideously deformed version of a workers state."

Today, the same imperialists who backed Pol Pot's genocidal forces to the hilt try to use his crimes to smear communism. Indeed, there is more to the current campaign of lies than salvaging the "good names" of imperialist mass murderers like Kissinger and Brzezinski. In the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, Pol Pot has become a poster boy for the capitalist rulers' "death of communism" Big Lie, as they seek to stem any interest in communism among workers and radical youth by painting Marxism as a vast "conspiracy of evil."

In West Europe, fascists mass distribute the recently published French *Black Book of Communism*, an 800-page compendium of lies purporting to prove that the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution led to the murder of 100 million people around the world. This post-Soviet version of the anti-Semitic *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* has been embraced by "respectable" bourgeois ideologues, and even reformist "socialists." British journalist Rupert Cornwell, writing in the London *Independent* (17 April) on Pol Pot's crimes, declares in a typical lying amalgam:

> "Hitler never managed as much. Conceivably, the Lenin/Stalin tandem, a closer historic parallel with Pol Pot, did, if you accept the worst estimates of the purges, terrors and famines they inflicted upon the Soviet Union in the name of Communism."

It's said that it is the victors who write the history books. In this case, the imperialist victors in the anti-Soviet Cold War are particularly exercised because they still chafe at their humiliating *defeat* on the battlefields of Vietnam. As proletarian revolutionaries in the belly of the imperialist beast, we recall the words of General Van Tien Dung, chief of staff of the Vietnamese People's Army and commander of the final offensive which liberated Saigon on 30 April 1975, who wrote of the U.S.: "They mobilized as many as 6 million American soldiers in rotation, dropped over 10 million tons of bombs, and spent over $300 billion, but in the end the U.S. ambassador had to crawl up to the helicopter pad looking for a way to flee."

It is not Marxism which is dead, but its nationalist Stalinist perversion. The ICL fights for the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky. We call for unconditional military defense of Vietnam and the other remaining deformed workers states against capitalist attack and internal counterrevolution as part of our fight for new October Revolutions around the world. The victorious proletariat will see to it that the imperialist torturers and murderers are finally brought to justice. ■

WV Photo

Grinker/Contact

New York City, September 1983: Spartacist League demanded seating of Vietnam-backed Cambodian regime at UN. U.S. imperialists promoted Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, who killed more than 1.5 million Cambodians.

Germany...

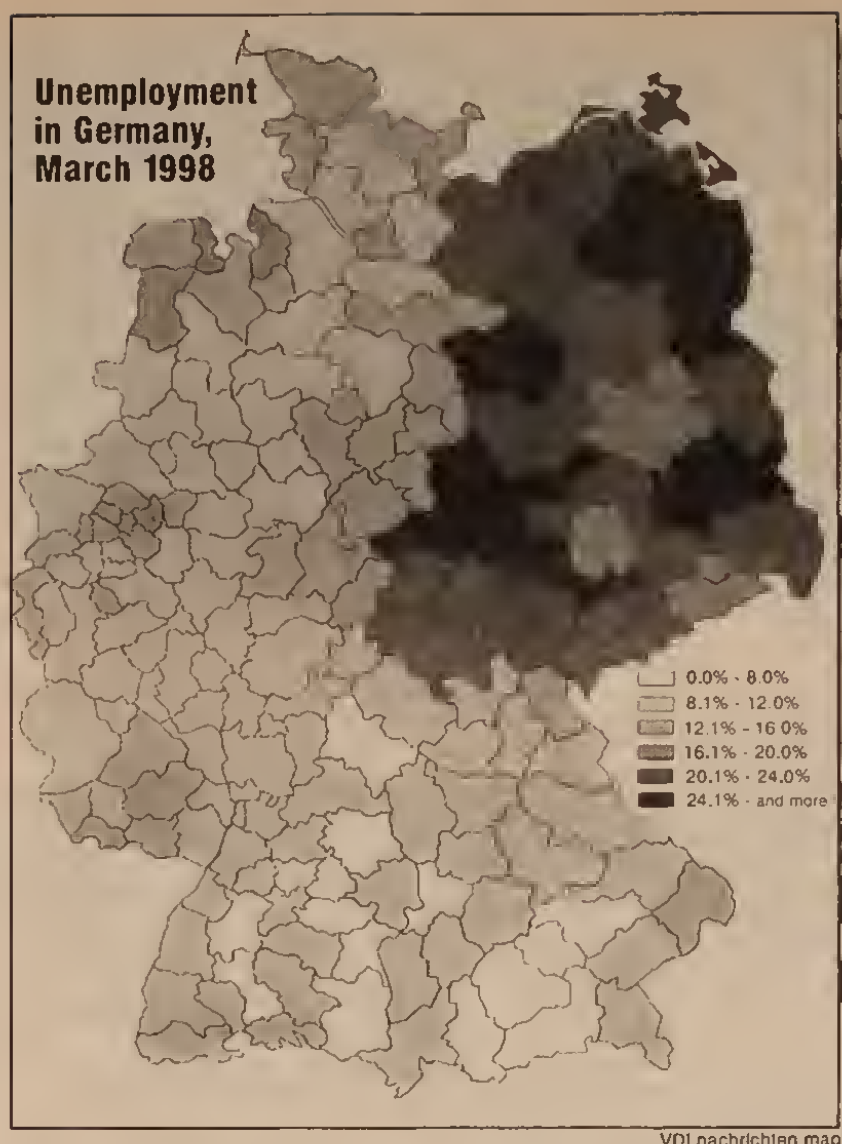
(continued from page 1)

the urgent need for *mass workerlimmigrant mobilizations to stop the Nozis in their tracks.*

Fearful that a huge display of Nazi hanners in one of the country's largest cities would be a hlot on the "democratic" credentials of the Fourth Reich, the Leipzig SPD city administration repeatedly sought to impose a ban, which was twice overturned by the courts on the eve of the march. As the SpAD warned in its supplement, appeals to the bourgeois state to ban the fascists demobilize the proletariat, and such baus are ultimately turned against workers and leftists. Indeed, the Leipzig authorities' proposed ban was aimed not at preventing racist terror but at averting "violence" by anti-fascist protesters.

The role of the bosses' state was clear in Leipzig, as the cops focused their attacks almost exclusively on the left. The Nazi provocation was protected by an army of over 6,000 riot cops, who subjected the city to a virtual state of siege. As police fired water cannon at some 5,000 anti-fascist protesters and waves of cops wielding nightsticks time and again waded into groups of leftist youth, the Nazi rabble were given free rein to spew their racist filth. Dozens of leftists were rounded up by the cops. The SpAD demands: Drop all charges against the anti-fascist protesters!

That the cops would protect the Nazis, as they have in other cities on countless occasions, was to be expected. *The respansibility for yesterday's aminaus Nazi show of terror lies squorely at the feet of the class traitars who stand at the head af the workers movement: the SPD, the pro-SPD German trade-union federation (DGB) bureaucracy and the ex-Stalinist Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS).* As the SpAD supplement pointed out, that the Nazis chose to carry out their race-hate provocation on May Day, the international workers holiday, symbolizes their ultimate aim of crushing the workers movement. Yet all that was offered by the DGB, joined by the PDS, was a May Day rally pushing for an SPD govemment which did not even make a pretense of attempting to stop the NPD march, and an "anti-fascist" concert the night hefore the Nazi provocation. Thus, the social-democratic tops criminally left isolated groups of leftist youth to face the combined forces of the Nazis and cops on their own. Meanwhile, the DGB grotesquely thanked the cops, who were busy beating and arresting anti-fascist demonstrators, for "doing a good job."



VDI nachrichten map

P Glaser

Der Spiegel

Devastation of East German industry (above) by capitalist counterrevolution led to highest unemployment in country, fueling fascist growth. Unemployed line up for food in Berlin (top).

Der Spiegel

Funeral for Jorge João Gomundal, murdered by fascists In Dresden, 1991.

Less than a week earlier, the fascist German People's Union (DVU) captured 13 percent of the vote in neighboring Saxony-Anhalt. Headed hy Munich newspaper magnate Gerhard Frey and promoted by British Nazi David Irving, this fascist outfit now has 15 seats in the state parliament. Key to the DVU's victory was the 25 percent vote it garnered among youth in this state which has the highest unemployment level in the country. The bourgeoisie's vindictive devastation of the economy following the counterrevolutionary annexation of the former East German (DDR) deformed workers state in 1990 has led to soaring unemployment. Posturing as an alternative to the CDU/SPD, an NPD führer in Leipzig ranted, "Radical problems require radical solutions!" Under the battle cry "Jobs for Germans first"—which was prominent at the Leipzig march—the fascists wield social demagogy in an attempt to channel widespread frustration among unemployed youth into racist terror against refugees and workers of Kurdish, Turkish and Slavic origin. In Warsaw, radio stations warned Polish motorists that they faced assault by Nazi mobs if they drove anywhere near Leipzig on May Day.

Alarmed at the Nazis' growth, a leftist student in Leipzig explained, "With high unemployment, people feel like no party represents them. They fear the future." The only future promised by the CDU and SPD is more layoffs and further cuts in social services. Newly appointed SPD leader Gerhard Schröder, who models himself on British Labour prime minister Tony Blair, promises to be even more draconian than Kohl in defending the interests of the hourgeoisie. Meanwhile, the SPD/DGB tops echo the fascists by pushing racist deportations and "quotas" for immigrant workers.

The PDS, social-democratic remnant of the Stalinist Socialist Unity Party (SED) which sold out the DDR, pushes the same chauvinist garbage as the SPD, combined with nostalgic appeals to "*Ossi* [East German] nationalism." The fascists are no less adept at such demagogic appeals; indeed, over one-fifth of those voting for PDS candidates in Saxony-Anhalt also cast votes for the DVU. And a recent report on the NPD in *Die Zeit* (23 April) quoted one stormtrooper bragging about contacts with Communist Platform, the self-styled "left wing" of the PDS: "They are also against big capital. At the moment we have the same problems as North Korea and live under the pressure of world imperialism."

The nationalist SED bureaucracy helped prepare a base for the current growth of fascism in eastern Germany by allowing the NPD's East German namesake to officially exist, from the very founding of the DDR in 1948, as a "conservative" fig leaf for the Stalinists' "people's democracy" and "a political homestead for the grassroots members of nazi organizations" (Hanna Behrend, ed., *German Unification* [1995]). More recently, various PDS leaders have arranged meetings with the fascists (see "German Leftists in Suicidal 'Dialogue' with Nazis: Fascist Terror Is Not Free Speech," *WV* No. 601, 27 May 1994). Among those PDS leaders is Christine Ostrowski, who now asks in *Neues Deutschland* (30 April), "Why didn't the PDS manage to win many of those who have now voted for the DVU?" Ostrowski's answer is to steal the fascists' thunder, railing against "foreign colleagues" who work under "illegal conditions" while "every third construction worker in the East is unemployed."

Against the social-chauvinists of both the SPD and PDS, the SpAD fights to forge an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to lead the multiethnic proletariat in smashing the Nazi scourge as part of the struggle for socialist revolution. We publish below a slightly abridged translation of the *Spartakist* supplement.

SPARTAKIST

The Nazis' proclaimed intention to march in Leipzig on May 1 is a deadly threat to all workers, immigrants, leftists and oppressed minorities. Under cover of an "election rally," the Nazis intend to march for their genocidal program, seen in the racist murders in Mölln (1992) and Solingen (1993) and in the pogroms in Rostock (1992) and Hoyerswerda (1991). Encouraged and protected by the state, they have spewed their racist poison in a series of provocations in Munich, Saalfeld, Dresden and Lübeck. Each provocation leads to mounting murderous terror and arson attacks against immigrants and leftists, most recently killing a 14-year-old schoolgirl in Saalfeld.

The Nazi provocation on May Day, the international workers holiday, shows that their anti-immigrant terror is ultimately directed against the trade unions. The Nazis are growing today as they feed off the crisis of capitalism and soaring mass unemployment, and the concomitant anti-immigrant demagogy spewed by the government and SPD.

While the Nazis are now the size of a flea compared to the organized workers movement, they are growing with every mobilization. Their first targets are the most vulnerable sectors of the working class and the population as a whole. Tomorrow, they'll turn directly against the workers organizations—smashing strikes, trade unions, workers rallies. After the Nazis came to power in 1933, they destroyed all workers organizations and murdered millions of Jews, Roma and Sinti (Gypsies), communists and homosexuals in the Holocaust. As Leon Trotsky warned in "What Next?" (1932):

> "Fascism is not merely a system of reprisals, of brutal force, and of police terror.... The task of fascism lies not only in destroying the Communist vanguard, but in holding the entire class in a state of forced disunity.... It is also necessary to smash all independent and voluntary organizations, to demolish all the defensive bulwarks of the proletariat."

It is urgently necessary for the workers movement to act. The workers are organized in the factories—when they go out on strike the wheels of industry come to a standstill. The integrated working class not only has the power to stop the fascist scum, but also to emancipate mankind from the capitalist profit system. The fascists are the guard dogs of the bourgeoisie, to be unleashed as a last resort to crush the workers movement. Thus, the struggle against fascism must be part and parcel of the fight for proletarian revolution against the whole capitalist system.

In all the key industries—mining, metal works, auto, chemical—workers of Kurdish and Turkish origin work side by side with German workers and are organized in unions with them. The mobilization of German and immigrant workers as a unified proletariat is strategically necessary for the defense of their own class interests and against the fascists. This will take a sharp political struggle against the pro-capitalist union tops.

Small groups of anti-fascist leftists and anarchoid autonomes, however courageous, are easy prey for the cops. What is needed are mass mohilizations of the trade unions—with their large component of workers from Turkey, Kurdistan and

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Germany...

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other countries—supported by homosexuals, Jews, refugees, leftists and all potential victims of the fascists. We must mobilize at the same place and the same time as the Nazis' threatened provocation in order to stop them and drive them back into their rat holes. Stop the Nazis through worker/immigrant mobilization!

Bourgeois State: Enemy of Workers and Oppressed

The pro-capitalist PDS and SPD trade-union leadership doesn't intend to touch a hair on the Nazis' heads. That's why they're planning diversions, organizing impotent anti-racist rallies at another time or far away from where the Nazis intend to march. These misleaders hope that leftist counterdemonstrations will be seen as a danger to Fourth Reich "law and order" and that both the left and the Nazis will be banned. This would leave the road clear for the Nazis. The social-democratic misleaders are preparing a defeat which would exceed even the horrible spectacle of 5,000 Nazis marching unhindered through SPD-run Munich in March 1997. Leftists and immigrants in Leipzig are already preparing to defend their centers against the sort of nightriding violence which swept through the Leipzig area last May Day when a similar Nazi provocation was banned.

Those who argue against confronting the Nazis allow this scum to continue their rapid growth and their murderous terror. Contrary to lowest common denominator "coalition" politics, in which revolutionary views in particular are censored, in a united-front action every participating organization retains freedom of criticism, the full right to put forward its own program in speeches and propaganda. It is through the open clash of opinion that consciousness is raised and competing political programs are tested.

Like the SPD in 1933—with its appeal: "State, intervene!"—the trade-union bureaucrats place their confidence in the ballot box and demand that the cops and courts ban the Nazis and their marches. Hitler's rise to power was unchallenged by the SPD and German Communist Party. The Social Democracy supported Hindenburg, who used the Weimar constitution to legally appoint Hitler chancellor. The Nazis have been repeatedly banned in Germany since the end of World War II, but that has never prevented them from carrying out their murderous terror. Appealing to the state to ban the Nazis is utopian, creating illusions in the bourgeois state within the working class. Laws passed against the fascists will ultimately be directed against the workers organizations.

During the Nazi provocation in Munich last year, a spokesman of the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionär Sozialistische Bund (RSB—Revolutionary Socialist League)—speaking far from the Nazi rallying site—addressed the cops! With the words "ladies and gentleman of the police," he appealed to the armed thugs of the state to remember that one of their own had been killed by a Nazi shortly before and expressed his regret that the "state and police can't and won't protect us" (see *Spartakist* No. 128, June/July 1997).

The Cliffite supporters of Linksruck declared Munich a victory. Their British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) comrades claim that cops are part of the workers movement. The SWP organized a readers' circle among prison guards and whined, "Are All Cops Really Bastards?" (*Socialist Worker*, 8 February 1997). This is reformist nonsense. In *The State and Revolution*, Lenin described the state as "special bodies of armed men" and explained "that the working class must *break up, smash* the 'ready-made state machine', and not confine itself merely to laying hold of it." And the October Revolution of 1917 confirmed that completely. Writing in 1932, Trotsky denounced the SPD's illusions in "its" police:

Rogner/Netzhaut

Trade unionists march against threatened job cuts in the Ruhr region, February 1997. Turkish and Kurdish workers are key component of proletariat in Germany.

> "The fact that the police was originally recruited in large numbers from among Social Democratic workers is absolutely meaningless. Consciousness is determined by environment even in this instance. The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker. Of late years these policemen have had to do much more fighting with revolutionary workers than with Nazi students. Such training does not fail to leave its effects. And above all: every policeman knows that though governments may change, the police remain."

The reformist DGB bureaucrats are mobilizing for May Day in Leipzig to build election rallies for the SPD and PDS as the "lesser evil" in the fall Bundestag (parliamentary) elections. The Social Democracy doesn't even offer reforms; instead it administers layoffs, cutbacks and vicious racist attacks on immigrants, threatening the very livelihoods of the working masses and driving the petty bourgeoisie into the arms of the fascists.

Hamburg offers a glimpse of what a "lesser evil" SPD government will look like. State repression against immigrants, mass deportations and cop terror carried out under the pretext of "fighting drugs and criminals" are the daily reality in this SPD stronghold. In March, 450 racist cops launched a pogromist raid on asylum seekers on the houseboat *Bibby Kalmar*, rounding up 53 people. In 1996, Jude Abuaka from Sierra Leone drowned during a similar police action, as the cops watched.

Far from being a barrier to fascism, the social democracy paves the way for these murderous scum! As Trotsky wrote in 1929 in "The Austrian Crisis and Communism":

> "In Austria, as everywhere else, fascism appears as the necessary supplement to social democracy, is nourished by it, and comes to power through its aid....
>
> "Fascism, fed by the social democracy, is forced to crack the latter's skull in order to come to power. Austrian social democracy is doing everything it can to facilitate this surgical operation for the fascists."

The most urgent tasks today—from concerted workers actions to smash the fascists to opposing capitalist attacks on immigrants to organizing victorious strikes—require an uncompromising struggle against the social-democratic class traitors and their reformist and centrist waterboys. This means forging a revolutionary party through splitting the SPD and PDS on the anvil of class struggle and winning their working-class base to a revolutionary program. These social-democratic parties are, as Lenin explained, bourgeois workers parties: with a working-class base but a thoroughly bourgeois program. A revolutionary party would fight for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a workers state.

Capitalist Counterrevolution Fueled the Nazi Menace

The rise of fascist terror throughout Europe is a direct result of counterrevolution in the DDR, East Europe and the Soviet Union. The German bourgeoisie has razed the industrial base of the former DDR. Unemployment throughout Germany officially stands at 4.63 million—the highest since World War II—and in many regions of eastern Germany the official jobless rate exceeds 25 percent. Whole areas have been devastated, leaving many people with no future. The impoverished unemployed are filled with hatred for this system and look for a radical solution. It is among these layers that the fascists are recruiting with their racist terror and it is in the most devastated areas that they are growing most strongly.

We Trotskyists fought for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. Our International mobilized to the extent of our resources to intervene in the crucial period from the fall and winter of 1989-90 through the Volkskammer parliamentary elections that March. We called: "For Workers and Soldiers Soviets," "For a Red Soviet Germany," "For the Socialist United States of Europe." We were the only ones who opposed capitalist reunification, warning that it would mean mass unemployment, the rise of Nazi terror, attacks on women's rights and sharpened interimperialist rivalries threatening a new world war. We called the SPD by its right name: the Trojan horse for capitalist counterrevolution. And we were right.

In January 1990, we initiated a workers mobilization against the fascist desecration of the Treptow memorial to the Red Army soldiers who smashed Hitler's Nazis. As our forerunners, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) and the newly formed Spartakist Gruppen in the DDR, warned in the call for the demonstration:

> "Resurgent fascism is still an extremist fringe phenomenon. It would again threaten all mankind as soon as the first crises in a reunified Greater Germany appear. Today, however, the SPD/SDP is the chief instrument to bring about such a Greater Germany. Throttling the hydra-headed fascist monster now is to blunt this Social Democratic penetration."

We distributed over 130,000 leaflets at subway stations, in working-class districts, at factories and especially among foreign workers. Factory workers were the backbone of this mobilization, and after the SED-PDS was forced to take up the united-front call, 250,000 came out to protest at Treptow on January 3.

Addressing this rally, Renate Dahlhaus of the TLD/ICL called for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats in the DDR and for a socialist revolution in order to overthrow capitalism in West Germany as the only way to stop capitalist *Anschluss*. The crowd heard the counterposition of Trotskyism versus Stalinism, the ICL versus the SED-PDS-Gysi. It was the first time since Trotsky had been exiled from the Soviet Union and since the Left Opposition was smashed that Trotskyists were able to speak to a mass audience in a deformed workers state.

We were the only party which told the truth about capitalism and the fight against counterrevolution. The Cliffites of Linksruck and the International Socialist Organization (ISO) cheered the counterrevolution just as they cheered anti-Semitic, clericalist Solidarność and the Afghan *mujahedin*. *Linksruck* (March 1996) even rallies to the "honor" of the young Nazi stormtroopers: "Is the simple Hitler Youth equally as guilty as the industrialist who financed Hitler's rise to power?" This is what comes of years of enthusing over every anti-Communist movement on the face of the planet and is to be expected of a group which is deeply buried inside the racist, social-chauvinist SPD. Linksruck recently called for a vote to the SPD in Hamburg as it was waging what was internationally recognized as the most racist election campaign in Germany in years.

As the DDR was swallowed up by the West German imperialists, the Pabloites who are now organized in the RSB took Alka-Seltzer while their French comrades of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire celebrated with champagne. The Sozialistische Alternative Voran (affiliated to the British Militant group, now Socialist Party) came out for the "right of national self-determination which we must defend unconditionally" (*Voran*, February 1990). What a pitiful example of German-nationalist "Marxists."

The SED/PDS-led counterrevolution in the DDR meant the overthrow of the planned economy which, however grotesquely deformed by Stalinist misrule, guaranteed work and a livelihood to all women and men, old and young. Under capitalist reunification, women were the first to lose their jobs, while abortion rights have been sharply attacked. In supporting the forces of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, the DDR and East Europe, the fake left bears its share of responsibility for the immiseration of the masses and the upsurge in fascist terror.

DPA

German imperialist troops in Bosnia. SpAD demands: "Bundeswehr out of the Balkans!"

Against Popular Frontism

The social welfare programs currently under attack in West Europe were granted by the bourgeoisies in the period following World War II to avert the "threat of Communism." Since the destruction of the Soviet Union, the imperialist bourgeoisies have moved to dismantle the "welfare state."

Today in Europe it is the social democrats who are doing the dirty work for the bourgeoisie in administering capitalist austerity. Germany appears headed toward an SPD government, possibly, as is already the case in a number of states, in coalition with the bourgeois Greens. But even a government of the SPD alone (whether supported by the PDS or not) would be nothing other than a capitalist

government, which would continue the attacks on workers and immigrants. In countries like Italy and France, the social democrats administer the capitalist state in coalition with outright bourgeois parties. The ICL is opposed in principle to any support to such popular-front coalitions, whether in government or in opposition, and we oppose voting for reformist workers parties in popular fronts. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France opposed a vote to Jospin's Socialist Party as well as to the French Communist Party. The Jospin government's deportation of immigrants amid skyrocketing unemployment has further emboldened Le Pen's fascists. As Trotsky pointed out, "People's Fronts on the one hand—fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution."

The reformist misleaders subordinate the interests of the workers to the bourgeoisie and its state. As Trotsky stressed, the trade unions must be completely independent from the capitalist state: "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat." The merging of the trade unions with the capitalist state is symbolized by the "trade union" of police, the bosses' professional strikebreakers and racist thugs. We demand: Cops out of the DGB!

The large number of workers of Turkish and Kurdish origin, alienated from chauvinist German bourgeois society, can play a vital role in the struggle against German imperialism. The social power of the proletariat must be mobilized to defend all the oppressed. *For full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*

What is necessary is the fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours to maintain the workers' living standards and to spread the available work around. The bosses' attempt to create a two-tier wage system is aimed, among other things, at pitting youth and immigrants against the unions. Now more than ever, the unions must fight to organize all unorganized and unemployed workers. The crisis of unemployment and the attacks on social welfare have hit women workers the hardest. We demand equal pay for equal work and free 24-hour childcare. To achieve these demands requires the systematic mobilization of the masses for the proletarian revolution.

The 1938 Transitional Program of the Fourth International shows clearly how the revolutionary party links the fight against the fascists to the mobilization of the proletariat to seize state power:

> "The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial office but in the factory—and ends in the street. Scabs and private gunmen in factory plants are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. *Strike pickets* are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure. In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating *workers' groups for self-defense*."

Fake Lefts Tail Social Democracy

The policy of reformist groups like the ISO and Linksruck and the centrist RSB of voting for the social democrats flows from their anti-Leninist conception that the state is neutral and stands above classes. Linksruck says, "Vote SPD without illusions." The ISO calls for a vote "to the left of the current regime" (*Linke Offensive*, January 1998). The RSB says, "It is conceivable to give critical support to the PDS" (*Avanti*, December 1997). Calling for a vote to the PDS is simply a way of supporting an SPD government through the back door. The PDS is the pathetic remnant of the SED Stalinist bureaucracy which sold out the DDR to capitalism. It is the "Germany, One Fatherland" party of Modrow and Gysi.

These groups all promote illusions that the treacherous social democrats can be pressured to fight for the interests of the workers. Posturing more to the left is the centrist Socialist Action/Communist Politics Working Circle (AKP), which reprints substantial excerpts from *Permanente Revolution*, the press of the German Trotskyists in the early 1930s. In fact, the AKP's line is to build ongoing propaganda blocs with other so-called "anti-fascist" groups on the popular-frontist basis of "fight the right." Thus during the June 1994 European Parliament elections, the AKP issued a joint statement with the Anti-Fascist Action Group, the Democratic Workers Association of Turkey, the Autonome Antifa Café and others, which said:

> "Prevent the entry of the fascists into the Europarliament! No vote for the rights! No vote for the fascists of the REP and NPD!... Every vote for fascists and right-wing extremists is a signal to the rulers to continue their policy of social devastation!"

This is a barely disguised appeal to vote for the SPD, PDS or the bourgeois Greens, none of whom are criticized or even mentioned in this statement. Moreover, the idea that fascism can be stopped at the ballot box is sheer parliamentary cretinism.

Trotsky sharply polemicized against centrist organizations like the Socialist Workers Party (SAP) in the 1930s, which in the guise of calling for a "united front" advocated propaganda blocs of the left around joint candidates to "fight the right." In "What Next?" Trotsky wrote:

> "But it is precisely in the sphere of propaganda that a bloc is out of the question. Propaganda must lean upon clear-cut principles and on a definite program. March separately, strike together. A bloc is solely for practical mass actions. Deals arranged from above which lack a basis in principle will bring nothing except confusion."

A united front is *not* a political bloc which buries programmatic differences, but rather a means for common *action* by various organizations of the workers movement. Through the tactic of the united front, communists seek to unite the proletariat in action against the class enemy while at the same time demonstrating the superiority of the communist program as against that of the reformists and centrists.

Trotsky strongly criticized those who fetishized the united front, noting that "a centrist swears readily by the policy of the united front, emptying it of its revolutionary content and transforming it from a tactical method into a supreme principle" ("Centrism and the Fourth International," 1934). In "What Next?" Trotsky noted:

> "In any case, the policy of the united front cannot serve as a program for a revolutionary party. And in the meantime, the entire activity of the SAP is now being built on it. As a result, the policy of the united front is carried over into the party itself, that is, it serves to smear over the contradictions between the various tendencies. And that is precisely the fundamental function of centrism."

The fake-Trotskyist centrists are the main obstacle in the struggle to build the revolutionary party. Centrism can be described as "revolutionary in words, opportunist in deeds."

The Main Enemy Is at Home!

The destruction of the Soviet Union has led to sharpening interimperialist conflicts among rival trade blocs over the redivision of world markets and spheres of exploitation, ultimately threatening World War III. The European Union (EU) is an economic bloc dominated by German imperialism, a vehicle for capitalist cooperation against the working masses of Europe and for competition for markets with the trade blocs dominated by the U.S. and Japan. The idea of a peaceful unification of Europe is a chimera under capitalism; unification is possible only by the means of war used by Hitler. As proletarian internationalists, we of the ICL reject the EU. Down with the EU Maastricht Treaty! Down with racist fortress Europe! For a red Germany of workers councils! For the Socialist United States of Europe!

Spartakist

East Berlin, 3 January 1990: 250,000 joined demonstration against Nazi desecration of Red Army monument at Treptow Park initiated by Spartakist-Gruppen/TLD call, "Stop the Nazis Through United-Front Action!"

German sponsorship of the mass murder carried out by the Turkish bourgeoisie against the Kurds is an expression of the imperialist interests of the German bourgeoisie. The mobilization of the trade unions to stop the transport of weapons to Turkey would be an act of proletarian internationalism that would further solidarity among German, Turkish and Kurdish workers. The ban on the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK), particularly promoted by the SPD, is a spearhead of racist state terror. We defend the PKK against state repression, while not agreeing with its petty-bourgeois nationalist program. Down with the ban on the PKK and Devrimci Sol! Turkish army out of Kurdistan! For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan! For a socialist federation of the Near East! Stop deportations through workers' strikes! Asylum for Kurds and all refugees from right-wing terror!

The U.S. war threats against Iraq in January were also a show of military might against U.S. imperialism's equally rapacious rivals, German and Japanese imperialism, aiming to reassert its control over Near East oil. In our international protest statements in January we called for: Defend Iraq against U.S. attack! Down with the UN starvation blockade! German Army (Bundeswehr) out of the Balkans! The Balkans are strategic to the German bourgeoisie, not least because its access to Persian Gulf oil reserves traces the route of the old Berlin-Baghdad railroad through the Balkans peninsula.

In the face of growing interimperialist rivalries, we stress, "The main enemy is at home!" In contrast, in their "antiwar" leaflet, the Linksruck Jusos (SPD youth) completely whitewash the crimes of the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz, which engaged in two interimperialist wars: "The most ruthless aggressor is the USA itself. No other country has started wars nearly as often as the USA, e.g., Korea, Vietnam, Grenada, Panama, Honduras, Iraq." What about German imperialism, which murdered millions in World War I and perpetrated Operation Barbarossa and the Holocaust in World War II!

The RSB's statement on the Gulf crisis (*Avanti*, March 1998) raises the demands, "U.S. troops out of the Gulf!" and "Turkish troops out of Iraq!" And while featuring an anti-American cartoon on the Balkans, it doesn't raise the slogan, "Bundeswehr out of the Balkans." Quite the opposite! As the army of German imperialism again marched into the Balkans in 1993, the RSB argued for a conscript army! And this January they praised the Bundeswehr: "Without a doubt there are dedicated democratic officers.... The Bundeswehrverband [army association] is by no means a reactionary mass. The majority of officers are liberal and technocratic." In its next issue, the RSB deplores the Greens' support for German military deployment, though "of course, not in those areas where it simply concerns freedom and humanity, as with the Kurds or the genocide against the Tutsis." What is this but a call for direct German imperialist military intervention in those areas. Put simply, what the RSB calls for is: U.S. troops out, Turkish army out and German imperialism in! That is social-chauvinist loyalty to their own bourgeoisie!

In contrast, Trotskyists say: Not a man, not a penny for the imperialist army! German imperialism: Hands off the Near East!

The only way to destroy imperialism is through international proletarian revolution! We seek to go forward to new October Revolutions throughout Europe and the world. The International Communist League fights to build the revolutionary international vanguard party which is needed to bring to the working class the consciousness of its historic task—to conquer state power around the world. Forward to the reforging of the Fourth International! Join us!■

Translation of Spartacist League/U.S. pamphlet, first published in 1978 (56 pages) DM 3,—

One-year subscription (6 issues) Includes *Spartacist* (German edition) DM 10,— (seamail: DM 15,— air: DM 20,—)

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California Prop 226...

(continued from page 12)

In 1996, the "new" AFL-CIO under John Sweeney kicked in some $35 million for imperialist chief Clinton's re-election campaign, while the unions account for 46 percent of the money the Democratic Party collects from political action committees.

Many workers rightly resent surrendering their dues money year after year for CAP and COPE contributions to racist, anti-labor politicians while the union tops do their best to enforce labor "peace" while sabotaging strikes when they do occur. But these questions must be fought out *inside* the unions as part of a political struggle to oust the labor traitors and replace them with a class-struggle leadership.

What is happening in California is a bald attempt by right-wing forces to mobilize the most politically backward sections of the population, under the guise of a "democratic" referendum, as a battering ram for state intervention against the unions. Thus the "yes on 226" campaign has been spewing racist demagogy about "union bosses" spending money for "legalizing drugs" and to oppose "three strikes" laws, which mandate life prison terms for three-time offenders. In a direct appeal to racist xenophobia, Prop. 226 also includes a "ban" on political contributions from "foreigners" who are already under such a ban by state and federal law. No doubt the backers of Prop. 226 are also banking on votes from those turning out for the anti-immigrant Prop. 227, which would ban bilingual education in the state (see "Down With 'English-Only' Racism!" *WV* No. 688, 10 April). *No on Prop. 226! Government hands off the unions!*

Wall Street's Anti-Labor Offensive

From California voting booths to court proceedings in Washington, D.C. and New York City, the capitalist rulers are continuing their vendetta against the unions for having actually won the UPS strike. Although the gains for workers were modest, the fact that this was a widely popular and *winning* strike—moreover one which backed down a major U.S. corporation after more than two decades of union-busting attacks—caused shock waves on Wall Street and a subsequent retaliatory *bipartisan* campaign to cripple the unions.

The move by Clinton's Justice Department against the Teamsters, ordering new union elections while barring Ron Carey from seeking re-election as president, is continuing with the indictment last week of the union's former political director on charges of perjury and "illegal" campaign financing. The indictment also aims to implicate several other Teamsters officials as well as AFL-CIO vice president Rich Trumka. In Congress, arch-reactionary Republican Senator Orrin Hatch's proposed "Freedom from Union Violence Act" would literally make defense of picket lines a federal offense. Already, RICO statutes ostensibly targeting "racketeers" are widely used against the unions to squelch strike activity. Meanwhile, so-called "workplace violence" measures are increasingly being implemented at worksites around the country, allowing employers to target workers as "violent" for daring to speak up for their rights on the job.

At the same time, a federal appeals court ruling in Ohio that "union shop" clauses in labor contracts are "invalid" would reverse the hard-fought gain that prevented employers from establishing non-union workforces within unionized plants (see "Government Steps Up Anti-Labor Attacks," *WV* No. 675, 3 October 1997). More recently, a proposed Congressional bill, particularly targeting the construction unions, would allow employers to fire union organizers working at more than one site.

While ganging up with the Republicans against organized labor, the Democrats are bristling over Prop. 226 for transparent reasons of self-interest. Now that there is a threat to the flow of dollars into the campaign coffers, Vice President Al Gore has declared himself a defender of labor's "right to organize" (*New York Times*, 20 March). Moreover, a section of the ruling class worries that such measures would undercut what is a key political mechanism in regimenting the unions.

Of a piece with open-shop "right to work" laws, the measure is an attack on the right of trade unionists to engage in any political activity. Under Prop. 226, unions would be required to keep a record of where the dues money of each member went. These records would be available to the government, leaving union members open to victimization on the basis of their political affiliation.

Rhode Island Teamsters face cop attack during August 1997 UPS strike. In wake of successful strike, vindictive capitalists have escalated attacks on labor movement.

Since at present union dues are deducted from paychecks, if the initiative passes, employers would need the signed consent of each worker before deducting that portion going to political contributions. Thus, the "dues checkoff" provisions of most union contracts would be used to choke off money in order to politically control the unions. For the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats, the "dues checkoff" system saves them from having to send organizers to collect dues, where they might run into hard questions from the membership over union policies. But for the workers, having the bosses collect union dues means putting union money in the custody of the class enemy. While opposing Prop. 226, we say that the unions should collect their own dues money!

This nasty anti-union legislation is being heavily promoted by outgoing Republican governor Pete Wilson, who clearly wants to deprive the Democrats of a major source of funds for the upcoming 1998 gubernatorial elections. The Republicans are also intent on preventing a repeat of the defeat of a 1993 "school vouchers" initiative which called for the state to provide vouchers for sending kids to parochial schools. That measure, which represented a further attack on the already criminally underfunded public education system in the state, was voted down after an aggressive campaign spearheaded by the teachers unions.

Unchain Labor's Power!

In their desperate campaign against Prop. 226, the union misleaders appeal to the same class enemy which is instituting the barrage of anti-union attacks and employ the same kind of racist demagogy as the backers of the measure. The union-backed "Californians to Protect Employee Rights" highlights the support not only of the bourgeois League of Women Voters but of the police—the racist armed thugs of the capitalist class. Mimicking Prop. 226's chauvinist spon-

sounding International Socialist Organization (ISO) has also latched onto the anti-Republican, pro-Democratic chorus. Thus an article on Prop. 226 in the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (27 March), while not once mentioning the Democratic Party, whines that the law "would make it virtually impossible for unions to participate in the November elections."

Like the AFL-CIO tops, the ISO looks to the "democratic" bourgeois state as some sort of "neutral arbiter" that can be employed to further the interests of the working class. This has led the reformist ISO to *support* government intervention into the unions in the name of "rank and file" control. Last fall, as Clinton's feds drove their man Carey out of office, the ISO complained that "Government Intervention Hurts Unions" (*Socialist Worker*, 7 November 1997). Yet these social democrats have long hailed Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), which as early as 1977 demanded that the courts take action against the Teamsters leadership and ten years later literally wrote the blueprint for the government plan which "reorganized" the union under Carey (see "Feds Out of the Teamsters!", *WV* No. 679, 28 November 1997).

The struggle for the political independence of the proletariat from the class enemy has nothing to do with the so-called "Labor Party" promoted by the former Labor Party Advocates (LPA) which was initiated by slightly more militant-talking labor fakers like OCAW oil and chemical workers leader Tony Mazzocchi. Especially now that it is making noises about running in its own name, the LP is being lauded by various reformist organizations such as Socialist Organizer, which urges it to "elect representatives to positions where they can help enact and enforce laws and policies to benefit the working class" (*Organizer*, February-March 1998). Likewise, Labor Militant hails this move as "smashing the corporate monopoly over the two-party system" (*Justice*, March 1998).

At most, these reformist outfits look to the likes of Tony Blair's Labour Party, which openly courts anti-union sentiment in administering decaying British capitalism on the backs of workers and minorities while carrying out bloody imperialist rule in Northern Ireland. But in the U.S., where the labor tops are wedded to the capitalist Democratic Party, the LPA/LP has always and only acted as a shill for Clinton's Democrats, refusing to run its own candidates in the presidential elections.

Behind the reformists' tailing of the very labor traitors who have presided over the steady erosion of union gains is their lack of faith in the revolutionary capacity of the working class. To unchain labor's power requires forging a Leninist party of the proletariat through political combat against the pro-capitalist misleaders of the working class. Acting to mobilize labor in defense of all the oppressed, such a party is the necessary instrument to lead the fight for workers revolution to expropriate the capitalists and build a planned socialist economy. ■

Leftists Murdered...

(continued from page 2)

common oppressors. From Iraq to Turkey, from Iran to Israel, the capitalist regimes of the Near East have the blood of millions on their hands. *Socialist revolution* is the only road to freedom and equality, and this is unbreakably tied to the fight for workers power in the imperialist West. Down with the oil sheiks, the dictators, the Zionist butchers! For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For a socialist federation of the Near East! For world socialist revolution!

While standing against Islamic reaction and other capitalist terror in the Near East, we emphasize that the biggest terrorists in the world today are the Western imperialist powers. The rulers of Washington, London, Paris, Berlin and other imperialist centers lord it over their Third World neocolonies and brutally exploit millions. In the Gulf War of 1991, the U.S. and its allies butchered more than a hundred thousand Iraqis. Since then, United Nations-sponsored imperialist sanctions have killed over a million more, including more than 600,000 children. During the Gulf War, and again this year in the face of renewed imperialist threats, we Trotskyists called on the international working class to defend Iraq against bloody attack by U.S. imperialism and its allies. It is up to the workers of Iraq to overthrow Saddam Hussein—not imperialism or its agencies like the UN or the World Court, who would only replace him with another anti-communist dictator.

Despite our political differences with the WCP of Iraq and Iran, we defend them against terror by the capitalist state and by Islamic reactionaries. We are also proud to have stood with them in protest, as at International Women's Day in Toronto on March 8, where our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada joined their successful action to drive out agents of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The WCPI also joined with us in driving out a Canadian armed forces recruitment table. These were symbolic blows for the liberation of women, workers and all the oppressed around the world. We condemn the feminist organizers who invited and defended the army and the agents of the Iranian regime, and also self-styled leftists like the International Socialists, who vilely denounced the WCPI protest as a "racist assault" in order to cover for the Iranian ayatollahs' brutal regime.

The working class of Iraq and internationally will avenge the brutal murders of leaders of the Worker-Communist Party by overthrowing the bloody system of imperialist capitalism worldwide. The International Communist League fights to build Leninist parties of the working class to lead this struggle. We say: Down with anti-communist terror and murder! Workers of the world, unite in the fight for socialist revolution! ■

Australian Waterfront...

(continued from page 12)

oppressed. Thousands of workers across the country have stopped work in solidarity with the MUA and bolstered the picket lines, despite obstacles placed by the ACTU [Australian Council of Trade Unions] leadership.

While the number of unionised workers dropped from 50 per cent to 35 per cent from 1982 to 1994 (under the rule of the Australian Labor Party—ALP), there is still union clout to wield. The working class, through its labour, produces all the wealth in society. Its power lies in its numbers and organisation, and its ability to withhold its labour, bringing the wheels of capitalism to a grinding halt. But to unleash this power requires winning workers away from the pro-capitalist ALP and forging a revolutionary workers party dedicated to smashing the entire system of capitalist exploitation.

What's been needed from the very beginning is a solid national port strike, mobilising not only trade unionists but youth, immigrants and Aborigines—mass picket lines to keep scabs out and stop trucks from entering the docks. Hundreds of thousands of workers are looking for a way to strike back at this greedy, incompetent ruling class. Hunter Valley miners, whose strike last July sparked important solidarity actions by railworkers, have massively rejected Rio Tinto's latest take-back offer. Privatisation of Telstra [telecommunications company] has seen tens of thousands of jobs slashed, while Howard has thrown over 77,000 government workers out of work. Drawing on the palpable support for the MUA in the working class, a call to extend this struggle to other strategic sectors—construction, transport and mining—would strike a chord. But the union bureaucrats, who let thousands of Telstra jobs bleed away and betrayed the miners in the Hunter Valley, are not about to call out their members on behalf of the MUA, especially when the MUA tops have criminally kept the rest of the union—tugboat operators, linesmen and seamen—at work.

Our call for a class-struggle fight to bust the union-busters, based on our revolutionary opposition to the capitalist system, is welcomed by the most conscious militants, but many feel that right now they have to stick with what the union leadership is preaching. But beating back this union-busting assault requires breaking out of the framework of the Labor Party and the capitalist system it upholds. The union misleaders have emboldened the bosses through class-collaborationist deals, accepting the gutting of wages, working conditions and the slashing of jobs. It is their ability to hold the working class in line that makes the ALP, the party of the trade-union bureaucracy, so valuable to the ruling class.

From stopping mass strike action against the CIA-backed sacking of the Whitlam government in 1975, to overseeing massive union givebacks, to calling out the capitalists' army against strikers, the ALP in power rules for the bosses. The ALP, like the British Labour Party and Canada's New Democratic Party, is what V. I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, called a "bourgeois workers party." Based on the workers' own organisations, these parties chain the working class to the capitalists and their state, claiming, as does the ALP today when their leaders put in photo-ops at the picket lines, to represent the interests of the workers. For nearly a hundred years, a crucial instrument in this has been the Arbitration system which mandates the compulsory settlement of labour disputes in special, supposedly "neutral" courts.

Bourgeois Reaction and Cop Terror

The union bureaucracy not only betrays the most elementary economic interests of the workers, it also serves as a transmission belt to the working class of bourgeois reaction, part of the political mechanism which ties workers to their exploiters. Most dangerous and disorienting is the lie—peddled incessantly by the union leaders—that the cops are potential "union allies." But to picketers at Fremantle, where the cops have been particularly brutal, or to the 185 arrested picketers in Brisbane, or to Aboriginal peoples who are routinely brutalised, beaten and killed by the cops, reality has taught otherwise.

The fact is, the cops aren't neutral, and they're not "workers in uniform." They are the armed fist of what Friedrich Engels called the "executive committee" of the ruling class—the state. When the cops demand more rights, whether in the guise of "union" rights or not, these are demands for *more power*, better guns and less restraint. That they haven't simply waded in with truncheons, tear gas and guns reflects the tactically conflicting messages coming from their paymasters. But when the order comes, the cops will attack mercilessly. Their job is to do the daily dirty work of the ruling class, defending the interests of the rich and powerful. The police are a sewer of concentrated racism, sexism and anti-socialist consciousness in capitalist society.

While praising the cops and looking to the capitalist courts, the MUA leadership (and the ACTU/ALP) declares Patrick and the Coalition government "un-Australian." But the "Australian" way is savage union-busting, racist murder of Aborigines and "White Australia" chauvinism. Taught in this racist school, some picketers have hurled abuse at the scabs—not as scabs, but because they are Maori or other nonwhite people. This racism is poison to the kind of integrated class struggle that is necessary to win. Maoris and Pacific Islanders, particularly from the construction unions, have been in the forefront of support to the MUA. Many of them are veterans of the Builders Labourers Federation, smashed by the ALP in 1986. Aborigines have joined the pickets, knowing that it is the same racist government attacking both them and the waterside workers. Immigrants and refugees, facing imprisonment in detention centre hellholes (established by the ALP) and deportation, have also joined the MUA's fight. The rights of immigrants, Aborigines and labour will go forward together or will fall back separately.

Various self-styled socialists have advanced a range of "militant" demands. But, following the lead of the ACTU/MUA bureaucracy, they are simply pimping for the ALP. The International Socialist Organisation (ISO) says, "Sack Howard, not the wharfies," a naked call for an ALP government. The ISO calls for a one-day strike, while the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) calls for "wider industrial action" or a "national strike." But the kind of class-against-class political struggle needed for the MUA and the rest of the working class to win means a fight against the Laborite misleaders—whom groups like the ISO support and seek to pressurise to "do the right thing." Even worse is the DSP, which has no problem voting for the bourgeois Democrats, who to this day uphold the Workplace Relations Act.

A step to the left is Workers Power (WP), which calls for an "indefinite general strike." But a general strike—the mobilisation of the entire working class—by its nature poses the question of *power*: which class shall rule in society. But to WP it's a more militant-sounding slogan than the calls for one- or two-day "actions." Whatever their criticisms of the trade-union bureaucracy, WP is as firmly in their orbit as the ISO and DSP, calling on workers to pressure the ALP/ACTU—the very forces which have worked overtime to demobilise and derail the waterfront struggle in the service of getting Labor back in power—to carry out a general strike! Thus they call to put the ALP "to the test of office," as though 13 years of the ALP's anti-working-class, anti-immigrant rule needs further testing. No wonder they condemn as "abstract sectarianism" what they term our "ritual calls for a break with the ALP and the founding of a new Bolshevik Party."

Workers of the World, Unite!

Workers around the world, especially dock workers, are following the MUA's struggle closely. Our comrades of the International Communist League from the North American West Coast to Britain to South Africa have brought news of this fight and the class-struggle program needed to win it to union meetings and demonstrations, hiring halls and dock entrances. The war on the MUA is part of a broader anti-union offensive around the Pacific Rim. With narrow profit margins, the maritime bosses need to turn ships and cargo around quickly, so from Los Angeles to Vancouver, and Tokyo to Manila, they're out to reduce labour costs and weaken, if not destroy, the unions. But as the bitter defeat of the Liverpool dockers strike reveals, the battle must be fought and won against the bosses and their state "at home." The Liverpool dockers were stabbed in the back by the Trades Union Congress and their own leaders in the Transport and General Workers Union who got what they wanted: a Labour Party government which is going after unions, students, the sick, the unemployed, minorities and the Irish Catholics, among others.

The nationalist ACTU tops act to poison international solidarity action with their protectionist calls to "save Australian industry," pushing the lie that workers have a common "national interest" with "their" exploiters at home, especially against the peoples of Asia. Down with racist protectionism! International class-struggle solidarity with the combative working classes of Asia means opposition to Australian imperialism and its bloody role of suppressing the struggles of the working class and oppressed in the region. Australian troops out of Bougainville!

Right now hundreds of ***millions*** of workers throughout Southeast Asia, from Thailand to Indonesia, from South Korea to Malaysia, are facing devastation and destitution—the inevitable result of the workings of capitalist imperialism. In Japan, too, workers and minorities in this major imperialist power, jockeying with its rivals in Germany-dominated Europe and the U.S., face mass layoffs. The capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union—which was strangled by the Stalinist usurpers who betrayed the workers revolution led by the Bolshevik Party in October 1917—has emboldened the imperialists worldwide. In China, the Stalinist bureaucracy seeks to overturn the 1949 anti-capitalist revolution and bring back the days of unbridled and cruel oppression, not least of women. Either the workers, who in dozens of cities have sought to fight back, will oust the Stalinists through proletarian political revolution or capitalist restoration will triumph. For the unconditional military defence of China against both imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution!

Day in and day out the capitalists (echoed by their labour lieutenants) preach the virtues of "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work." Over 150 years ago Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, declared that instead of this conservative motto, which accepts the "right" of the capitalists to live off the labour of others, workers must inscribe on their banner the *revolutionory* watchword: "***Abolition of the wages system!***" The multiracial working class in Australia must take its place in the international struggle to send the capitalist system of private profit, of poverty, of inevitable war to redivide the world for imperialist exploitation, to the dust bin of history.

The Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League, is dedicated to building a party of the working class, a tribune and champion of all the oppressed, that seeks nothing other than international socialist revolution. Those who labour must rule! Bust the union-busters! Victory to the MUA! For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!■

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Australasian SPARTACIST

Marxist newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia

$5/4 issues (1 year) in Australia and seamail elsewhere
$7/4 issues—Airmail

Order from/make checks payable to:
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GPO Box 3473, Sydney, NSW, 2001, Australia

WORKERS VANGUARD

Government Hands Off the Unions!

Down With California Prop 226!

In the midst of a nationwide government offensive against the trade unions following last summer's successful UPS Teamsters strike, a measure has been placed on the June 2 primary ballot in California which would further attack union rights. As with similar measures being put forward in 20 different states, Prop. 226 would prohibit union "political contributions or expenditures" unless the unions obtain a signed statement from each member, once a year, authorizing the use of their dues money for such purposes. Similar laws are already on the books in Washington, Iowa and Michigan. Meanwhile, parallel versions of the California measure are being mooted in both houses of Congress.

Democrats, Republicans—Partner Parties of Capitalism

Heavily bankrolled by a confidante of Republican house speaker Newt Gingrich named Grover Norquist, who has organized the "Americans for Tax Reform," Prop. 226 is part of a coordinated campaign by the Republican Party to cut the Democrats off from the millions they get each year in union money. As Marxists, we oppose Prop. 226 because we oppose any and all intervention by the government into the labor movement. The bourgeois state, consisting in essence of the cops, courts, military and government machinery, exists to enforce the rule of the tiny elite of exploiters over the working class—the interests of these two classes are irreconcilable. The intervention of the capitalist government into the labor movement always serves to weaken the unions and to discipline the working class in the face of the bosses' relentless drive to maximize profits.

At the same time, our call for the independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state means that we fight against the AFL-CIO tops' support to the Democrats, who just as much as the Republicans represent the enemy of workers and the oppressed.

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Bust the Union-Busters—No Reliance on the Bosses' Courts!

Australian Labor Tops Demobilize Waterfront Struggle

We reprint below a special 4 May supplement of Australasian Spartacist, *newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia, on the dock workers strike against Patrick Stevedores which erupted last month after its mass firing of unionized workers. As we described in "War on the Waterfront—Smash Bosses' Union-Busting Offensive in Australia!" (WV No. 689, 24 April), this move was orchestrated by Prime Minister John Howard's right-wing Liberal/National Coalition government.*

Australasian **SPARTACIST**

John Howard and Patrick Stevedores' Chris Corrigan thought their massive union-busting assault on the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) couldn't go wrong. But the serious show of union power from Fremantle to Melbourne, Brisbane and Sydney threw a wrench in their plans, as thousands of workers came out to support the embattled MUA. Now, with some 10,000 containers piled up on the docks, Patrick's share prices and Howard's ratings in the polls have fallen sharply. But the union misleaders have consciously demobilised this power, counterposing reliance on the bosses' courts and...electing a capitalist Labor government which will make good on its own threats of "waterfront reform."

Today the High Court ruled against Patrick's 7 April sacking of MUA workers. But MUA members and supporters have little to celebrate—the administrators of Patrick's labour-hire companies have been given complete power to determine whether *anyone* will be rehired. Even before today's decision, the MUA tops promised that MUAers would *work for free* to help improve Patrick's cash flow. Agreeing that Sydney and Melbourne ports are "overmanned," MUA secretary John Coombs is also willing to bargain away 200 jobs. ***We say: no settlement until all 2,000 get their jobs back, and all the charges are dropped against picket line defenders!***

John Howard has made it clear that no matter what various judges pronounce, the Coalition will continue its union-busting drive against the MUA: "Court decisions will come and go but nothing will alter the determination of my government to reform Australia's waterfront." Howard has said aloud what the capitalist rulers normally prefer to conceal—the true purpose of the legal system is to serve the interests of the tiny minority that lives by expropriating the fruits of the working class' labour. Indeed, the Workplace Relations Act, especially the laws against solidarity strikes, was crafted precisely to make legal this type of attack on the MUA.

While the bourgeoisie's judges played the sacked waterfront workers like a yo-yo, the union bureaucracy bowed before the capitalists' union-busting laws, turning what should be mass pickets that no one dare cross into traffic signals as the lines were ordered open to let the scab thugs enter. In Sydney, the MUA tops cut deals to allow scab cargo—race cars, "emergency" medical supplies, mining equipment, syrup for McDonald's—to move off the wharves.

The state-orchestrated union-busting against the MUA is a watershed for the working class in this country, comparable to the great British miners strike of 1984-85. Just as "Iron Lady" Thatcher staked all on destroying the miners, so the Australian rulers are out to crush the MUA. It is widely understood that a defeat for this union would embolden the capitalist rulers' drive against all unions, immigrants and

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Economist

Government-orchestrated union-busting, mass firing provoked militant workers' struggle on Australian waterfront. Union tops seek to derail struggle, preach reliance on capitalist courts.

Jeremy Piper

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 691

22 May 1998

Suharto on the Ropes—Beware Imperialist Schemes for New Dictatorship!

Indonesia: For Workers Revolution!

AFP photos

Protest by University of Indonesia students against dictator Suharto. Anger over police/military terror, IMF austerity triggered plebeian upheaval against U.S.-backed dictatorship.

Down With the Generals! Down With Anti-Chinese Pogroms! Independence for East Timor!

MAY 19—After more than three decades of tyrannical military dictatorship, ushered in by the slaughter of a half million workers, peasants, Communists and ethnic Chinese in 1965-66, the reign of Indonesian strongman Suharto appears to be coming to an end. Months of skyrocketing inflation and unemployment resulting from the economic crisis racking Southeast Asia have led to growing turmoil throughout the country. The anger exploded in the past two weeks, when the government imposed draconian cuts in subsidies for fuel and other necessities—jacking up prices by as much as 70 percent—as part of the austerity measures dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

When troops shot dead six student protesters from Jakarta's elite Trisakti University last Tuesday, this provoked a plebeian upheaval which left hundreds dead and wide swathes of the capital in smoldering ruins. Fearing for their safety, the IMF vultures and imperialist bankers who have sucked the lifeblood out of Indonesia's toilers temporarily withdrew their personnel from the capital. The desperately poor slum masses particularly targeted the mansions and businesses of the president, his family and cronies. But the looting of stores and shopping malls also spilled over into murderous attacks against Chinese merchants and homes. There are clear indications that these pogromist assaults were encouraged by the regime itself, which has time and again channeled popular outrage into anti-Chinese racism.

Suharto, returning from a conference in Egypt, revoked some of the cuts while flooding the streets of Jakarta with thousands of troops. As the dictator temporizes, calls for his resignation multiply. From the slums of Jakarta to the

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U.S. "War on Drugs" Means Global Terror

Death Squad Massacres in Colombia

The murder of some two dozen peasants in the Colombian village of Puerto Alvira on May 4 cast a stark light on the escalating war of terror being waged by U.S.-backed military forces in that South American country. Many of those killed, who included children only five years old, were doused with gasoline and set ablaze. This was the third massacre perpetrated by death squads in peasant villages in less than two weeks.

And on May 8, even as Colombian president Ernesto Samper was hypocritically condemning "paramilitary violence," his own troops gunned down at least 25 members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) in the vicinity of Puerto Alvira. Dozens of peasants were also killed by death squads in the same area last July.

U.S. imperialism stands directly behind this grisly, and growing, slaughter of peasants and leftist guerrillas in Colombia. The country is crawling with Pentagon "advisers," CIA operatives, Green Berets and other "counterinsurgency" units, as well as U.S.-supplied helicopter gunships. In late March, only

continued on page 2

Agudelo/El Tiempo

Some two dozen peesants in Puerto Alvire were slaughtered by Colombien deeth squed, Mey 4.

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Colombia Massacres...

(continued from page 1)

weeks before the most recent massacres, the Clinton administration called for a sharp increase in military aid to Colombia, supposedly aimed at eliminating the Colombian cocaine and heroin trade. As we wrote last year: "The 'drug war' has become Yankee imperialism's latest fig leaf for beefing up the forces of repression against peasant and working-class unrest in Latin America, while at home it has meant an escalation of racist police terror in the ghettos and barrios" (*WV* No. 664, 21 March 1997).

Colombia offers prime evidence of the real purpose behind Washington's global "war on drugs." Only a year ago, Clinton was denouncing Samper for being "soft on drug traffickers." But with the FARC and another leftist guerrilla organization, the National Liberation Army (ELN), gaining strength and with imperialist oil interests in the country increasingly threatened, the U.S. has been funneling ever more arms and "advisers" to the Colombian regime. Clinton's latest aid request came just days after the FARC inflicted the worst defeat on the Colombian army and its U.S. advisers in decades, as the leftist guerrillas killed up to 80 soldiers of an elite, Pentagon-trained counterinsurgency unit during a 24-hour battle in the southern province of Caqueta.

AFP

Clinton drug czar McCaffrey visits Bogotá as U.S. pours in "advisers" and helicopter gunships.

Richard Emblin

The FARC and ELN now control as much as half of the countryside. A recent *U.S. News and World Report* (May 11) headlined its article, "Is Colombia Lost to Rebels?" Republican Congressman Benjamin Gilman rails about the spectre of a "narco-state" and Clinton drug czar General Barry McCaffrey denounces the FARC and ELN as "narco-guerrillas." In fact, the U.S.-backed military and death squads are linchpins in the Colombian drug trade. The head of the anti-communist paramilitary alliance that perpetrated the Puerto Alvira massacre and many others, the "United Self-Defense Units of Colombia," is himself a leading member of the country's new landowning "narco-bourgeoisie." These death squads murdered over 3,300 peasants in the first nine months of 1997 alone, while more than a million have been driven from their homes.

Meanwhile, trade unionists and leftist militants are increasingly targeted by government repression and right-wing terror. On April 21, public sector unions held a nationwide 24-hour strike to protest the assassination of Eduardo Umana, a respected human rights lawyer killed for defending jailed leaders of the USO oil workers union. Less than three weeks later, two oil workers were murdered and a USO leader narrowly escaped assassination, provoking a protest strike by 7,000 USO members against the state-run Ecopetrol company. Colombia's capitalist rulers have been selling off the country's oil wealth to "multinational" giants like British Petroleum and Occidental Petroleum, themselves reported to be key backers of the right-wing paramilitary butchers.

A November 1996 Human Rights Watch report—"Colombia's Killer Networks: The Military-Paramilitary Partnership and the United States"—makes it clear that the surge in death-squad terror is directly linked to a recent CIA and Defense Department program to create clandestine "intelligence networks" in Colombia. Over the past decade, Washington has poured a staggering *$500 million*—half of all U.S. military aid to Latin America—into Colombia, much of it going to supply the army units most notorious for perpetrating massacres. More than 9,000 Colombian officers, including armed forces chief Gen. Manuel José Bonett, got their training in torture and "neutralization" of leftists at the "School of the Americas" (more accurately known as the "School of the Assassins") now located at Fort Benning, Georgia.

U.S. imperialism's keen interest in Colombia also derives from that country's strategic location just south of Panama and the Canal Zone. The U.S. slaughtered thousands in its 1989 invasion, supposedly to arrest Panamanian strongman and former CIA "asset" Manuel Noriega for running drugs. Panama's role in the drug trade has only increased since then. Meanwhile, the country is being used as a staging area for the U.S.-backed war against the Colombian insurgents. Washington has been scheming for ways to get around the 1977 Panama Canal Treaty, which stipulated the return of all U.S. military facilities there to Panamanian control by the year 2000. Although the U.S. Southern Command was transferred to Miami last year, Clinton announced the creation of a vast, new "drug war" command center in Panama, to be manned by as many as 3,000 U.S. troops.

As many as 30,000 people have been killed in Colombia since the mid-1980s. Yet the armed struggle of the peasant-based leftist insurgents is aimed simply at pressuring the country's capitalist rulers into a "power-sharing" agreement based on negotiating a settlement over questions such as land reform, the sell-off of state-owned enterprises and "independence" from U.S. imperialism. As the U.S.-brokered "peace" in El Salvador makes clear, such an agreement only promises further immiseration and repression for the worker and peasant masses. The fight for national and social emancipation requires an internationalist proletarian vanguard party built in political struggle against all variants of petty-bourgeois nationalism and peasant guerrillaism. As we wrote in "U.S. 'Drug War' Means Imperialist Terror" (*WV* No. 664, 21 March 1997):

> "What is needed above all is the forging of revolutionary workers parties armed with the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution: to break the chains of imperialist domination, the proletariat—standing at the head of the peasantry and all the oppressed—must seize state power from the weak and venal local bourgeoisies and seek to extend socialist revolution to the U.S. imperialist heartland."

As Marxist internationalists, the Spartacist League seeks to bring down U.S. imperialism from within through proletarian revolution against the rapacious American bourgeoisie. A revolutionary leadership of the workers movement would mobilize the multiracial proletariat to oppose cop terror in the ghettos and barrios carried out under the guise of the racist "war on drugs"—calling for decriminalization of drugs—and to combat anti-immigrant racism. We demand: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Against the chauvinist, pro-imperialist AFL-CIO tops, we fight for international workers solidarity and for common class struggle by workers throughout the Americas. The millions of Mexican, Central and South American workers in the U.S. can serve as a living bridge between the struggles of the Latin American proletariat against the depredations of Wall Street and the International Monetary Fund and the fight for socialist revolution here. *Down with death squad terror! U.S. hands off Colombia!*■

Indonesia and Permanent Revolution

TROTSKY

LENIN

As mass protests sweep Indonesia, the imperialist powers are angling to replace the discredited Suharto dictatorship with a more reliable capitalist regime. Any such "solution" promises only to continue the impoverishment and repression of the worker and peasant masses, oppression of women and subjugation of national and ethnic minorities. What is needed is a Leninist vanguard party to lead the vibrant, young proletariat, standing at the head of all the oppressed, in socialist revolution against the imperialist-backed bourgeoisie. This is the road of permanent revolution elaborated by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky in drawing the lessons of the victorious October Revolution of 1917 and the defeated 1925-27 Chinese Revolution.

Not a single one of the tasks of the "bourgeois" revolution can be solved in these backward countries under the leadership of the "national" bourgeoisie, because the latter emerges at once with foreign support as a class alien or hostile to the people. Every stage in its development binds it only the more closely to the foreign finance capital of which it is essentially the agency. The petty bourgeoisie of the colonies, that of handicrafts and trade, is the first to fall victim in the unequal struggle with foreign capital, declining into economic insignificance, becoming declassed and pauperized. It cannot even conceive of playing an independent political role. The peasantry, the largest numerically and the most atomized, backward, and oppressed class, is capable of local uprisings and partisan warfare, but requires the leadership of a more advanced and centralized class in order for this struggle to be elevated to an all-national level. The task of such leadership falls in the nature of things upon the colonial proletariat, which, from its very first steps, stands opposed not only to the foreign but also to its own national bourgeoisie....

The above developed views regarding the special character of the "bourgeois" revolutions in historically belated countries are by no means the product of theoretical analysis alone. Before the second Chinese revolution (1925-27) they had already been submitted to a grandiose historical test. The experience of the three Russian revolutions (1905, February and October 1917) bears no less significance for the twentieth century than the French revolution bore for the nineteenth....

The regime of the proletarian dictatorship, by its very nature, however, could not limit itself to the framework of bourgeois property. The rule of the proletariat automatically placed on the agenda the socialist revolution, which in this case was not separated from the democratic revolution by any historical period, but was uninterruptedly connected with it, or, to put it more accurately, was an organic outgrowth of it. At what tempo the socialist transformation of society would occur and what limits it would attain in the nearest future would depend not only upon internal but upon external conditions as well. The Russian revolution was only a link in the international revolution. Such was, in broad outline, the essence of the conception of the permanent (uninterrupted) revolution. It was precisely this conception that guaranteed the victory of the proletariat in October.

—Leon Trotsky, "Revolution and War in China" (January 1938)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Jacob Zorn

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jane Patterson

EDITORIAL BOARD: Ray Bishop (managing editor), Bruce André, Helene Broslus, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@iiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is May 19.

No. 691 **22 May 1998**

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Down With Anti-Immigrant Chauvinism!

Sierra Club Eco-Racism

For several years, California has been on the leading edge of the wave of anti-immigration racism in the U.S. The passage of the state's anti-immigrant Prop. 187 four years ago helped spur passage of the immigration "reform" bill—with the backing of both the Democratic and Republican parties of capital—which was signed into law by Clinton in 1996. More recently, the California-based Sierra Club, one of the country's oldest, largest (and most bourgeois) environmentalist organizations, became embroiled in a highly publicized dispute over an explicitly anti-immigrant proposal. While this racist measure was ultimately rejected last month, it demonstrated the deeply reactionary underpinnings of the "environmentalist" movement.

Sierra Club members were faced with two proposals on immigration and population control. The openly racist "Alternative A" called for an "end to U.S. population growth" including "through reduction in net immigration." "Alternative B" called for limiting global population growth without taking a formal position on U.S. immigration policy, reasserting a position which the Sierra Club first adopted in 1996.

Nevertheless, Alternative B bought into the racist anti-immigrant frenzy by calling to slow down immigration "by encouraging sustainability, economic security, health and nutrition, human rights and environmentally responsible consumption" in underdeveloped countries. In other words, Third World peoples should stay at home to suffer the untrammeled exploitation, poverty and oppression meted out by the imperialist rulers of this world. In its opposition to Alternative A, the New York Sierra Club whined that immigrants only "indirectly" hurt the environment as the "result of their participation in the American economy" (*City Sierran*, Spring 1998).

One way or another, *all* environmentalists embrace the false premise first put forward by Thomas Malthus in his 1798 tract, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, that there are too many people on the planet and not enough resources. Unlike "right to life" bigots and other religious reactionaries, Marxists do not promote unlimited population growth; we recognize that the resources of this planet are not infinite. But our fight is for socialist revolution internationally to expropriate the capitalist exploiters and to introduce a planned economy to vastly *expand* productive capacity. Only in this way can the needs of the world's masses begin to be met on the road to building a classless communist society of abundance, where the organization of production and environmental and population issues can be addressed in a rational way. And in the U.S. as well as internationally, defense of the rights of immigrants and all the oppressed is key to mobilizing the proletariat in revolutionary struggle against the capitalist exploiters. ***Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!***

WV Photo

Gropp/Sipa

Marxists seek to mobilize proletariat in defense of immigrant rights against racist INS round-ups and deportations.

When the votes were finally tallied in late April, 60 percent of the Sierra Club chose the liberal bourgeois hypocrisy of Alternative B over in-your-face racism. The environmentalist luminaries backing Alternative A included Paul Watson, co-founder of Greenpeace, and former U.S. Senator Gaylord Nelson, initiator of Earth Day. Joining them was Prop. 187 co-author Barbara Coe and the racist "Federation for American Immigration Reform" (FAIR), which promotes the organization of anti-immigrant "citizen's militias" at the Mexican border. Also on board was one Garrett Hardin, an advocate of "eugenics"—the pseudo-science of selective human breeding which was pushed by Hitler's Nazis—who recently declaimed, "It would be better to encourage the breeding of more intelligent people rather than the less intelligent" (quoted in *Slingshot*, Spring 1998).

The association of such virulent racists with the environmentalist cause had the liberals of the *Nation* (18 May) complaining that "it looked as though the Sierra Club was in danger of being hijacked." But the immigrant-bashing outhurst in the Sierra Club was not the result of some plot by "outsiders." As one Alternative A supporter pointed out, already in 1988 the Sierra Club advocated immigration limits in order to achieve "population stabilization" in the U.S. Several years ago, liberal environmentalist Martin W. Lewis pointed out:

> "As would-be progressives, eco-radicals can hardly call for migration restrictions without appearing racist, yet as nature lovers they abhor the kind of development necessary to provide newcomers with jobs and housing. With the notable exception of the few primitivists, who firmly advocate closing America's borders, few have faced this contradiction."
>
> —*Green Delusions: An Environmentalist Critique of Radical Environmentalism* (1992)

With the capitalist rulers' anti-immigrant drive in full steam, that "contradiction" almost split the country's most venerable environmentalist organization down the middle.

Radical youth drawn to environmentalism are no doubt horrified that the "green" movement can encompass open racists. But there is a solid logic to such eco-racism. Environmentalists view technology and "overconsumption," not the capitalist system of exploitation and poverty, as the problem. If increased industrial production can only ruin the planet and there isn't enough to go around, then it's necessarily a question of deciding who loses out.

Many anarcho-greens who protest that capitalism, not over-population, is "killing the planet" end up extolling the ecological virtues of poverty. A Bay Area anarchist newsletter posits that the environmental "impact of an immigrant family, for example, living in a one-bedroom apartment and using mass transit pales in comparison to that of a wealthy family living in a single family home with two cars" (*Slingshot*, Spring 1998). This "less is better" mantra could not possibly find resonance among the oppressed neocolonial masses whose exploitation by the domestic capitalist rulers and the imperialists means miserable poverty and squalor. Indeed, "self-restraint" is the program cynically preached by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as they impose starvation austerity on workers and peasants in Indonesia, South Korea and elsewhere in the Third World.

The environmentalists' reactionary message of less consumption for the impoverished Third World masses is combined with petty-bourgeois hostility for the working class in the advanced countries. This is seen not only in their disdain for the fight against the brutal conditions of capitalist exploitation, such as job speedup and other attacks impairing the health and very lives of workers, but in incidents such as tree "spiking" in the 1980s, where to save some trees from logging companies environmentalist "radicals" directly threatened workers in the lumber industry with serious injury or death.

Even so, the reformists of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) expressed astonishment that the august Sierra Club would consider an openly racist anti-immigrant policy: "You wouldn't think that leading environmental groups would have much in common with right-wing Republican Patrick Buchanan" (*Socialist Worker*, 27 March). But the environmentalists' class hostility to the proletariat is nothing new. The turn-of-the-century conservationist movement expressed the interests of influential elements of the native white American bourgeoisie and upper petty bourgeoisie, who wanted to preserve the country's diminishing wilderness areas for their own enjoyment. "Love of nature" became an important component of American bourgeois-nationalist and nativist ideology.

Prior to the 1960s, almost all significant conservationist and environmentalist legislation had been enacted early in the century under the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, the most bellicose of U.S. imperialist rulers, who also pressured Japan into prohibiting further emigration to the U.S. The present-day American environmentalist movement was formed in the 1970s by an organic fusion, so to speak, between the old bourgeois conservationists represented by the Sierra Club and certain currents of New Left petty-bourgeois radicalism.

Marxism is fundamentally counterposed to the bourgeois ideology of the environmentalists, who care more about trees than humans. It is the capitalist profit system and the bourgeois nation-state which are the real barriers to the rational development of the world's productive forces. The capitalists' insatiable drive to increase profit margins has certainly created massive problems of pollution and destruction of the environment. But a much greater and immediate threat to mankind is the intensification of rivalries among the imperialist powers, which earlier this century led to two devastating world wars and now threatens the ultimate destruction of humanity through a third, nuclear interimperialist war.

It will take proletarian revolution internationally, leading to a vast *increase* in energy and technology, to secure for the Third World masses the basic things that most working people in industrialized countries take for granted: electricity, literacy, clean water. A socialist planned economy would invest massively in research and development to produce the most labor-saving and energy-efficient technology. Only economic planning on an international scale, with massive transfers of technology to the backward countries, can provide the bridge to narrowing and eventually overcoming the vast gulf in standards of living separating the peoples of Africa, Latin America and much of Asia from the imperialist centers of the U.S., West Europe and Japan.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs look to recruit revolutionary-minded youth who hate the bigotry and exploitation of capitalism. What's needed is a Marxist understanding of class society, and with that the commitment to building a Leninist party to fight for proletarian revolution and a communist future which will put an end to degradation, racism and poverty.■

Spartacist Forums

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IMF Austerity in Southeast Asia—War Ships in the Persian Gulf

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

Friday, May 29, 7 p.m.

Hollywood United Methodist Church
6817 Franklin Avenue
(Highland Ave. exit off 101 Freeway)
For more information: (213) 380-8239

SAN FRANCISCO

IMF Austerity in Southeast Asia—War Ships in the Persian Gulf

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

Saturday, May 30, 7:00 p.m.

Unitarian Church, 1187 Franklin Street
For more information: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

TORONTO

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Women's Liberation and Islamic Reaction

Saturday, June 6, 7:30 p.m.

St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor Street West
(just west of Spadina subway)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

Workers Power Back to "Third Camp"

"Death of Communism" Centrists

The following is reprinted from Workers Hammer *No. 161 (March-April 1998), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.*

WORKERS HAMMER

Following the December 1979 Red Army intervention in Afghanistan, the imperialists fired the opening shots of their Cold War II drive to destroy the Soviet Union. Marching in lockstep behind the anti-Soviet war drive, most left groups accelerated their headlong rush to the right. In contrast, the Workers Power (WP) organisation used the occasion to announce its repudiation of the anti-Soviet "third camp" position inherited from Tony Cliff's organisation, from which WP had split five years earlier. Rejecting Cliff's ignorant "theory"—derived from buying into the "democratic" credentials of British imperialism—that the Soviet Union was "totalitarian" and "state capitalist," WP declared that it had come over to Trotsky's understanding that the Soviet Union under Stalinism was a degenerated workers state.

Yet, in practice, WP never drew the programmatic conclusions of Trotsky's analysis: unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union and the other deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. WP joined the imperialists and their Labour lieutenants in *opposing* the Soviet military intervention against CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan, while claiming it would be "tactically wrong...to demand the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops" (*Workers Power*, February 1980). And when Polish Solidarność made its power bid in late 1981, WP acknowledged that it was an openly counterrevolutionary movement backed by the Pope, the CIA and Western bankers, but *supported it anyway*.

The 1982 WP pamphlet, *The Degenerated Revolution*, codifying their line "change," is a chemically pure expression of Trotsky's description of centrism as "crystallised confusion." Thus, while recognising that capitalism had been overthrown in the Eastern European countries under the post-World War II Soviet occupation, Workers Power called these "counterrevolutionary social overturns." As the winds of Cold War II blew increasingly hot, WP moved farther to the right. In 1990, Workers Power called on anti-Communist Tory prime minister Margaret Thatcher to give arms to the fascist-infested Lithuanian Sajudis. The same year, it played an active part in pushing the anti-Communist witchhunt, orchestrated by the MI5 secret police, against National Union of Mineworkers head Arthur Scargill, who was hated by the British bourgeoisie not only for leading the heroic 1984-85 miners strike but for denouncing the anti-Soviet war drive and rightly calling Solidarność "anti-socialist" (see "Workers Power Caught with Russian Fascists, Thatcher's Scabs," *WH* No. 116, September 1990). In August 1991, WP supporters literally stood on the barricades of counterrevolution in Moscow alongside Yeltsin's imperialist-backed forces.

Having joined Yeltsin in dancing on the grave of the great 1917 October Revolution, Workers Power and its international, the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI), have now brought their "theory" into line with their practice. In an article by Mark Abrams and Helen Watson titled "Stalinist Bureaucracy—Marxist Theory and the State" (*Trotskyist International*, January-June 1998), which is no less pompous than it is ignorant, WP argues that a bourgeois state was restored in the Soviet Union in 1927. The deformed workers states in Eastern Europe are said to have been created "without the smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus." Trotsky is taken to task for not calling to smash the Soviet state under Stalin, and Trotsky's whole analysis of the class character of the Soviet Union is openly repudiated.

The anti-Communist conclusion of WP is explicit:

> "In the Soviet Union the smashing of the Stalinist state machine had been a programmatic necessity ever since the counter-revolutionary political expropriation of the working class by the Stalinist caste. In Eastern Europe such a task was necessary from the moment of their creation as workers' states."

This is a convenient alibi for the fact that the LRCI lined up behind the forces of counterrevolution which did indeed smash the Soviet degenerated workers state and the bureaucratically deformed workers states of Eastern Europe. But more than that it reflects how deeply Workers Power drinks from the "death of communism" well of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

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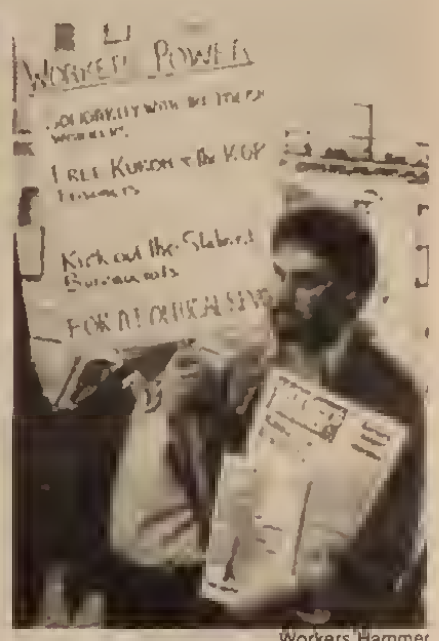

Workers Hammer

Workers Power called for "solidarity" with CIA/Vatican-inspired anti-Communist Polish Solidarność in early 1980s, now embraces imperialist "death of communism" lie.

Burying the Legacy of the Russian Revolution

The "Russian question" has been the defining political question of the 20th century and the touchstone for revolutionaries. We Trotskyists stood at our posts and fought to preserve and extend the revolutionary gains of the working class embodied in the proletarian property forms of the former workers states. We understood that the fight for workers to seize political power from the anti-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy—as part of the struggle for world socialist revolution—was the only real defence of these gains.

Hiding between the legs of their "own" imperialist rulers, virtually every other tendency on the left howled against the Soviet Union. Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP) rejoiced in Yeltsin's coming to power, declaring, "Communism has collapsed" (*Socialist Worker*, 31 August 1991). The LRCI's Fourth Congress produced a manifesto, headlined "A New Dawn for Humanity" (*Workers Power*, October 1997), which likewise celebrated the victory of the forces of counterrevolution: "These movements brought an end to decades of Stalinist dictatorship. All genuine revolutionaries rejoiced at the downfall of these bureaucratic, totalitarian monstrosities."

With their "new" theory on the class character of the Soviet state, Workers Power is part of a stampede of pseudo-Trotskyists who have joined the imperialists in trying to bury the legacy of the Russian Revolution and with it the "spectre" of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Al Richardson, editor of the British journal *Revolutionary History*, now suggests the Russian Revolution was "premature," or a "false start." Expressing his own cynical attitude to revolutionary history, Richardson sneers at "the present debate between supporters of the workers' state theory and the proponents of state capitalism as a puerile exercise, unworthy of the attention of serious Marxists, as well as being a waste of time and effort" (*In Defence of the Russian Revolution: A Selection of Bolshevik Writings 1917-1923* [1995]).

The United Secretariat (USec), which falsely claimed for many years to be the continuators of Trotsky's Fourth International, is now ditching any such pretence. Thus a leading supporter of the USec in Italy asked: "Does it still make sense for militants, history apart, to bow down before the writings of the Russian revolutionary?... I don't believe that one can think of a socialist project for the 21st century that starts from the paradigms of Leninism and Trotskyism."

The LRCI's new "theory" is correspondingly the codification of their repudiation of the fight for proletarian revolution. They stridently call to "smash the Stalinist state" while on the home front operating as the most cringing, servile apologists for the maintenance of capitalist rule in its social-democratic face. In "Marxist Theory and the State," Workers Power declares that what existed in the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of Eastern Europe was "the bourgeois form of the state machine and the proletarian content of the social relations of production defended by this machine." This ignorant gobbledygook makes a mockery of the most elementary Marxism in order to serve the purpose of Workers Power's prostration before Labourite social democracy. Its idea of a "new dawn" for the working class in Britain was the election of Tony Blair's virulently anti-working-class Labour government.

As we wrote in our article "Workers Power's 'United Front' with Counterrevolution" (*WH* No. 160, January-February 1998):

> "Specifically against the German Social Democrat Kautsky, who opposed proletarian revolution, Lenin said that 'the proletariat cannot simply win state power in the sense that the old state apparatus passes into new hands, but must smash this apparatus, must break it and replace it by a new one' (*The State and Revolution*). By assening that workers states could come into existence without smashing 'the bourgeois form of state apparatus,' the latter-day Kautskyites of Workers Power reveal their true programme—pushing social-democratic parties like the Australian Labor Party or the British Labour Party into getting rid of capitalism."

The Degeneration of the Russian Revolution

Counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe represented an unparalleled defeat for the working masses in these countries and the entire world. It has led to an escalation in the oppression of the semicolonial peoples, fratricidal nationalist war in the now capitalist states of the former Yugoslavia and USSR and a dramatic increase in racist terror throughout Europe. It has exacerbated the rivalry among competing imperialist powers, thus pushing the world closer to imperialist war. And it has led to a dramatic retrogression in the political consciousness of the working class and

WV Photo

Trotskyists hailed 1979 Soviet intervention against imperialist-backed Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan, organized support for besieged women and leftists following Kremlin's treacherous 1989 withdrawal.

leftist youth, who are hombarded with bourgeois ideology that "socialism is impossihle" and "communism is dead."

The International Communist League fights to complete the task begun by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party when they led the working class to victory in Russia in 1917—to pursue the class struggle to a victorious conclusion, with state power embodied in workers councils around the world. In a period conditioned by such colossal defeats for the international proletariat as capitalist counterrevolution in the homeland of the October Revolution, the disproportion between our purpose and the current political consciousness of the working class, youth and the left internationally is great. Unlike those self-proclaimed leftists who disparage Leninism and the lessons of the Russian Revolution, we hold on to the dearly hought lessons of the past as part of our fight to be the revolutionary leadership that can rearm the proletariat with the consciousness of its historic interest in the struggle for new October Revolutions.

For the first and only time in human history, the Russian Revolution took the Marxist programme of proletarian revolution out of the realm of theory and gave it living reality, creating a society where the proletariat ruled through its own class dictatorship. The Bolshevik Revolution was a beacon to the workers of the world. The Bolsheviks understood that socialist revolution in the imperialist countries was essential to the survival of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia, and saw the Russian Revolution as the opening shot in the overthrow of capitalism internationally, expecting it to he quickly followed hy workers revolutions elsewhere.

The defeat particularly of a revolution in Germany in 1918-19 and imperialist hostility to the fledgling Soviet republic, which was invaded by 14 capitalist armies, led to prolonged isolation of the workers state in a very backward country. Writing in 1921, Lenin noted: "The workers' state is an abstraction. In reality we have a workers' state with the following peculiar features, (1) it is the peasants and not the workers who predominate in the population and (2) it is a workers' state with bureaucratic deformations" (cited in Trotsky, "From a Scratch—To the Danger of Gangrene," 1940). In 1922, Lenin urged Trotsky to take up the fight against the increasing bureaucratisation of the Bolshevik Party. Particularly following the failure of a second revolutionary opportunity in Germany in October 1923, and the consequent demoralisation of the Soviet proletariat, quantity turned into quality, as the bureaucratic layer headed by Stalin usurped power from the proletariat through a *political counterrevolution*.

In his retrospective analysis of the triumph of the Stalinist bureaucracy over the Trotskyist Left Opposition, Trotsky wrote:

> "Socially the proletariat is more homogeneous than the bourgeoisie, but it contains within itself an entire series of strata that become manifest with exceptional clarity following the conquest of power, during the period when the bureaucracy and a workers' aristocracy connected with it begin to take form. The smashing of the Left Opposition implied in the most direct and immediate sense the transfer of power from the hands of the revolutionary vanguard into the hands of the more conservative elements among the hureaucracy and the upper crust of the working class. The year 1924—that was the beginning of the Soviet Thermidor."
>
> —"The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bonapartism" (1935)

In 1924, the Stalinists repudiated the internationalist programme of Lenin's Bolsheviks and adopted the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," which Workers Power barely mentions. Instead, echoing the position of Tony Cliff, it claims that the qualitative degeneration of the Russian Revolution occurred in 1927. Like Cliff, Workers Power declares that this signalled the restoration of a capitalist state in the Soviet Union. WP disingenuously asks why "did Trotsky never argue that the Stalinist state machine should be 'smashed' in the course of the political revolution?"

Workers Hammer

Skurlhinaya/Pravda

British Workers Power at 1990 London protest in support of fascist-infested Baltic counterrevolutionaries.

The answer is quite simple. Unlike Cliff and WP, Trotsky understood that the degeneration of the Russian Revolution was ***political*** and did not signify a social counterrevolution. That the Stalinist bureaucracy ruled through massive repression and terror was not a reflection of any change in the class character of the Soviet Union but rather of the fact that the bureaucracy was based on an enormous contradiction. Trotsky described the Soviet bureaucracy as a brittle, privileged and parasitic *caste* that is "recruited, supplemented and renewed in the manner of an administrative hierarchy." As Trotsky insisted, the "bureaucracy derives its privileges not from any special property relations peculiar to it as a 'class,' but from those property relations that have been created by the October revolution, and that are fundamentally adequate for the dictatorship of the proletariat" ("The Class Nature of the Soviet State," 1933).

The Trotskyist programme was very clear: unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, and proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. "*Unconditional* defence" meant explicitly that this defence was not conditional upon the prior overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Trotsky used the term proletarian political revolution to make clear that what was necessary was not a new form of class rule, hut a change in the political character of the regime which exercised the dictatorship of the proletariat. The bureaucratic caste had to be overthrown and genuine workers democracy—through the rule of soviets—restored.

Trotsky carefully distinguished such a political revolution from a social revolution to overthrow capitalism, which would reqnire the smashing of the existing state apparatus. In a workers political revolution, said Trotsky, "what will be involved is not an armed insurrection against the dictatorship of the proletariat but the removal of a malignant growth upon it."

Trotsky vs. the Predecessors of Workers Power

Trotsky waged a tireless political struggle against those who claimed that capitalism had been restored in the USSR or that a new exploiting class had consolidated power. According to WP, "The smashing of the Stalinist state machine had been a programmatic necessity ever since the counter-revolutionary political expropriation of the working class by the Stalinist caste." Ridiculing earlier anti-Marxist renegades who, using the vulgar rhetoric of "democracy," claimed that Stalin had replaced the dictatorship of the proletariat with the "dictatorship over the proletariat," Trotsky wrote:

> "The most widespread, popular, and at first sight, irrefutable argument in favor of the non proletarian character of the present Soviet state is based upon the reference to the strangulation of the liberties of proletarian organizations and to the almightiness of the bureaucracy....
>
> "Such enticing reasoning is constructed not upon a materialistic analysis of the process as it develops in reality but upon pure idealistic schemas, upon Kantian norms. Certain noble 'friends' of the revolution have provided themselves with a very radiant conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and they are completely prostrated in the face of the fact that the real dictatorship with all its heritage of class barbarism, with all its internal contradictions, with the mistakes and crimes of the leadership, fails entirely to resemble that sleek image that they have provided. Disillusioned in their most beautiful emotions, they turn their backs to the Soviet Union."
>
> —"The Class Nature of the Soviet State"

Workers Power's line that a capitalist state was restored in the Soviet Union in 1927 is simply a rehash of the same social-democratic methodology that Trotsky refuted 60 years earlier. Indeed, its "new theory" bears some resemblance to the bureaucratic collectivism of James Burnham, who with Max Shachtman headed a petty-bourgeois opposition in 1939-40 inside the then-Trotskyist American Socialist Workers Party to the programme of unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union.

Burnham asserted that the Soviet Union had a non-capitalist economy, while claiming that a new "bureaucratic collectivist" exploiting class had taken power in the Soviet Union. This "theory" was later taken up by the Shachtmanites as an after-the-fact rationale for reneging on defence of the Soviet Union—in capitulation to liberal petty-bourgeois "public opinion"—at the time of the 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact.

Similarly, Workers Power's belated "discovery" that the Soviet Union became a "bourgeois" state in 1927 is a convenient rationale for its support for the forces of counterrevolution during Cold War II. It also serves to suggest that nothing decisive happened in 1991-92 when a capitalist state was indeed restored as a result of Yelstin's imperialist-backed counterrevolution. Workers Power bragged about standing on Yeltsin's barricades among the rabble of "spivs and racketeers" in a "united front" for "democracy."

Workers Power vs. the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

As far back as 1918, in *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, Lenin denounced German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky's support to capitalist "democracy" against the dictatorship of the proletariat: "It is natural for a liberal to speak of 'democracy' in general; but a Marxist will never forget to ask: 'for what class?'" The LRCI's "new" analysis revises the Marxist definition of the state by divorcing it from the property forms it defends. For Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky the state was an organ of class rule. The bourgeois state consists of "special hodies of armed men"—committed to the defence of capitalist private property. Through socialist revolution, the working class must establish its own rule—the dictatorship of the proletariat—by smashing the existing capitalist state apparatus.

continued on page 10

WV Photo

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SL/U.S. protest against 1992 Yeltsin visit to Wall Street paymasters. Workers Power joined reactionaries on barricades of counterrevolution in Moscow, August 1991.

Indonesia...

(continued from page 1)

White House and Wall Street, everyone knows that the dictator's days are numbered. The question is: what will replace him?

The imperialists are scrambling for a deal in which the military butchers agree to back some less discredited bourgeois political figures, either from Suharto's current entourage or the tame "opposition." This is the sentiment as well of wide sectors of the Indonesian bourgeoisie fed up with the way the notoriously corrupt Suharto clan has run the country into the ground. And among the protesters, particularly the students, illusions in a "democratic" wing of the military and civilian political establishment are rife.

Notably, armed forces chief Wiranto appeared at the funeral for the murdered students in Jakarta to express his apology, while his troops ostentatiously mingled with student protesters in the days after the massacre. But with the army threatening to prevent a mass student protest tomorrow, commemorating the struggle against Dutch colonialism, the waning days of the Suharto regime could yet see a massive bloodbath. And a leading spokesman for the ruling Golkar party talks of plans to replace Suharto with an "emergency committee" based on "built-in martial law"—a dire threat in the context of this blood-drenched dictatorship—particularly to crack down on "looters," i.e., the workers and urban poor. *We warn: A "reformed" Indonesian capitalist regime will be just as repressive and bloody as its predecessor and just as determined to force the country's toiling masses to pay for the capitalist crisis.*

The massive influx of imperialist investment in the last few decades has fostered the growth of a combative young proletariat, which has repeatedly engaged in strikes in recent years. Workers joined student protests in the North Sumatran city of Medan, and elsewhere public transport came to a halt as drivers went on strike. For now, however, the proletariat as a class has not entered the arena of struggle against the Suharto regime. It is urgently necessary for the working class to emerge as an independent revolutionary factor. This requires the forging of an internationalist vanguard party committed to leading the proletariat to the seizure of state power. *Down with Suharto! Down with the generals! For workers revolution in Indonesia!*

The proletariat must take its place at the head of the unemployed poor, the rural masses, women, the hundreds of brutally subjugated ethnic and national minorities in a struggle for socialist revolution against all wings of the capitalist class. This is the only way to satisfy the aspirations of the masses and break the stranglehold of imperialist exploitation and domination. Indonesia is a classic example of combined and uneven development, where modern capitalist industry coexists with deep backwardness. Drawing on the experience of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky explained in *The Permanent Revolution* (1930):

> "With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving ***democracy and national emancipation*** is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all its peasant masses."

Proletarian revolution in the Indonesian archipelago would resonate throughout Southeast and East Asia, where hundreds of millions of working people are being crushed under the weight of brutal exploitation and IMF-imposed austerity. It would also be an enormous impetus to proletarian political revolution in China, where the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy is driving headlong toward capitalist counterrevolution. The fight for a socialist Asia—for workers revolutions throughout the region, especially in imperialist centers like Japan and Australia—is a life-and-death question for proletarian militants in Indonesia. The U.S. and the other imperialist powers—which have armed Suharto to the hilt—would immediately seek to use their financial and military might to stamp out any challenge to capitalist class rule. The Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League, fights to mobilize the multiracial proletariat in struggle against the rapacious American bourgeoisie. *IMF, CIA, U.S. imperialism: Keep your bloody hands off Indonesia!*

Washington Promotes "Democratic" Military Butchers

As the turmoil in Jakarta mounted, Clinton called for "political reform" and urged Suharto to "open a dialogue with all elements of the society," while organizing a high-level American military delegation to meet with their Indonesian counterparts, and conspicuously not with the current president. "It is important to maintain military-to-military contacts," explained U.S. admiral Prueher, commander in chief of the U.S. Pacific Command. "Indonesia is important to the United States, and it is in our interest that Indonesia gets through this."

From its braintrusting of the 1965 anti-Communist bloodbath, when the CIA provided hit lists to Suharto's butchers, to the arming and training of the dreaded Kopassus Red Berets notorious for the torture and killing of suspected political opponents, the U.S. has been a chief backer of the military regime (see "U.S. Trains Indonesian Death Squads," *WV* No. 688, 10 April). Today, the imperialists are intent on cohering a more stable and reliable regime capable of implementing the IMF's dictates and protecting the superprofits Nike and other corporations reap from the exploitation of starvation-wage Indonesian labor. Washington is also concerned with defending control of the strategic Malacca Strait separating Sumatra from the Malaysian peninsula, the quickest sea route between the Pacific and the oil-rich Persian Gulf.

AP

Rioting last week left Chinese neighborhood in Jakarta in flames. Indonesian proletariat must combat anti-Chinese terror.

A measure of the level of imperialist apprehension over the spectre of "anarchy" in Indonesia was the fact that the U.S. mooted direct military intervention, declaring its readiness to send a flotilla of Navy ships, military helicopters and more than 10,000 troops to "evacuate U.S. citizens." Today's *Sydney Morning Herald* reports that a "team of military advisers" has been despatched to Jakarta and that "key sections of the Australian Defence Force have been placed on high levels of readiness, with naval helicopters being sent to Indonesia and RAAF [air force] crews put on rotation." And Japan, which is remembered for its brutal occupation when it briefly displaced the viciously racist Dutch colonialist regime during World War II, is organizing a military airlift of Japanese civilians. This would be the first time in postwar history that Japanese "self-defense" forces are unilaterally deployed abroad.

However, the imperialist powers' principal aim is to broker a political "solution" to the burgeoning Indonesian crisis. In an editorial headlined "Sunset for President Suharto," the *New York Times* (15 May) called for "a new government made up of trusted leaders" and held up the example of South Korea's Kim Dae Jung, who "persuaded citizens to accept measures that his predecessors could not." Kim, who was elected president last year largely on the basis of his record as an opponent of the former military rulers, was cultivated for decades by the CIA. Now he is administering the police-state regime and enforcing mass layoffs and IMF austerity. The imperialists' talk of democracy in Indonesia is nothing but a fig leaf for maintaining the brutal system of exploitation enforced through vicious military repression, buttressed as always by the U.S. and its British and Australian allies.

A class-struggle labor leadership would organize trade-union boycotts of arms shipments to the blood-drenched Indonesian military. Australian maritime workers have a history of such solidarity actions, from bans on Dutch shipping during the struggle for Indonesian independence in the 1940s to a 1996 boycott demanding the release of imprisoned Indonesian workers leaders. Genuine internationalist solidarity with the Indonesian working masses requires a political struggle against the union misleaders who embrace the aims of their imperialist masters. The British Labour government has sent over 50 arms shipments to Suharto in the past year, while the Australian Labor Party recently voted against a Senate motion calling for the release of leftists in Suharto's dungeons.

And while the pro-capitalist American AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy bleats about "multinational" low-wage sweatshops in Indonesia and occasionally mouths "concern" for imprisoned trade unionists there, this is only in order to push protectionist chauvinism and to further the broader interests of American imperialism. What is needed is a fight to break workers and minorities from the capitalist Democratic Party of racism and war and the forging of a revolutionary workers party. *Imperialist hands off Indonesia!*

"People Power" Fraud

Imperialist spokesmen have been churning out endless streams of propaganda glorifying the "people power" movement which led to the installation of Corazon ("Cory") Aquino in the Philippines in 1986. The *New York Times* (15 May) reports that "many Indonesians have become fascinated by the experience of the Philippines a decade ago in which mass demonstrations of 'people power' stopped the tanks of former President Ferdinand E. Marcos and persuaded soldiers to disobey his orders to shoot."

In fact, the "people power" mobilizations on the streets, heavily backed by the powerful Catholic hierarchy, were used as a vehicle for the U.S.-orchestrated removal of Marcos and the installation of a more credible and reliable government. Aquino's "people power" sham only succeeded because two top military leaders, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Army Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos, swung to her support under direct prodding from Washington. The result was to consolidate the imperialists' control of their semi-colonial client state.

To carry off this charade, Washington had in Aquino a ready candidate with impeccable anti-Communist credentials and proven allegiance to the dictates of Washington. Aquino was a member of the landed aristocracy, owner of one of the country's largest estates. Her husband Benigno, who was assassinated in Manila in 1983, had long been groomed by the CIA as a potential replacement for the increasingly despised Marcos regime. A graduate of the CIA school in Quantico, Virginia, Benigno Aquino began his political career by participating in the suppression of the Communist-led Huk rebellion in the late 1940s and early '50s. He went on to serve as CIA "control" for a 1958 clandestine operation in North Sulawesi in Indonesia which was part of an ill-fated attempt to provoke secessionist revolts against the Communist-supported, left-nationalist Sukarno regime.

The Filipino masses are no less exploited and oppressed today than they

AP

Independent

1986 "people power" fraud in Philippines steered opposition to hated Marcos dictatorship into support for CIA lackey Cory Aquino, whose regime enforced police-state terror against impoverished working masses.

were under Marcos. The military butchers who served Marcos remain in place. The urban and rural masses are among the most impoverished in all of Southeast Asia. The myriad national and religious minorities, particularly in predominantly Islamic Mindanao, continue to suffer under the boot of police-state terror. We warned in 1986 that the replacement of the corrupt, brutal Marcos dictatorship with Aquino's "clean team" would mean "the substitution of one set of American lackeys for another. Marxists say: beware of coups 'Made in U.S.A.'" (*WV* No. 398, 28 February 1986).

Whatever deal the imperialists and their Indonesian bourgeois lackeys cobble together will solve nothing, even in the short term. Whoever replaces Suharto will still have to push through the starvation policies demanded by the world bankers against an increasingly restive proletariat. And after decades of backing Suharto's iron dictatorship, Washington has no Indonesian equivalent of Kim Dae Jung waiting in the wings. Current vice-president Habibie, a fanatically anti-Chinese racist with ties to German imperialism, is very much a creature of his patron Suharto. "Moderate" generals like Wiranto are up to their necks in the blood of countless victims, from the slaughter of '65 to the ongoing torture and murder of leftists and worker militants to the repeated massacres of East Timorese independence fighters. "Opposition" politicians like Megawati Sukarnoputri—daughter of nationalist leader Sukarno, who was Suharto's predecessor—and Muslim leader Amien Rais have served as props for the military dictatorship.

Class Collaboration: Road to Bloody Defeat

Nonetheless, popular illusions in such figures pose an obstacle to the mobilization of the Indonesian proletariat. There is a syphilitic chain linking those who claim to speak for the proletarian and plebeian masses with the bourgeois "opposition" of Megawati and Rais, who in turn look to a wing of the military. Thus the left-nationalist People's Democratic Party explicitly calls for an alliance with Megawati and the Islamic PPP. The role of "moderate" Islamic leaders is typified by Rais—head of the 28 million-strong Muhammadiyah, the second-largest Muslim organization in the country—who appeals to the army to "protect the interests of the nation," hailing it as "the backbone of the community" (*Jakarta Post*, 18 April).

It is natural that these bourgeois politicians would look to the military butchers to "protect the interests of the nation." But those who promote such a perspective among the workers and urban poor are leading them to repeat the bloody defeat of 1965-66. Suharto came to power through an anti-Communist massacre carried out by the military and reactionary Islamic gangs, with the direct involvement of the American CIA and its Australian jackals. The terror which began in October 1965 crushed the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which with three million members and 14 million supporters in trade-union, peasant, women's and youth organizations was the largest in the capitalist world.

This horrendous bloodbath was an object lesson in the deadly danger of class collaboration. Basing itself on the Menshevik/Stalinist schema of "two-stage" revolution—which amounts to mobilizing the workers to bring the bourgeois nationalists to power in the first "stage" and ends in the massacre of workers and Communists—the PKI opposed the fight for proletarian revolution. PKI chairman D. N. Aidit proclaimed: "Long live Sukarno! Long live the PKI!" With the full backing of its Stalinist mentors in Moscow and especially Beijing, the PKI preached "national unity" with the bourgeois-nationalist rulers, the Islamic establishment and the military officers. The PKI gained a number of cabinet posts in Sukarno's government, embracing his strategy of "Nasakom"—an alliance of bourgeois nationalists, Islamic groups and "Communists." This nationalist popular front chained the proletariat to its class enemy.

The PKI repeatedly banned strikes, suppressed peasant protests and preached confidence in Sukarno and his generals. Pledging to enforce "co-operation between the people and the Armed Forces, in particular the Police Force," the PKI helped strengthen the very apparatus of repression which would slaughter its followers. Following a counterrevolutionary coup in October 1965 led by Suharto, the generals struck out against the party, while Sukarno turned a blind eye to the massacre of his former allies. The PKI, and the proletarian and peasant masses who looked to it, remained paralyzed in the face of the terror. We wrote at the time: "The working people of Indonesia are now *paying with their blood* for the betrayal by the leadership of the 3,000,000-member, pro-Chinese Communist Party of Indonesia" (*Spartacist* [English edition] No. 5, November-December 1965).

In the aftermath, those leftists and liberal intellectuals who had escaped the slaughter found themselves locked away in Suharto's dungeons for decades. Twenty-five years later, PKI leaders were still being executed. Untold thousands of ethnic Chinese were also slaughtered in 1965-66. Following the massacre, Suharto closed down Chinese-language schools and newspapers and even banned Chinese writing. Ethnic Chinese are virtually banned from the political system, civil service and academia. At the same time, the fabulously wealthy Suharto clan has deeply entwined its interests with a tiny Chinese elite who control some 70-80 percent of the country's economy. This has served to make all ethnic Chinese, a predominantly Christian minority composing less than 5 percent of the population in the largest Islamic country in the world, convenient scapegoats for the abject poverty of the Indonesian masses. Yet throughout Southeast Asia, ethnic Chinese form an important part of the proletariat and have historically played leading roles in workers' struggles.

In February, Suharto got Islamic religious leaders to declare a "holy war" on "speculators," touching off renewed anti-Chinese attacks. In March, British ITN television news reported that a pogrom on the island of Lombok was organized by security forces. And the London *Sunday Times* (17 May) indicates that the same Kostrad military unit which is widely believed to have been behind the murder of the Trisakti University students also encouraged last week's rampage against Chinese homes and shops in Jakarta. Kostrad is commanded by Suharto's son-in-law, Lieutenant General Prabowo, an Islamic fanatic who formerly headed the notorious Kopassus. Shortly before that pogrom, Prabowo ominously suggested that it was time for Indonesians to "take back control of their own economy." These incidents underline the need for Indonesian workers to champion the defense of the persecuted Chinese minority as part of the fight against their blood-drenched capitalist rulers.

Indonesia and Permanent Revolution

Bourgeois press reports have noted that the student protesters are supported by a wide array of forces, including some who themselves participated in the 1965-66 anti-Communist slaughter. The image of haughty IMF director Michel Camdessus standing over Suharto as the Indonesian strongman signed the world bankers' humiliating agreement served as a focus for "national unity." But underneath the shared outrage against Suharto and the imperialist bloodsuckers lie sharply counterposed class interests. Significant sections of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie despise the regime for its corrupt nepotism: the Suharto family is reputed to have amassed a fortune ranging upwards of $30 billion, *one-seventh* of the entire national economy. For the proletariat and urban and rural poor, the question is one of simple economic survival.

Unemployment has skyrocketed in the past year, leaving more than eight million jobless. Estimates indicate that by year's end nearly half of the workforce of 90 million will be making too little to meet their minimum daily needs. One mechanic in Jakarta described the latest upheaval as the result of "the big gap between the rich and the poor," adding: "We need to change the way the country is run." And an article in the *New York Times* (18 May) noted that in the slums of the capital, unemployed "idle young men sound less interested in political warfare than in class warfare." But the looting of shops amounts only to a primitive appropriation of some articles of consumption, when what is needed is the expropriation of the means of production.

In order that any of the deeply felt needs of the masses can be met, the proletariat must seize power from the national bourgeoisie, expropriating its holdings and those of the imperialists. Indonesia won formal independence under Sukarno's nationalists in 1949, after centuries under the boot of Dutch colonial rule. Under Dutch colonialism, there was scarcely anything resembling a modern proletariat. In the years immediately after World War I, Communist leaders Tan Malaka and Henricus Sneevliet pursued a futile strategy based on political blocs with and accommodation to "revolutionary nationalists." They carried out an entry into the bourgeois-nationalist (and anti-Chinese) Sarekat Islam and even defended pan-Islamism as corresponding "to the national liberation struggle." In *The Permanent Revolution*, Trotsky wrote:

> "Under the conditions of the imperialist epoch the national democratic revolution can be carried through to a victorious end only when the social and political relationships of the country are mature for putting the proletariat in power as the leader of the masses of the people. And if this is not yet the case? Then the struggle for national liberation will produce only very partial results, results directed entirely against the working masses.
>
> "A backward colonial or semi-colonial country, the proletariat of which is insufficiently prepared to unite the peasantry and take power, is thereby incapable of bringing the democratic revolution to its conclusion."

Today, Indonesia remains a neocolony of imperialism—a source of cheap natural resources and low-wage labor—seething with unresolved national and social contradictions. But what has changed is the emergence of a young proletariat which has indicated its potential power in a series of strikes beginning in the early 1990s, many of them in the Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasih industrial belt of central Java. This is the social force which can sweep away the military dictatorship and put an end to the brutal oppression of women and the subjugation of national and religious minorities. There is no democratic wing of the bourgeoisie, and there can be no genuine democracy under capitalism in backward, dependent countries saddled by imperialist exploitation and grinding poverty. The proletariat must be made conscious of its historic role as the leader of the dispossessed masses and the gravedigger of this system of capitalist exploitation. It is the task of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to bring that understanding to the working class.

Amid the deepening economic crisis in Southeast Asia, hundreds of thousands of immigrant workers have been savagely expelled from one country after another. Working-class militants must oppose all deportations and demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants. In Indonesia itself, hundreds of national and ethnic minorities suffer under the whip of the Java-centered bourgeoisie. This is particularly clear in East Timor, which has been the scene of one bloody military massacre after another. Proletarian revolutionaries in Indonesia must uphold the right of self-determination for oppressed nations. ***Independence for East Timor!***

Against the schemes of the imperialists, the bourgeois "opposition" and the military to impose a new police-state regime—possibly with a new version of the hand-picked "parliament"—in Suharto's wake, we oppose the ban on political parties and call for a ***revolutionary constituent assembly***. In raising this

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International Communist League

IMF, CIA, U.S. Imperialism: Keep Your Bloody Hands Off Indonesia!

Down With Suharto! Down With the Generals! For Workers Revolution in Indonesia!

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University of Chicago, Cobb Hall
For more information: (312) 454-4930

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Thursday, May 21, 7 p.m.
Spartacist Public Office, 299 Broadway
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Harvard University, Science Center
For more information: (617) 666-9453

BERKELEY
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SOAS, Malet Street
For more information: 0171-485-1396

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SYDNEY
Friday, May 22, 1 p.m.
UNSW, Library Lawn
For more information: (02) 9281-2181

Indonesia...

(continued from page 7)

slogan for China following the suppression of the 1925-27 Revolution by the bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang (Kuomintang). Trotsky explained how the fight for a constituent assembly must be linked to a perspective for proletarian power:

> "*The Communist Party can and should formulate the slogan of the constituent assembly with full powers, elected by universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage.* In the process of agitation for this slogan, it will obviously be necessary to explain to the masses that it is doubtful if such an assembly will be convened, and even if it were, it would be powerless so long as the material power remains in the hands of the Kuomintang generals."

Both under Sukarno and Suharto, the nationalist regime has imposed many of the dictates of Islamic law on women: abortion is banned, the woman's role as family housekeeper and domestic slave to her husband is enshrined in law. Suharto sought to achieve social stability by reinforcing the hold of conservative Islamic interests, making religious education compulsory in public schools and granting increased powers to Islamic courts. The role of Amien Rais points to the growth of Islam as a political factor, which can only be a force for reaction, particularly targeting women and religious minorities.

At the same time, this deepgoing oppression has impelled the new generation of women workers into the forefront of the class struggle (see "Women Workers and the Fight for Socialist Revolution: Indonesia Seethes Under IMF Austerity," *WV* No. 688, 10 April). The proletariat must fight for the separation of state and religion and against theocratic reaction, opposing all discrimination against religious minorities. We call for free abortion on demand and free quality health care for all as part of the fight *for women's liberation through socialist revolution.*

As in all underdeveloped countries, the Indonesian bourgeoisie is tied by a thousand strings to the imperialists and incapable of resolving the tasks associated with the European bourgeois revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, such as political democracy, agrarian revolution or national emancipation. In elaborating the program of permanent revolution, Trotsky stressed that in the epoch of imperialism these tasks can only be resolved through the proletarian seizure of power. To thwart imperialist intervention and overcome the economic backwardness of "Third World" countries, this must be integrally linked to a struggle for international socialist revolution, particularly in the advanced industrial countries.

Australasian Spartacist

Spartacist League/Australia contingent at 1997 Melbourne protest against Suharto dictatorship.

This perspective was confirmed in both the positive and the negative in the experience of the Soviet Union. The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution transformed backward Russia, a preponderantly peasant society and a prison house of oppressed peoples under the reign of tsarist despotism. But seven decades of Stalinist betrayal of revolutionary opportunities around the world, perpetrated in the name of "socialism in one country," finally led to the undoing of the October Revolution. This ultimate Stalinist betrayal only underscores the need for a revolutionary-internationalist program for proletarian power.

Viewed narrowly from the Indonesian archipelago, prospects for consolidating proletarian rule in the face of imperialist hostility might appear bleak. But particularly given the economic turmoil in the region, especially in Thailand and Malaysia—which has strong linguistic and cultural links with Indonesia—socialist revolution in Indonesia would be a spark for class struggle throughout the Pacific Rim. The ties connecting the proletariat of these countries are embodied in the millions of immigrant workers in the region. South Korea is a tinder box, with its combative working class chafing under the prospect of millions of layoffs. And in Japan, the industrial power house of the region, the proletariat likewise faces mass layoffs as the bourgeoisie seeks to stem a deepening economic slump and financial crisis.

The fate of the Indonesian masses is particularly bound up with events in China. The Beijing bureaucracy bore direct responsibility for the Maoist PKI's disastrous course, a betrayal of socialist revolution which served only to further isolate the Chinese deformed workers state. Now the Chinese Stalinists are pushing rapidly toward capitalist restoration, provoking a wave of workers' struggles. The fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and stop capitalist counterrevolution is at the center of any revolutionary perspective in the region. It is crucial for proletarian militants in Indonesia and elsewhere to call for unconditional military defense of China and the other deformed workers states—North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against capitalist attack and internal counterrevolution.

Forge a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Over the past decade, a number of independent trade unions have emerged out of workers' struggles. Many of their activists and leaders, such as Muchtar Pakpahan of the Indonesian Workers for Prosperity Union and Dita Sari of the Indonesian Center for Labor Struggles (PPBI), have faced repeated imprisonment. The PPBI is aligned with the People's Democratic Party (PRD), whose leader Budiman Sudjatmiko also languishes in prison. The international labor movement must demand: *Free Dito Sori and all leftist and trade-union prisoners!*

PRD activists have exhibited unquestioned courage in going up against a regime that has never countenanced more than the tamest "opposition." However, the leftist PRD advances a nationalist program which does not even pay lip service to socialism and seeks to tie Indonesia's toilers to an illusory "democratic" wing of the bourgeoisie. The PRD's occasional calls for independence for East Timor are couched as appeals to the imperialist United Nations to implement its bogus resolutions. And the PRD's own 1996 "Resolution on East Timor" calls not for the immediate withdrawal of Suharto's bloody occupation forces but to "reduce military operations and administration in East Timor." At any rate, this is all belied by the PRD's avid support to the Javanese-chauvinist Megawati, who demands the territory's incorporation as Indonesia's 27th province!

The PRD's bourgeois-democratic program necessarily leads it to look to the good offices of "democratic" imperialism. In an interview with *Green Left Weekly* (11 March), newspaper of the Australian Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), PRD leader Sudjatmiko declared that "the dictatorship cannot guarantee free market reforms the US wants because of the nepotism and monopolies controlled by Suharto. So we have common interests in opposing this corrupt regime at this time." Such appeals to the imperialist butchers are common coin as well for the reformist DSP, which acts as press agent for the PRD. For years, the DSP has called on the racist Australian rulers to pressure the Suharto regime, while cheering UN imperialist occupations from Somalia to Cambodia to Zaire.

Meanwhile, the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) grotesquely retail imperialist propaganda equating the student protests against Suharto with the anti-Communist mobs which "played a role in bringing down the previous Sukarno regime" ([Australian] *Socialist Worker*, 6 March). These wretched reformists even promote illusions that Megawati and Rais could create "a rank and file revolutionary movement in the army, to split it from below." And the ISO's British patrons, Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP), have petitioned Labour prime minister Tony Blair to stop arms sales to Indonesia "in line with New Labour's 'ethical' foreign policy." This groveling before the racist, anti-union Blair government—whose idea of "ethical" policies means police terror against Catholics in Northern Ireland and threats to bomb Iraqi women and children—highlights the Cliffites' profoundly social-democratic politics. The SWP cheered the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, proclaimed itself "over the moon" when Blair was elected and supported the introduction of imperialist troops into Northern Ireland by an earlier Labour government.

We warn revolutionary-minded militants in Indonesia: beware these "socialist" apologists for imperialist terror, who buy into the bourgeoisie's lie that "communism is dead." In Indonesia, the military dictatorship and its imperialist patrons sought to ensure that anything smacking of communism was buried under a mountain of corpses. Nonetheless, a new generation of workers and radicalizing youth are being drawn into struggle by the ineradicable contradictions of capitalism. Out of this layer, through studying the dearly bought lessons of revolutionary Marxism, the nucleus of a Leninist vanguard party—fusing declassed revolutionary intellectuals with class-conscious workers—must be cohered. For new October Revolutions! Reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution!■

Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

Ashley asks, "Why are so many so willing to donate so much money and energy to a case they seem to know so little about?" He seeks to portray Jamal's supporters as dupes who know little about his case, and hopes to drive away future contributors to Jamal's defense by depicting his fight for freedom as a money-making operation. The truth is simple. Millions of people around the world know Mumia was framed up. They know that Mumia had been in the cross hairs of the Philly cops and FBI because of his prominent role in the Black Panther Party as a teenager, because of his later support of the MOVE organization, because of his searing exposure of racist cop brutality and the American *in*justice system.

KGO-TV's attempt to scare away Mumia's supporters is also not new. After the PDC initiated a 1990 rally in Philadelphia, F.O.P. chief Richard Costello railed that Jamal's supporters were "misfit terrorists" deserving of an "electric couch." In 1994, National Public Radio capitulated to F.O.P. pressure and canceled a planned series of commentaries by Jamal. In 1995, Addison-Wesley was subjected to a campaign of harassment when it published Jamal's *Live from Death Row*. Two years ago, witness Veronica Jones was even arrested while she testified on the stand at the hearings for Jamal. More recently, Mumia's son, Jamal Hart, was railroaded to prison for 15 years on bogus weapons possession charges for speaking out on behalf of his father. Meanwhile, state officials have intercepted and copied privileged legal communications and sent them to the governor's office.

In their efforts to isolate and silence Mumia and obstruct his legal defense, state officials have thrown him into their supermax-security, high-tech hellhole at SCI Greene. In March, draconian new regulations curtailing family visits and confiscating personal possessions provoked a hunger strike by 38 of the 111 prisoners on Greene's death row. Some of the new measures were subsequently rescinded ("Death Row Hunger Strike Ends," *WV* No. 687, 27 March). Jamal was forced to turn over some 16 boxes of personal materials, including legal legal papers.

Last December, SCI Greene counselor Robert DeBord resigned after coming forward with details confirming Jamal's description of this racist prison hell. DeBord reported seeing bruised inmates coming from "attitude adjustment" sessions with guards, prisoners being routinely sent to the "hole" on fabricated charges and black prisoners subjected to constant racist abuse. Greene's superintendent has now been demoted and transferred and two of his lieutenants fired, while 42 guards face pre-disciplinary investigations on charges of brutality and racist abuse. KGO-TV's Ashley dismisses allegations that state forces coerce and intimidate witnesses. But DeBord himself described how he was threatened with being framed up and warned to "be careful in the parking lot" after he spoke out.

Jamal's prison writings eloquently describe the horrors of America's torture chambers and the plight of those on death row whom the bourgeoisie paints as "inhuman"—not least of all, Mumia himself—in order to justify its system of legal lynching. The intensification of racist state repression—the enormous growth in the overwhelmingly black and Hispanic prison population, the massive speedup in executions, the curtailment of *habeas corpus* appeal rights—is part of the bipartisan capitalist war on working people, minorities and the poor. It is necessary to bring the power of the multiracial proletariat to bear in the fight to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty. We fight to forge a multiracial workers party to smash the hideous machinery of legal lynching and the whole apparatus of capitalist repression through socialist revolution.

* * *

FUNDS FOR MUMIA'S LEGAL DEFENSE ARE URGENTLY NEEDED!

If the Pennsylvania Supreme Court turns down his appeal, the next battleground on the legal front will be in the federal courts, involving massive new costs. Contributions for Mumia's legal defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mailed to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. Contact the PDC—New York: PO Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252, e-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com; Chicago: PO Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; San Francisco Bay Area: PO Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462, phone (510) 839-0852.■

NYC Transit...

(continued from page 12)

the bosses' state degrade the consciousness of the working class. Every class-conscious worker must demand the complete and unconditional independence of the labor movement from the capitalist government!

An object lesson in the danger of appealing to the state is provided by the government's sinister intervention into the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). In a vindictive payback for the modest victory won by the Teamsters in last summer's strike against UPS, the federal courts overturned the results of the 1996 union elections and disqualified IBT president Ron Carey from running for re-election. After being catapulted into the union presidency in elections run lock, stock and barrel by the feds, Carey has now himself been bitten by the anti-union class enemy. The ostensible pretext for the courts' latest move, that Carey and his cronies were engaged in corrupt practices, had nothing to do with the real reason for the government's intervention. For decades, Democratic Party politicians in particular have pursued a vendetta against the Teamsters aimed at curbing the potential power of this union to wage class struggle. There is nothing more corrupt than tying the unions to the government of the exploiters. *Labor must clean its own house!*

To defeat the growing barrage of union-busting attacks requires a leadership committed to a program of class struggle, not class collaboration. At bottom, there is a fundamental identity between all wings of the labor bureaucracy, whether it be "old guard" bureaucrats like Sonny Hall and Willie James of the TWU, or "new voice" AFL-CIO president John Sweeney, New Directions and the pro-Carey Teamsters for a Democratic Union, whose calling card is also suing the unions. All of them subordinate the workers movement to the capitalist class and its state, while chaining the working class politically to the Democratic and Republican parties of capital. The fight to emancipate labor and all the oppressed can only go forward in the struggle to forge a multiracial, class-struggle workers party, which acts as a tribune of the people, in counterposition to the partner parties of capital.

Mobilize the Unions Against Racist Attacks!

The "workfare" deal negotiated by Willie James in September 1996 came down hardest on the most vulnerable sections of the TA workforce, particularly women and younger black and Hispanic workers for whom cleaners' positions are often the avenue to better-paying transit jobs (see "NYC Transit 'Workfare' Deal: Enslaving the Poor, Busting the Unions," *WV* No. 652, 27 September 1996). AFSCME District Council 37 chief Stanley Hill was furious over this contract because it blew the cover off his own longstanding sweetheart deal with Giuliani, through which more than 20,000 formerly unionized municipal jobs were filled by welfare recipients.

The lie pushed by James, Hill & Co. that such slave-labor schemes would not threaten union jobs has worn increasingly threadbare as "workfare" expands and the number of layoffs climbs. Now Giuliani has announced layoffs of another thousand workers, overwhelmingly black and Puerto Rican, in the city homeless services. This comes on top of last month's decision to lay off over 900 AFSCME Local 420 hospital workers—many at Harlem Hospital, one of the few remaining city hospitals in minority neighborhoods—even as a thousand "workfare" recipients have been forced into such jobs.

But the slashing of unionized jobs and the attacks on welfare are not simply the work of NYC's racist "law and order" Republican mayor. Thousands of city workers were laid off by Giuliani's predecessor, black Democrat David Dinkins. And it was Democratic president Clinton, working hand in glove with Congressional Republicans, who consigned millions of babies and mothers, poor people and immigrants, to starvation, sickness, homelessness and death with the bipartisan 1996 "welfare reform." The introduction of "workfare" is not simply intended to further savagely brutalize welfare recipients, who are disproportionately black, Hispanic and other minorities. This sinister program is endorsed by wide sections of the capitalist class, who seek to use the most impoverished, vulnerable layers of the population as a battering ram against better-paid, unionized workers.

Any labor leadership worthy of the name would seek to lead not only its own membership against these deadly attacks but would champion the millions of unorganized working people and minorities, initiating an aggressive campaign to organize the unorganized and demanding that "workfare" recipients receive union wages with full union protection and benefits. There needs to be a fight for *jobs for all* and for union control of hiring and training programs. The unions should be in the forefront of organizing mass protests against the epidemic of cop terror in the ghettos and barrios which accompanies the racist cutbacks. The same racist cops who brutalized Haitian immigrant Abner Louima and daily gun down black and Hispanic youth also attack the picket lines of Teamsters and other striking workers.

It ought to be evident that the pro-Giuliani TWU leadership will not mobilize the union against racist oppression. But this is no less true of New Directions. When the James bureaucracy recently denounced a white ND member for calling a black Labor Relations official a "house n-----," black ND presidential candidate Tim Schermerhorn defended this racist act! Use of this vile racist epithet, the battle cry of KKK lynch mobs, is poisonous! The fighting power of the racially integrated labor movement can only be built by combatting the use of racial slurs and fighting to eradicate all forms of racial bigotry. But ND can't and won't do this: the April issue of ND's *Hell on Wheels*, devoted to the election campaign, does not even pay lip service to the fight against racism. And in 1990, New Directions hailed a "strike" by the racist, sadistic Rikers Island prison guards.

During 1966 strike, NYC transit workers vowed to defy strikebreaking court injunctions "till hell freezes over."

In the course of the election campaign, New Directions has been viciously red-baited by the James bureaucracy. In fact, there is *nothing* "socialist" about the ND program—the above-cited *Hell on Wheels* does not even call for a break with the partner parties of American capitalism, the Democrats and Republicans. Nor is this an accident. New Directions wants to convince its capitalist masters that it is just as capable as James, Hall & Co. of betraying the interests of the working class. And it is. Indeed, ND already controls a significant section of the Local 100 Executive Board and has repeatedly demonstrated its reliability to the bosses. While occasionally mumbling about being "forced to strike" as it bids for the union presidency, ND made clear its opposition to any struggle when mass outrage erupted over the 1992 contract sellout. As TWU militants demanded a mass meeting to plan a strike, ND leader Corine Scott flatly declared: "Nobody's talking strike here!" Underlining that there is little to politically distinguish the James crew from ND, Scott has now joined with the incumbents.

Reformist "Socialists" vs. the Class Line

New Directions has been supported by a coterie of fake leftists, including Socialist Action and the International Socialist Organization. Reporting on ND's plans to appeal to the Labor Department, *Socialist Action* (February 1998) coyly notes that "in light of the ongoing frame-up and election disqualification of Teamster President Ron Carey by a federal review board, this strategy raises important issues for trade unionists." The article goes on to say, "Reliance on the bosses' government will be used as a convenient precedent when the state seeks to crack down on trade-union activists."

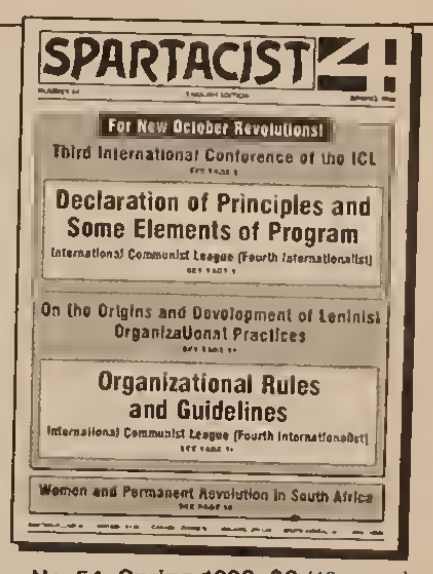
Who is Socialist Action kidding? This outfit has been among the most enthusiastic supporters of both ND and the Carey wing of the IBT bureaucracy, i.e., labor traitors whose climb into union office has been premised on reliance on the bosses' government. Socialist Action's hypocritical "advice" to New Directions shows that these reformists are well aware of elementary principles of Marxism and consciously repudiate them to further their opportunist appetites. Their goal is not to lead the working class to socialist revolution, but to ingratiate themselves with an up-and-coming layer of trade-union fakers.

Claiming to oppose both the James leadership and New Directions is Eric Josephson, who is running for executive board in the track division as "a revolutionary socialist, a supporter of the League for the Revolutionary Party" (LRP). Saying he stands for a "program of mass action," Josephson calls for a general strike, a slogan which the LRP has mindlessly been repeating uninterruptedly for two decades! In fact, the LRP has crossed the class line numerous times in supporting forces like Polish Solidarność which, abetted by the imperialists, worked to destroy the Soviet degenerated workers state and the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe.

Likewise, the LRP upholds the disgusting position of its forebear, the Revolutionary Socialist League, in *opposing* efforts to implement racial integration of the schools during the fight over busing in Boston in 1974-75. The LRP also projects that "revolutionaries" might be compelled to "join in common action" with anti-Semitic demagogue Louis Farrakhan. But the only actions which Farrakhan supports are those which promote capitalism and segregation, like the sinister use of Nation of Islam goons to defend a September 1996 meeting by Nazi David Irving in Oakland, California. All in all, Josephson merits not even the most critical support.

The TWU potentially has the power to shut down Wall Street and lead a class-struggle offensive in the interests not only of transit workers but all NYC workers and oppressed. But the precondition for any real struggle by the unions is the complete independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state. As emphasized by Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky, the unions in this period can either play the role of secondary instruments of capitalist imperialism for the subordination and disciplining of the workers or become instruments of the revolutionary movement of the working class. The fight to mobilize the unions and the oppressed in struggle needs a political expression: not a phony "Labor Party" which acts as a shill for the Democrats, of the sort now being touted by sections of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, but a *revolutionary workers party*. A successful fight to defend and improve the present conditions of the working class can only be waged as part of the struggle to get rid of the entire capitalist profit system.■

No. 53, Summer 1997, $1.50 (56 pages)



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Centrists...

(continued from page 5)

Lenin wrote in *The State and Revolution* that the state begins to "wither away" from the first day of the proletarian dictatorship. Workers Power points to the 1919 Russian Communist Party programme, which looked forward to the early replacement of the standing army hy an armed people. Citing the fact that these norms were not realised in the Soviet Union, and that the state machine grew to monstrous proportions under Stalin, WP concludes that a capitalist state had re-emerged, describing this in language taken straight from the anti-Communist ideologues for "democratic" imperialism: "Soviet power had been comprehensively smashed or 'blown up' and replaced by the absolutist rule of a totalitarian bourgeois bureaucratic-military state machine, hut one which drew the source of its power and material privileges from nationalised property and planned economy" (*Trotskyist International*, January-June 1998). Trotsky was scathing in his response to such arguments:

> "To these gentlemen the dictatorship of the proletariat is simply an imponderable concept, an ideal norm not to be realized upon our sinful planet. Small wonder that 'theoreticians' of this stripe, insofar as they do not denounce altogether the very word dictatorship, strive to smear over the irreconcilable contradiction between the latter and bourgeois democracy."
>
> —"The Class Nature of the Soviet State"

Trotsky insisted that the growth and consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucratic apparatus proved not that a capitalist state had been consolidated, hut that building "socialism in a single country"—moreover a backward and isolated one—was a Stalinist *lie*. The material basis for socialism is the elimination of *scorcity*, which requires surpassing the highest level of development achieved hy capitalist society. For this reason, socialism can only be achieved on an *internotional basis*.

The necessary prerequisite for the state to "wither away" is the abolition of class society, which cannot be achieved in the absence of proletarian revolution in at least several advanced capitalist countries. As Trotsky wrote in "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937):

> "The USSR as a workers' state does not correspond to the 'traditional' norm. This does not signify that it is not a workers' state. Neither does this signify that the norm has been found false. The 'norm' counted upon the complete victory of the international proletarian revolution. The USSR is only a partial and mutilated expression of a backward and isolated workers' state."

At times, WP contends that the Soviet degenerated workers state was simultaneously the dictatorship of the proletariat *ond* the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie: "The dictatorship of the proletariat had taken the paradoxical form of a political dictatorship of 'a bourgeois state without the hourgeoisie' over the proletariat." It uses Trotsky's phrase "'bourgeois' state without the bourgeoisie"—deliberately omitting the inverted commas Trotsky placed around "bourgeois"—in his seminal analysis of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936). Trotsky used this expression in the same sense that it was used by Marx and Lenin—to explain the general necessity under the dictatorship of the proletariat to maintain a public force to regulate distribution while scarcity remains.

Trotsky noted that even in an advanced industrial country like America, a workers state could not immediately provide for everyone's needs: "Insofar as the state which assumes the task of socialist transformation is compelled to defend inequality—that is, the material privileges of a minority—by methods of compulsion, insofar does it also remain a 'bourgeois' state, even though without a bourgeoisie."

WP is forced to acknowledge that Trotsky's references to "bourgeois norms of distribution" in the Soviet Union did not mean that he considered the USSR a "bourgeois state." Castigating Trotsky for this, it writes: "The legacy of Trotsky on the issue of the class character of the state machine in the USSR is at best ambiguous. Nowhere did he clearly point to the fact that, conceived in abstraction from the property relations defended by the hureaucracy, this state machine was bourgeois." Indeed, no Marxist could or would conceive the class nature of the state independent of the property relations it defends! Only for vulgar petty-bourgeois democrats like Workers Power is the question of property relations an abstraction!

In his 1937 polemic against Burnham's position that the Soviet Union was "neither a workers nor a capitalist state," Trotsky argued that "only the intrusion of a revolutionary or a counterrevolutionary force in property relations can change the class nature of the state." Trotsky went on to acknowledge that there are *temporory* cases where the economy and the state stand in contradiction: "In the first months of Soviet rule the proletariat reigned on the basis of a bourgeois economy.... Should a bourgeois counterrevolution succeed in the USSR, the new government for a lengthy period would have to base itself upon the nationalized economy. But what does such a type of temporary conflict between the economy and the state mean? It means a *revolution* or a *counterrevolution*."

The victory of Yeltsinite counterrevolution in the USSR led to exactly such a situation. But Workers Power, arguing that some industry remains in the hands of the state, ludicrously characterised the former Soviet Union as a "moribund workers state." At bottom, WP's view of "workers rule" derives from British Labourism, which equates "socialism" with nationalisation of the "commanding heights of the economy" under a *capitalist* parliamentary democracy.

Workers Power vs. Trotsky on the Soviet Army

Seeking to justify its "support" to the Bolshevik Revolution on the basis of purely democratic considerations, Workers Power makes much of the counterposition between a Red Army based on a militia system and a standing army. To do this, it presents tortuous and self-contradictory accounts of what happened in the October Revolution. One version quotes Trotsky: "The October revolution dissolved the tzar's army wholly and without leaving a trace. The Red Army was huilt anew from the first brick" (*The Revolution Betrayed*). This is followed hy WP's claim that the Bolsheviks merely reformed the tsarist army:

> "But almost immediately they were thrown into a civil war and the norm was compromised with the reality as they inherited it—the Tsar's army, with its ranks and general staff. Trotsky had to make use of this army. They did subject it to workers' control—party commissars supervising generals etc—as the next best bet in the circumstances."

This is tantamount to denying that the capitalist state was smashed and replaced by a new state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat. WP falsely presents Trotsky, the organiser of the Red Army, as an advocate of a pure militia system. For the same reason the state could not "wither away" overnight, the Soviet republic could not replace the standing army by a militia system. In *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky pointed out that the militia (or territorial) system requires a "high economic basis" which could not be achieved within the confines of the Soviet Union. He wrote: "Granted the necessary material conditions, the territorial army would not only not stand second to the regular army, but far exceed it. The Soviet Union must pay dear for its defense, because it is not sufficiently rich for the cheaper militia system." But Trotsky never called for the abolition of the regular Soviet Army, which would have been tantamount to calling for the disarming of the degenerated workers state in the face of the imperialist powers.

While in *The Degenerated Revolution* WP at least recognised (in words) the need for a standing army to defend the Soviet workers state from attack, today it argues that "the formulation that the standing armies of the Stalinist caste

Yevgeni Khaldei

Victorious Soviet troops raised red flag over Berlin, 1945.

Basil Blackwell Inc.

Leon Trotsky, organizer of Red Army, rallying troops in struggle against counter-revolutionaries.

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have a dual character—'instruments of bureaucratic tyranny as well as defence' surrenders too much to the Stalinists, above all in the light of events since 1989." In short, Workers Power can see no class difference between the Soviet Army and the armed forces of imperialism. As for events since 1989, it was Workers Power who joined the West German imperialists in demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from East Germany. The withdrawal of these troops by Gorbachev was an integral part of the sellout of the former East German deformed workers state.

Trotsky described the restoration of the officer corps and the Cossacks as "one of the clearest expressions of the Thermidor." He was scathing in his denunciation of Stalin's disorganisation of the Soviet armed forces and his beheading of the military leadership on the eve of World War II. Nonetheless, writing in "The USSR in War" (1939) at the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact, Trotsky stressed that when Hitler turned his armies against the Soviet Union, the obligation of Bolshevik-Leninists was clear:

> "Under these conditions, partisans of the Fourth International, without changing in any way their attitude toward the Kremlin oligarchy, will advance to the forefront, as the most urgent task of the hour, the military resistance against Hitler. The workers will say: 'We cannot cede to Hitler the overthrowing of Stalin; that is *our own task*.' During the military struggle against Hitler, the revolutionary workers will strive to enter into the closest possible comradely relations with the rank-and-file fighters of the Red Army. While arms in hand they deal blows to Hitler, the Bolshevik-Leninists will at the same time conduct revolutionary propaganda against Stalin preparing his overthrow at the next and perhaps very near stage."

Trotsky was unambiguous about which class should overthrow the bureaucracy—the proletariat. As he wrote in "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?": "Stalin serves the bureaucracy and thus the world bourgeoisie; but he cannot serve the bureaucracy without defending that social foundation which the bureaucracy exploits in its own interests.... However, he carries through this defense with methods that prepare the general destruction of Soviet society. It is exactly because of this that the Stalinist clique must be overthrown. But it is the revolutionary proletariat who must overthrow it. The proletariat cannot subcontract this work to the imperialists." Subcontracting this work to the imperialists and other counterrevolutionary forces is exactly what Workers Power did.

Workers Power and the Myth of the 'Stalinist State'

WP's description of the overthrow of capitalism in Eastern Europe is profoundly revisionist: "After the Second World War the Stalinist bureaucracy, far from smashing the capitalist state, simply took hold of the old apparatus of political domination and, utilising bureaucratic, military, police measures transformed/purged its structures.... In the first period this state, controlled by the Stalinists, was used to defend and rebuild capitalism, and then later the same state machine was used as a lever for the economic expropriation of the bourgeoisie." As we have noted, the idea that the bourgeois state can be taken over and used for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie is utterly reformist.

In the case of post-war Eastern Europe, the Soviet Army—the army of a degenerated workers state—was the decisive military power, the "special bodies of armed men," which smashed the Nazi war machine. Faced with imperialist hostility and the onset of the Cold War—specifically in the form of the West European Marshall Plan—the Soviet occupation forces expropriated the domestic capitalists and created bureaucratically deformed workers states. Likewise, in Yugoslavia, China, Vietnam and Cuba, under exceptional circumstances, petty-bourgeois guerrilla forces were able to establish deformed workers states, qualitatively the same as the degenerated Soviet workers state. But in each case the bourgeois state was smashed (see *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8, "Cuba and Marxist Theory").

WP's use of the term "Stalinist state machine" is simply an obscurantist version of Tony Cliff's position that the Stalinist bureaucracy was a new ruling class. In contrast, Trotsky understood that the bureaucracy was a deeply contradictory caste which rested on the proletarian property forms while serving as the transmission belt for the pressures of world imperialism in undermining those gains.

Falsifying history to suit its ends, Workers Power says that the Hungarian political revolution of 1956 "showed that the ruling Communist Party, the army, the secret police and the state administration would act as agents of repression against any working class attempt to establish its own control over a state which claimed to be proletarian." In fact, Hungary 1956 showed that the bureaucracy was a brittle, contradictory caste, as the workers' revolt drew in its wake the majority of the army ranks and Communist Party cadres. Unlike Polish Solidarność in the early 1980s, the Hungarian workers *explicitly defended* the planned nationalised economy, establishing soviet-type workers councils and workers militias in every major industrial centre.

AP

John Sadovy

As Hungarian proletariat rose up in political revolution in 1956, Stalinist bureaucratic caste split, with key elements like General Pal Maleter (far right) joining workers' side.

The Kremlin had to send in two waves of troops, who had been told that they were sent in to suppress Anglo-French imperialists or fascists. A first wave of Russian-speaking units had to be withdrawn after the Hungarian workers fraternised with them, winning many over to their cause. The essential element that was missing was a conscious proletarian vanguard party, which would have counterposed revolutionary internationalism to nationalist prejudices and illusions in the United Nations fostered by liberal Stalinists like Imre Nagy. Only such a party, based on the programme of unconditional military defence of the gains of all the degenerated and deformed workers states, could have successfully fought to win over the ranks of the Soviet Army in the fight for political revolution in Hungary and across Eastern Europe and the USSR.

More than 30 years later, the contradictions inherent in Stalinism were played out in capitalist counterrevolution. Under the pressure of the imperialist world market, the Stalinist bureaucracies introduced "market reforms," laying the basis for the full-fledged restoration of capitalism. Warning of this possibility in 1933, Trotsky wrote:

> "In the event of this worst possible variant, a tremendous significance for the subsequent course of the revolutionary struggle will be borne by the question: *where* are those guilty for the catastrophe? Not the slightest taint of guilt must fall upon the revolutionary internationalists. In the hour of mortal danger, they must remain on the last barricade."
>
> —"The Class Nature of the Soviet State"

In sharp contrast to WP and the rest of the fake left, in the hour of mortal danger, the ICL fought to the bitter end to defeat capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In 1989-90, we mobilised our forces internationally to provide leadership to the incipient political revolution in the DDR and to stop the juggernaut of counterrevolution, raising the call "For a Red Germany of Workers Councils in a Socialist United States of Europe!" In late 1991, our supporters in the Soviet Union distributed tens of thousands of leaflets in Russian declaring: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" Today we fight to win the Chinese proletariat to the urgent perspective of proletarian political revolution to stop the galloping drive towards capitalist restoration there.

The demise of the degenerated and deformed workers states in the USSR and Eastern Europe is ultimately the responsibility of the Stalinist bureaucracies, which undermined those states and destroyed any semblance of revolutionary consciousness among the working class. (For a further analysis see *Spartacist* No. 45-46, Winter 1990-91.) As Marxists we understand that the preservation of proletarian power depends for its survival on the political consciousness and organisation of the working class. In the Soviet Union, the traditions of the October Revolution had been systematically expunged from the memory of the working class and replaced by the nationalist outlook of the Stalinists, who made the lie of "socialism in one country" a self-fulfilling prophecy by betraying and helping to suppress revolutionary opportunities in the West. To the extent that they had any influence, fake-left groupings like Workers Power, the British SWP or the United Secretariat bear their share of the responsibility for politically disorienting the proletariat.

WP has now drawn the requisite "theoretical" conclusions from its scab-herding role, retrospectively writing off the Soviet degenerated workers state more than six decades before its destruction. Shortly after its emergence from the Cliff group, WP entered into a brief "fusion" with Sean Matgamna's fake-Trotskyist outfit, which at the time was formally Soviet-defencist. To justify their merger, both sides dismissed the Russian question as a "tenth-rate question." As he liquidated ever more deeply into the Labour Party, Matgamna subsequently repudiated even lip-service to Trotsky's line on the Russian question, advising Workers Power that it should do likewise if it was not to follow the road of the dreaded "Sparts." Some two decades later, WP has completed the centrist circle and openly reverted to its "third camp" origins.

The utter repudiation by these groups of Bolshevism, the October Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is a reflection of the enormous impact this world-historic defeat has had on the consciousness of the proletariat internationally. Within our own party as well, we have had to wage sharp struggles against the disintegrative effects of this period of post-Soviet reaction. The former editor of our American newspaper *Workers Vanguard*, Jan Norden, who later defected with a small coterie of other longtime comrades to form the Internationalist Group (IG), pushed a "regroupment" orientation to the geriatric remnants of the former East German Stalinist bureaucracy. Norden argued that these Stalinist has-beens maintained "attachments" to the former East German deformed workers state—*which they had sold out!*

Since defecting from our organisation, the IG has graduated to apologising for state intervention into unions in Brazil and promoting economist trade-union struggles as a back door to pressuring social democrats in Western Europe and "left" bourgeois nationalists in Latin America. Behind the IG's pollyannish enthusing over trade-union militancy lies the same denigration of the October Revolution as that of WP et al. By the IG's account, the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union was of such little significance that it has supposedly had no impact on the consciousness of the proletariat.

As Trotsky once noted, "Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones." We stand with American Trotskyist James P. Cannon in proclaiming: "We are the party of the Russian Revolution." We fight to build Leninist-Trotskyist parties, which are essential to bringing revolutionary consciousness to the proletariat, to rearm it and lead it to its historic task—*the fight for new October Revolutions.*■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Giuliani Lackeys vs. Labor Department "Opposition" in TWU Election

NYC Transit: Government Out of the Union!

As we go to press, balloting continues in hotly contested elections to determine the leadership of New York City Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, whose 32,000 members keep the subways and buses of the country's financial capital running. For transit workers there is no real choice in these elections: both the incumbent leadership, headed by Willie James, and the "dissident" wing of the bureaucracy, the New Directions (ND) slate, have proven records of pursuing policies that undermine the union. James is a political ally of Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who was elected as the cops' candidate, and is himself an ex-cop. In one of his first acts after taking over the union presidency, in September 1996 James pushed through a contract with the Transit Authority (TA) to slash 500 unionized cleaners' jobs and replace them with slave-labor "workfare" recipients. No less sinister is New Directions, whose stock in trade is to use the capitalist courts as a club against its opponents in the TWU bureaucracy, thereby strengthening the grip of the capitalist state over the unions.

Indeed, the current elections were ordered by the TWU International under the guns of a threatened lawsuit by New Directions following an earlier ballot last December, in which James narrowly defeated ND candidate Tim Schermerhorn. In an article in *Labor Notes* (February 1998), Steve Downs, a prominent ND spokesman on the Local 100 Executive Board, declared: "If necessary, New Directions will ask the Department of Labor to order a new election under outside supervision." New Directions has repeatedly dragged the union into the capitalist courts, including a $12 million lawsuit for harassment against the TWU after James's predecessor, current TWU International president Sonny Hall, called out the cops against union members protesting the 1992 contract deal.

By inviting the capitalist courts to intervene in the internal affairs of Local 100, New Directions promotes the illusion that the state is "neutral" and can be pressured into acting in the interests of working people. These are the same courts that imposed massive fines on the TWU in the wake of the 1980 transit strike for violating New York State's Taylor Law, which forbids strikes by public employees. As that one example illustrates, the capitalist state—the courts, cops and prisons—is the enemy of the working class, organized to prevent the workers from struggling in their own interests and particularly from smashing this system of private property and taking power themselves. Appeals by phony "oppositionists" like ND to

continued on page 9

Pennsylvania Death Row Hell

Free Mumia Now!

ABC-TV Smear Job: Brief for the Prosecution

courtesy MAJ

As Mumia Abu-Jamal's appeal of his 1982 frame-up and false conviction for the killing of a Philadelphia police officer awaits a ruling by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, the forces of death have again geared up their Big Lie machine to soap up the lynch rope. Earlier this month, KGO-TV, ABC's San Francisco Bay Area affiliate, ran a two-part report which promised "a closer look at the facts of this case and the orchestrated campaign to turn a convicted killer into a folk hero." KGO-TV's rendition of the "facts" were lifted straight from the blotters of the cops who tried to kill Jamal on the streets of Philly in December 1981 and from the lying briefs of the prosecutors who railroaded him to death row for a killing they know he did not commit.

Over the years, the fight for Mumia's freedom has been taken up by millions of trade unionists, minorities and leftist youth around the world. The case of this eloquent, outspoken and unbowed black activist and journalist—known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his radio commentaries and writings on behalf of the oppressed—has come to symbolize what the racist, barbaric death penalty is all about. At every critical juncture in this fight, the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.), Pennsylvania prosecutors and their politician and media allies have launched well-funded, orchestrated campaigns aimed at crucifying Jamal and slandering, harassing and intimidating his supporters.

The latest smear job by yuppie KGO-TV anchor Dan Ashley is nothing new. When thousands took to the streets and prominent voices internationally spoke out for Mumia following the signing of a death warrant by Pennsylvania governor Ridge in June 1995, the Philly District Attorney's office wrote a letter filled with lies about Mumia's case to actors Mike Farrell and Ed Asner in an effort to compel them to withdraw their support for Jamal. D.A. Lynne Abraham repeated this compendium of lies about Jamal's case in a *New York Times* op-ed piece later that summer, as press coverage of Jamal's kangaroo court hearing for a new trial—before the same Judge Sabo who had sentenced him in 1982—revealed to many how Mumia had been viciously framed up. The July 1995 PDC pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, thoroughly exposed the prosecution's hatchet job and stands as an effective rebuttal of the threadbare lies raised anew by KGO-TV.

Speaking for the prosecution, Ashley asserts: "Prosecutors had four eyewitnesses, three of which positively identified Mumia Abu-Jamal as the gunman who murdered Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. They had ballistics evidence, a confession, and a defendant who offered no alternative theory of innocence."

Fact: Only one person claimed to have seen Jamal with a gun in his hand, "star" prosecution witness Cynthia White, a prostitute and police informant who repeatedly changed her story to suit the cops. Not one of the other witnesses even saw White at the scene of the shooting. Another "witness" was unable to identify Jamal. The third "eyewitness" initially said the shooter ran away, but changed his story under pressure by the cops. Four others saw someone flee the shooting as Jamal was on the ground with a bullet in his chest, one of them specifying that it was the shooter who fled.

Fact: The "ballistics evidence" did not even establish that Jamal's gun had been fired that night, let alone that Jamal had fired it. Jamal's gun was a .38 calibre; the Medical Examiner reported that Faulkner had been shot by a .44. The prosecution's own expert admitted the bullet recovered at the scene could not be matched to Jamal's gun.

Fact: The "confession" was bogus. The police officer who was with Jamal from his arrest to his medical treatment had filed a report stating that "the negro male made no comments." The claim that Jamal confessed at the hospital was first concocted two months after his arrest, as the result of a roundtable discussion organized by the prosecutor. A hospital security guard, Priscilla Durham, also subsequently reported having heard a confession the day after the shooting and claimed to have given the cops a handwritten report of it. The cops have never produced the report—because it doesn't exist.

Fact: *Mumia Abu-Jamal is innocent.* He did not get and cannot get a fair trial in the racist capitalist courts. Free Mumia now!

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WV Photo

Union contingents marched with PDC in 1995 Philadelphia rally for Mumia Abu-Jamal. Mobilize the power of labor to free Mumia!

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 692

5 June 1998

Workers Must Rule—Forge a Trotskyist Party!

Indonesia: Suharto's Henchmen Take Over

Down With Islamic Reaction! Independence for East Timor! Defend Chinese Against Racist Attacks!

AP photos

As Suharto (above, left) hands over Indonesian presidency to his former underling Habibie (right), military dictatorship remains in place. Only workers revolution can sweep away blood-drenched capitalist regime.

JUNE 1—The replacement of despised Indonesian dictator Suharto by his underling B. J. Habibie changes nothing for the impoverished toiling masses groaning under the weight of a severe economic crisis and savage right-wing repression. Habibie, seen by all as a transitory figure, was installed by the military butchers who enforced Suharto's 32-year reign of terror. U.S.-trained General Wiranto has since proceeded to consolidate his power by purging his military rival, General Prabowo, Suharto's son-in-law. Having allowed student protesters to occupy the parliament grounds in Jakarta in order to help ease out Suharto, whose flagrant corruption had antagonized wide layers of the bourgeoisie and middle class, the military then moved rapidly to stop the protests and restore order.

The imperialist media have made much of the "people power" which supposedly brought down Suharto, harking back to the removal of the discredited Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines in 1986. But like that U.S.-inspired coup, which simply installed a more reliable regime to enforce imperialist dictates, Suharto's "resignation" was carried out under the watchful eyes of American, British and Australian military/intelligence agencies, working through the Indonesian generals they have trained and armed for decades. The London *Sunday Times* (24 May) reported:

> "As the riots engulfed Jakarta, senior American officials were on the telephone to Indonesian staff officers and members of Suharto's elite in a persistent effort to urge restraint, warning that if a massacre of protesters took place Indonesia would forfeit international financial aid and face economic collapse.
>
> "Washington's decision to organise a full military-run evacuation of Americans, setting off a mass flight of expatriate business people, was the final sign that America had withdrawn its confidence from Suharto."

For all the pious talk of a "democratic transition," what the imperialists demand is a regime which can enforce the dictates of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and ensure the continued superprofits gained from the brutal exploitation of the Indonesian proletariat. The IMF has now agreed to relax the deadlines for imposing the draconian austerity measures tied to its $40 billion "bailout." With economic crisis and political instability racking Southeast Asia, the imperialists and the local bourgeoisie are deeply fearful of a social explosion which could spread throughout the region.

As we warned last issue: "*A 'reformed' Indonesian capitalist regime will be just as repressive and bloody as its predecessor and just as determined to force the country's toiling masses to pay for the capitalist crisis.*" With millions already jobless, unemployment is projected to climb to 20 percent this year and inflation toward 50 percent as the IMF dictates are carried out. Even now, thousands of people are dying of famine, and as food shortages grow and the cost of daily necessities skyrockets, millions more will face the prospect of starvation.

Many of the students who chanted "Hang Suharto!" have embraced the nationalist myth of the Indonesian military as "the tool of the people." In fact, the military shores up a regime whose mandate is to further bludgeon the impoverished workers and rural masses at the behest of the IMF vultures. Meanwhile, both within and outside the regime the forces of Islamic reaction are increasingly assertive. Habibie is a fanatically anti-Chinese racist who heads the Association of Muslim Intellectuals. And prominent among the bourgeois "opposition" is Amien Rais, the "moderate" head of the country's second-largest Muslim organization, who also has a history of racist bigotry. The growth of political Islam, in all its variants, poses a particularly deadly threat to the multiethnic proletariat, to the deeply oppressed women, to the besieged Chinese minority and all the national and religious minorities which make up this prison house of peoples.

It is urgently necessary that the proletariat as a class enter the arena of struggle fighting for its own historic interests and as champion of all the oppressed. This is what the International Communist League has stressed at protests and public forums throughout the U.S. and in Mexico, Britain and Australia over the past two weeks. We seek to forge an internationalist vanguard party of the Indonesian proletariat based on the Trotskyist theory and program of permanent revolution. To achieve emancipation from the yoke of imperialism, to sweep away the military regime and secure political democracy, to fulfill the most basic daily needs of the masses, requires the *proletarian* seizure of power. But to consolidate proletarian rule in the face of hostile imperialism and to lay the foundation for socialist economic development in a backward country like Indonesia requires a perspective of fighting for socialist revolution internationally.

The series of financial collapses which have swept through Southeast and East Asia underlines not only that periodic crises are endemic to the capitalist system but that the fate of the Indonesian masses

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The Cliffites and Islamic Reaction

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Pushed by Fascists, Echoed by Reformist Left

Black Book: Anti-Communist Big Lie

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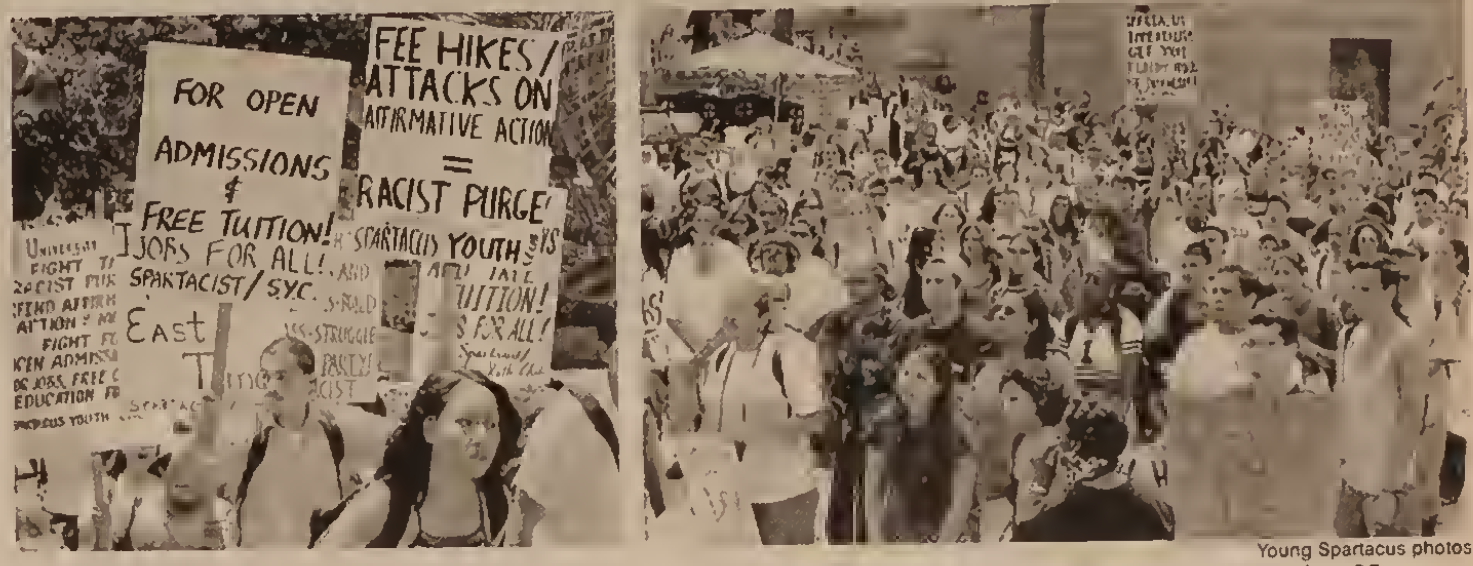
Mass Arrests at Affirmative Action Sit-In

Defend Student Protesters at UCLA!

Students at the Los Angeles campus of the University of California (UCLA) have protested a series of attacks on affirmative action this spring. On May 15, an integrated demonstration of 500 UCLA students rallied at the inauguration of the new UC chancellor. Four days later, 600 students marched, occupied a building and 85 of the protesters were arrested by campus police wielding truncheons, tear gas and riot shields. Among those arrested was a member of the Spartacus Youth Club.

Young Spartacus



Young Spartacus photos

May 19: 600 students at UCLA protest attacks on affirmative action. Cops attacked campus sit-in, arresting 85.

First, in 1994, Proposition 187, aimed at all immigrants and Latinos, paved the way for these racist attacks on affirmative action. Then in 1995 the Board of Regents axed affirmative action, and now little more than a year after Prop. 209 outlawed affirmative action, the bourgeoisie has effected a racist purge of higher education in California, making it even more a bastion of class privilege. The University of California at Berkeley admitted only 191 blacks for the class of 2002 (*New York Times*, 2 May).

At the protests, the SYC linked the struggle against racial oppression in the U.S. with that of the students who had taken over the Indonesian parliament that week in protest against Suharto's bloodsoaked dictatorship, whose military death squads are trained by U.S. imperialism. SYC supporters carried signs about Indonesia, and one placard in particular—"No to Islamic Reaction—Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"—offended a Muslim organization, which prompted the anti-communist organizers of the rally to try, unsuccessfully, to censor the SYC's revolutionary politics.

We reprint below excerpts from a letter written by the Los Angeles SYC to the UCLA *Daily Bruin* about these protests.

* * *

The Spartacus Youth Club denounces the arrests of students protesting the racist purge of the campus. The SYC demands that all charges against all protesters be immediately dropped! Pack the courthouse on June 15 and June 19 to defend the student demonstrators!

The Affirmative Action Coalition (AAC) and the African Student Union (ASU) claim these protests, dubbed the "Days of Defiance," are only the "beginning." The truth is that they are only a *repeat* of the same impotent, pressure politics used to "fight" Prop. 187 in 1994 and 209 in 1996.

These same student leaders at the May 19 demonstration worked hand-in-hand with the cops and chancellor in negotiating the terms on which students occupying Royce Hall would be arrested! Cops are the armed fist of the capitalist state who mete out brutal and murderous repression against ghetto and barrio youth, student protesters and striking workers. These student leaders did exactly what the cops and administration wanted. They corralled and diffused student outrage over the admission rates into impotent appeals to the campus administration and "peaceful," "legal," moral-witness protests and arrests that only work to demoralize protesters and derail any genuine struggle.

We defend affirmative action against the bourgeoisie's racist assaults and have fully participated in the recent protests, but we recognize that it cannot even begin to break the chains that have shackled blacks in this country for centuries. The rollback of affirmative action proves that the gains it achieved were fundamentally *limited and reversible* because it did not address the root cause of racist oppression—the capitalist system. Black oppression is the bedrock of racist American capitalism, and any fight for black equality runs smack against the entire system of capitalist exploitation. Against the sectoralist politics of the various student groups which organize students along racial and ethnic lines, the SYC fights to ally anti-racist students with the *real* social power of the multiracial proletariat in the struggle for jobs, education and a future for all.

While the AAC and ASU chose to commemorate Malcolm X's birthday by passing out lists of Democratic Party candidates to vote for, we solidarize with Malcolm X's statement that "a vote for a Democrat is a vote for a Dixiecrat." The Democrats and Republicans are twin parties of racist capitalism. We fight to build the multiracial, class-struggle workers party, the tribune of all the people, necessary to lead the working class at the head of all the oppressed in the struggle for equality and socialist revolution. Drop all charges against the anti-racist protesters! Defend affirmative action and more! Fight for open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid stipend! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! For black liberation through socialist revolution!■

The Revolutions of 1848

TROTSKY

LENIN

The revolutions which swept across Europe in 1848 revealed that the bourgeoisie had outlived the revolutionary role it had played in the Great French Revolution of 1789 in the struggle against the old feudal-aristocratic order. The young proletariat emerged as the only truly revolutionary class in modern society. More than a half century later, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin drew on the lessons of 1848 in forging the revolutionary party which was needed to imbue the proletariat with the consciousness of its historic class interests in overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie and taking power in its own name.

The revolution of 1848 struck a deadly blow at all these vociferous, motley and ostentatious forms of *pre*-Marxian socialism. In all countries, the revolution revealed the various classes of society *in action*. The shooting of the workers by the republican bourgeoisie in Paris in the June days of 1848 finally revealed that the proletariat *alone* was socialist by nature. The liberal bourgeoisie dreaded the independence of this class a hundred times more than it did any kind of reaction. The craven liberals grovelled before reaction. The peasantry were content with the abolition of the survivals of feudalism and joined the supporters of order, wavering but occasionally between *workers' democracy and bourgeois liberalism*. All doctrines of *non*-class socialism and *non*-class politics proved to be sheer nonsense.

The Paris Commune (1871) completed this development of bourgeois changes; the republic, i.e., the form of political organisation in which class relations appear in their most unconcealed form, owed its consolidation solely to the heroism of the proletariat....

The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to *disguise themselves* as Marxists. Liberalism, rotten within, tried to revive itself in the form of socialist *opportunism*. They interpreted the period of preparing the forces for great battles as renunciation of these battles. Improvement of the conditions of the slaves to fight against wage slavery they took to mean the sale by the slaves of their right to liberty for a few pence. They cravenly preached "social peace" (i.e., peace with the slave-owners), renunciation of the class struggle, etc. They had very many adherents among socialist members of parliament, various officials of the working-class movement, and the "sympathising" intelligentsia.

—V.I. Lenin, "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx" (March 1913)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is June 2

No. 692 **5 June 1998**

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As Governor Sets Bounty on Exiled Black Panther

New Jersey State Troopers Gun Down Black Motorists

At 11 p.m. on the night of April 23, two New Jersey State troopers pulled over a van with New York plates occupied by four students, all black or Hispanic. The cops pumped at least eleven bullets into the van, wounding three of the young men. The four were on their way to basketball tryouts at North Carolina Central University. Danny Reyes lost the use of his right arm; Leroy Grant required a new kneecap. From his hospital bed Grant lamented, "This is the last shot I had to succeed in the field I wanted to succeed in."

Jeff Zelevansky

Danny Reyes in his hospital bed after being shot by New Jersey troopers.

The day after the shooting State Police Superintendent Carl Williams claimed the troopers pulled the van over because their radar had clocked it speeding at 74 miles per hour. The troopers claimed the driver of the van put it in reverse after being pulled over and tried to run down the police, who then opened fire. But the cops were lying through their teeth. As columnist Jim Dwyer reported in the New York *Daily News* (5 May):

> "First, there was ***no radar*** equipment in the police car. Second, the van and police car showed virtually ***no damage*** from the collision, suggesting that the van did not move backward at high speed. And third, the bullet holes caused by the 11 shots appeared to have been ***fired from the side*** of the van or ***from behind***—not while it was bearing down on the troopers."

This was yet another instance of "racial profiling" on the New Jersey Turnpike. Black motorists in the state are almost five times more likely than whites to be pulled over by the cops. Nationally, this potentially deadly racist practice has earned the bitter epithet, "Driving While Black." In 1996, even a New Jersey judge held that the New Jersey State Police had a policy of "targeting blacks for investigation and arrest." Yet Governor Christine Whitman contemptuously declares, "There is no such thing as racial profiling."

The case of the four students is a hint of what would await black political prisoner Assata Shakur (formerly Joanne Chesimard) if Whitman and her racist cops succeed in their vendetta to have the former Black Panther Party activist returned to New Jersey. Shakur and two other former Panthers, Zayd Malik Shakur and Sundiata Acoli—then all members of the Black Liberation Army—were stopped by troopers on the turnpike in 1973, supposedly for a "faulty taillight." Approaching the car, one of the cops drew his gun and ordered the three to raise their hands. A moment later, Zayd Shakur was dead and Assata Shakur, who was pregnant at the time, had been shot twice, once in the back.

For surviving that assassination attempt, Assata Shakur and Sundiata Acoli were convicted in 1977 by an all-white New Jersey jury on grotesque frame-up charges of killing their own comrade and a state trooper who had died in the crossfire, ***with a bullet from a police revolver***. Assata Shakur had already served ***over four years*** in solitary confinement and had endured three earlier unsuccessful attempts by the government to convict her. Following a dramatic escape from prison in 1979, she finally made her way to Cuba, where she has since completed her master's degree in political science and been reunited with the daughter who was taken from her at birth.

The state authorities seized on the Pope's tour of Cuba last January to renew their vendetta against Assata Shakur. On the eve of the papal visit, aimed at promoting the forces of capitalist counterrevolution in the Cuban deformed workers state besieged by U.S. imperialism, New Jersey police chief Williams appealed to the Vatican to help secure Shakur's extradition. This was the opening shot in an orchestrated campaign to see Shakur back in prison—or dead. In February, New York WNBC-TV correspondent Ralph Penza aired a hatchet job against the black militant. Following this, Whitman, who in 1995 offered a $25,000 reward for Shakur's capture, upped the bounty to $100,000. Williams railed that "we would do everything we could" to get Shakur out of Cuba, explicitly threatening to kidnap her. As we wrote in defense of Shakur following her 1979 escape, "Shakur is quite literally running for her life—if the cops catch her, they'll do their best to make sure she never gets a second chance" (*WV* No. 243, 9 November 1979).

In an eloquent "Open Letter" (31 March) responding to the WNBC-TV smear job, Shakur wrote:

> "I am a 20th century escaped slave. Because of government persecution, I was left with no other choice than to flee from the political repression, racism and violence that dominate the US government's policy towards people of color....
>
> "This political persecution was part and parcel of the government's policy of eliminating political opponents by charging them with crimes and arresting them with no regard to the factual basis of such charges....
>
> "I guess the theory is that if they could kidnap millions of Africans from Africa 400 years ago, they should be able to kidnap one African woman today. It is nothing but an attempt to bring about the re-incarnation of the Fugitive Slave Act. All I represent is just another slave that they want to bring back to the plantation.

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Australian Waterfront Struggle

Fake Lefts Hail "Victory," Alibi Union Tops' Betrayal

The following article is reprinted from the current issue of Australasian Spartacist *(No. 164, Winter 1998), newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia.*

Australasian SPARTACIST

As we go to press, scabs are still at Melbourne's Webb Dock, while Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) members have been working without pay for Patrick Stevedores. Now the MUA's John Coombs and Patrick boss Chris Corrigan have emerged from secret talks reportedly agreeing to slash over 600 jobs in exchange for making the remaining 800 "permanent." The MUA leadership's vow that there would be no return to work unless *everyone* went back has been proven empty as at least 30 militants have been blacklisted by Patrick, targeted as "violent," and five docks have been shut down, including Newcastle and Port Adelaide, throwing some 280 unionists out on the street.

Wedded to the pro-capitalist Australian Labor Party, the union bureaucracy's fundamental strategy has been to rely on the capitalist courts. From the very beginning, the Spartacist League has told the truth: the courts and cops—the state—are enemies of labour and the oppressed. As we said in February: "To take on and ***defeat*** this government-orchestrated union-busting requires a serious, politically organised ***class-struggle*** fight." With hundreds of thousands of workers and others hoping to defeat the capitalists' union-busting offensive, the ACTU (Australian Council of Trade Unions) and MUA misleaders were and are terrified by the prospect of a genuine class-against-class battle. So they consciously and deliberately hung the waterside workers out to dry, ***demobilising*** the union and its supporters, directing the workers' anger into the well-worn channel of class collaboration.

Thus ACTU head Jennie George hailed the 4 May High Court ruling (voted 6 to 1), which pronounced against Patrick's mass sacking of 2,000 unionists, as a "David and Goliath" victory, while the MUA's Coombs ceremoniously led workers back to Patrick's wharves on a red carpet under a sign proclaiming "Victory to the Workers!" But everyone knew that far from a union "victory" the court's ruling set the MUA up for the kill. Even Corrigan was able to claim it a win, while the *Sydney Morning Herald* declared in a front-page headline, "Wharfies Still Face Axe."

Having glorified the Laborite MUA bureaucracy from the beginning, the myriad fake-left groups in Australia rushed to cheer along with them. The Communist Party of Australia headlined, "High Court: A Huge Moral & Political Victory" (*Guardian*, 6 May). The International Socialist Organisation (ISO) editorialised, "Don't let the Liberals cheat us of our victory." Two weeks later they were still wild about this "fantastic victory," as was the Democratic Socialist Party's *Green Left Weekly* (20 May) which opined that "The MUA's recent victory gives the union movement the chance to counterattack...."

The further away from Australia, the more enthusiastic the hurrahs became. In Britain, *The Socialist* (paper of cothinkers of the Australian Militant group) proclaimed "Australian dockers victory shows workers can win," while the ISO's parent group, the Socialist Workers Party, cheered "This is how to fight for our rights" (*Socialist Worker*, 8 May). The U.S. Socialist Workers Party (in Australia the Communist League) headlined, "Triumphant Workers Return to Australia Docks" (*Militant*, 25 May).

The slippery centrists of Workers Power (WP) tried to cover all the bases. In Australia, where the reality of the MUA's situation is painfully obvious, WP did manage to criticise the ACTU's George for creating "the illusion that the bosses' courts can protect workers." What then of their British outfit, which enthused over the court decision—headlining a 5 May statement "Wharfies 6...Coalition Government 1"—and fatuously claimed that "the first round has gone to the Australian dockers"?

Instead of saying what is and what needs to be done, the fake-left vied with each other in who could sound the most tactically "militant"—calling for "general strikes," "national days of action" and the like, but ***not*** for a nationwide MUA strike that shut down the ports. They sneered at our insistence that there must be a political struggle to break the stranglehold of the pro-capitalist ALP and the trade-union bureaucracy. These "socialists" eagerly await the upcoming federal election so they can, as they always do, campaign to "Vote Labor." Underlying the dishonest and cynical victory-mongering of these assorted leftists is precisely their political confidence in the social democracy and its representatives in the trade-union bureaucracy. This is at bottom nothing other than a statement of faith in the capitalist state.

The MUA struggle throws into bold relief the ***fact*** that "partnership" between labour and capital is a lie, and the ***fact*** that the capitalist state—with its cops and courts—is the ***enemy*** of the working class and oppressed. Self-proclaimed leftists who peddle sweet nostrums instead of the bitter truth—that the MUA's struggle was ***demobilised and betrayed*** by the MUA/ACTU tops, and that the strategy of relying on the courts instead of the social power of the working class spells defeat, not victory—are not revolutionaries, but mere adjuncts to the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy. ■

Promoting Iran's "Islamic Republic"
The Cliffites and Islamic Reaction

The following article is reprinted from Spartacist Canada *(No. 117, Summer 1998), publication of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League.*

SPARTACIST CANADA

When participants in the Toronto International Women's Day march on March 7 arrived at the IWD fair at Ryerson University, they discovered that the feminist organizers had given display stalls to the Canadian army—notorious for the sadistic torture of Somalis in their role as "peacekeeping" troops—and to propagandists for the murderous Islamic Republic of Iran. Both the provocations were quashed by hundreds of protesters.

The protest against the agents of the Iranian government—initiated by the Worker-Communist Party of Iran (WCPI) and led by Kurdish and Persian women—has sharply polarized the Canadian left. Members of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP), Socialist Action and New Socialist Group all joined this action against the deeply reactionary theocratic regime in Iran. Standing on the other side in defense of the ayatollahs' representatives are several other self-proclaimed socialist organizations, ranging from the burnt-out Stalinists of the Communist Party to the longstanding apologists for the Iranian government in the Communist League.

The first to pick up the cudgel for the Islamic Republic agents were the International Socialists (I.S.), Canadian affiliates of Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party. Within days, the I.S. went into print with an article in their newspaper *Socialist Worker* which slandered the WCPI and other leftist protesters as thugs who staged a "racist assault" against Muslim women!

This was a direct echo of the IWD organizers, who had called out the campus cops in a futile attempt to stop the protests. In a later statement, these feminists condemned the demonstrators for "terrorizing" the Iranian government's propagandists. Others howled that the protests—including the one targeting the Canadian army—were "awash with testosterone"! Thus, in the name of "sisterhood," the feminists take the side of the armed thugs of Canadian imperialism and of the brutally anti-woman Iranian regime.

Also whimpering about supposed "violence" was Socialist Resistance, affiliated with the British Socialist Party of Peter Taaffe. When a 16 March meeting of OCAP voted to "unreservedly support" the WCPI's action, Socialist Resistance members were among the very few who opposed it. After years of maneuvering to install itself as the leadership of this coalition, Socialist Resistance quit the OCAP executive in protest. As the WCPI noted in a 28 March statement, "Socialist Resistance chose to be on the side of one of the most notorious and repressive regimes on the globe today."

I.S. Slanders Exposed

But the most frenzied slander campaign continues to be waged by the I.S. Initially, *Socialist Worker* (11 March) tried to claim that the table in question had nothing to do with the Iranian regime, but was just "a booth staffed by some Muslim women." This lie was immediately refuted in a 14 March Trotskyist League leaflet, which was widely distributed on the left.

A subsequent "Open Letter to the International Socialists" by, among others, the WCPI and an I.S. member who had resigned in protest noted that "all of the literature and pictures on the display table were full of lies portraying the 'wonderful and full life' women in Iran enjoy, and all of them bore the logo of the Islamic Republic of Iran." The statement continued:

> "There were two other booths of traditionalist Moslem women's organizations in the hall, and they participated in the fair without any challenge whatsoever. In fact, one of them was located right alongside the booth of the W-CPI....
>
> "The fact that the International Socialists through their official organ chose to so misrepresent the facts of the incident is nothing less than scandalous. If they think that it was proper for the Republic of Iran to have a booth at the IWD fair they should say so openly rather than misrepresent the truth of the matter in order to cover their tracks."

Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

Canadian Cliffite paper hailed Khomeini's 1979 "Islamic revolution" which imposed veil on women and carried out bloody repression against Kurdish minority (below).

Reza/Sipa

Stung by the exposure of their lies, the I.S. held a rapid-fire series of branch meetings on "Marxism and Islam." These were no doubt directed at "re-educating" some of their own members who had taken part in the protest. Repackaging their attacks on the WCPI and other leftists, I.S. leader Paul Kellogg declared in a full-page article in the March 25 *Socialist Worker* that the real issue was "racist scapegoating of people from the Middle East." Kellogg asks rhetorically: "Even if there were a booth at IWD that had some backing from the Iranian state, would that justify an attack?" He answers that to protest a display sponsored by the Islamic Republic would be "a concession to anti-Islamic scapegoating coming from the ruling class." So according to the I.S., *any* left-wing protest against the ayatollah regime can only be racist and pro-imperialist!

The I.S.'s posture as opponents of the anti-Muslim racism of the Canadian ruling class is the most abject hypocrisy. Week after week, *Socialist Worker* has lied that the WCPI—a group of leftist exiles, many of whom were themselves jailed in the ayatollahs' dungeons—is a gang of thugs who led a "mob attack" on women. This plays directly into the hands of the racist rulers, for whom "violence" and "terrorism" are code words in their drive to expel desperate refugees and other immigrants.

As for the I.S.'s purported anti-imperialism, during the 1991 Gulf War against Iraq the I.S. adamantly refused to call for the defense of this (predominantly Muslim) neocolonial Middle Eastern country against U.S./Canadian imperialism. Instead they built pacifist "antiwar coalitions" with bourgeois liberals and pro-capitalist New Democratic Party politicians, who supported United Nations sanctions as the "alternative" to war. These sanctions have killed more Iraqi men, women and children than the terror bombing ever did.

To cover for its scandalous defense of the ayatollahs' agents, the I.S. retrospectively embraces the protest against the Canadian army at IWD. Kellogg writes: "Fortunately some at the fair had the good sense to know this [the protest against the Islamic Republic] was wrong. Some tried to defend the right of the Muslim women to stay. Others led an attack on the real enemy—the booth staffed by the Canadian army—and drove it out of the fair." The unnamed "others" who led the action against the Canadian army—the TL and OCAP—were also prominent in the protest against the Iranian regime, and numerous WCPI supporters participated in the anti-army protest. Yet the I.S., whose own table was right across the aisle from that of the army, only joined in after hundreds of angry demonstrators had massed in front of the military recruitment station.

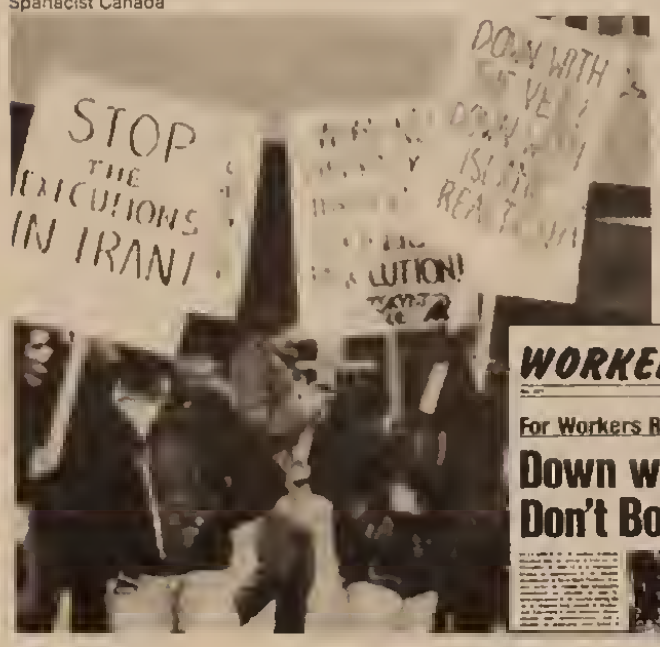
I.S. Backs Islamic Reaction: Iran and Afghanistan

The I.S.'s outrageous campaign against the IWD protest did not fall from the sky. For years now, this organization has tried to portray Muslim fundamentalism as "anti-imperialist" and even "revolutionary." The current period of ascendant political Islam in the historically Muslim world opened with the rise to power of Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran in 1979. At the time, the I.S. ran laudatory articles on the Khomeiniite "mass movement" which overthrew the Shah, with headlines like "The form—religion, The spirit—revolution" (*Workers' Action*, February 1979).

The criminal support for the Islamic fundamentalists by the I.S. and other self-proclaimed leftists in Iran and internationally was a monstrous betrayal. While they cheered on the Khomeini "movement," we warned that it was paving the way for a particularly brutal form of capitalist dictatorship. Uniquely on the left, we said that the mullahs in power would seek to reimpose the *chador* (the head-to-toe veil), restore barbaric punishments like stoning and flogging, suppress national minorities and crush the workers movement and left as ruthlessly as had the Shah. We said: "Down with the Shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" Tragically, our predictions were all too accurate.

Later that year, the Soviet Red Army intervened in the civil war in Afghanistan in support of a left-nationalist regime which had sought to introduce reforms like freeing women from the veil, reducing the bride price and providing education for girls. The I.S. took the side of the CIA-backed Islamic *mujahedin*, who fought to maintain women as chattel slaves. Afghanistan was the opening shot in the imperialists' "Cold War II" aimed at the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state. While whipping up a hue and cry against "godless Communism," Washington poured in arms to support the Afghan Muslim cutthroats. Here

Spartacist Canada



Spartacists protest execution of Iranian leftists, Toronto, 1979. Trotskyists warned against Iranian left's subordination of workers movement to Islamic fundamentalists, fought for proletarian revolution.

the I.S.'s cheering for Islamic fundamentalist forces came together with their visceral hostility to the Soviet Union. British Cliffite leader Paul Foot even used his column in the bourgeois *Daily Mirror* to attack the Conservative Thatcher government *from the right* by denouncing the possibility that British meat exports to the Soviet Union might be going to Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan.

In contrast, Trotskyists said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" We recognized that, whatever the intentions of the bureaucrats in the Kremlin, this military action offered the possibility of extending social gains of the October Revolution to the hideously oppressed peoples of Afghanistan. This understanding stemmed from our recognition that, despite its degeneration under a Stalinist bureaucratic caste, the Soviet Union remained a workers state and continued to embody historic gains of the October 1917 Russian workers revolution, not least for women and the historically Islamic peoples of Soviet Central Asia.

We fought for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, while at the same time fighting for a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist misrulers, whose deals with imperialism undermined the workers state and prepared its destruction. A decade later, the Kremlin bureaucracy's withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan helped pave the way for the victory of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe. It also led to untold horrors for the women of Afghanistan at the hands of the Taliban and other Muslim fundamentalists.

For the I.S., however, the Red Army withdrawal was a "victory." They gloated that "a defeated Russia will spur the struggles of the oppressed nationalities in Eastern Europe and inside Russia itself" (*Socialist Worker*, March 1989). From East Berlin to Moscow, the I.S. *cheered* these counterrevolutionary "struggles" which led to the restoration of capitalist exploitation, mass unemployment, racist terror and rampant attacks on women's rights.

I.S. Backs Islamic Reaction: Algeria and Indonesia

Trying to justify the presence of the Iranian government representatives at the Toronto IWD fair, *Socialist Worker* editor Kellogg writes:

> "In fact, we should reject the term 'Islamic fundamentalism' and talk instead about the mass phenomenon of *Islamism*—a part religious, part political movement that has been part of the landscape in Middle Eastern politics for the last 40 or 50 years. Islamism is a type of nationalism, a response to the crushing hand of imperialism in the Middle East."

But the rise of Islam is not an expression of "anti-imperialism," but rather of despair. It is the reactionary reflection of the evident *dead end* of bourgeois nationalism and the absence of a communist alternative. As Paul Trewhela wrote in an insightful article on the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in *Searchlight South Africa* (July 1989), a leftist journal published by South African exiles in London:

> "It is the cry of the oppressed creature of the late 20th century, wrapping his chains around himself with indefatigable fury because no more substantial project of emancipation has yet presented itself. The high tide of Islamic reaction is the result of the absence over decades of any international politics that would address things by the root....
>
> "Orchestrating and manipulating the fears and resentment of the Muslim poor, as so much raw material, the Islamic campaign in each country is in the hands of this or that stratum of the property-owners. These are out to strengthen their position relative to other classes through a political alliance with the imams, in which the mosques serve as nuclei of a political organization aimed, above all, at preventing access to civil society by the younger generation of Muslim women."
>
> —"Islam, South Africa and 'The Satanic Verses'," reprinted in *Women and Revolution* No. 37, Spring 1990

Algeria provides a clear example. The Algerians won a war of independence against France, but the victory over colonialism produced an anti-working-class, neocolonial capitalist regime which could not alleviate the exploitation and oppression of the masses. Millions turned to Islam as an "answer." The result has been an all-sided bloodbath between the brutal military regime and Islamic fundamentalists which has cost the lives of tens of thousands.

And the Cliffites have placed themselves squarely in the Islamist camp. In February 1992, their British journal *Socialist Review* gushed that the rise of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) "reflects the rise of revolutionary feeling." The same month, their French newspaper *Socialisme International* declared: "Revolutionaries in Algeria must fight side by side with these people, even in actions called by the FIS." The "actions" of Algeria's sinister Islamic fundamentalists include the murders of countless thousands of unveiled women, secular journalists, trade unionists and leftists.

The Cliffites' infatuation with Islamic reaction was captured in a major article by British SWP theoretician Chris Harman titled "The Prophet and the Proletariat" (*International Socialism*, August 1994). There Harman writes, "*Islamists have now replaced socialists and the left in terms of being in the frontline against the state in many countries*" (emphasis in original). Claiming that the Algerian FIS is "caught between respectability and insurrectionism," Harman does not even hint that the goal of the FIS's "insurrectionism" is a theocratic dictatorship!

More recently, in the face of mass protests against the Suharto dictatorship in Indonesia, the Australian Cliffites have fostered deadly illusions that Muslim leader Amien Rais could create "a rank and file revolutionary movement in the army, to split it from below" (*Socialist Worker* [Australia], 6 March). While promoting Rais today, they have retrospectively embraced the anti-Communist, Islamic mobs that helped to bring down the left-nationalist Sukarno regime in 1965-66. They write:

> "Students have rallied on campuses around the country, demanding the dictator step down.
>
> "The most impressive action was at the University in Jakarta, where students once played a role in bringing down the previous Sukarno regime."

Grotesquely equating the student protests against Suharto with the reactionary mobs in 1965, *Socialist Worker* gives its stamp of approval to the CIA-backed bloodbath of half a million Communists, workers and ethnic Chinese which installed Suharto!

For Permanent Revolution!

In Indonesia, Iran and other countries, the rise of Islamic reaction was conditioned both by the bankruptcy of the bourgeois nationalists and the betrayals of the mass Stalinist parties which preached an alliance of the proletariat with "anti-imperialist" capitalists and generals. Under the Menshevik/Stalinist schema of "two-stage" revolution, the working class is called upon to support the bourgeois nationalists, who are entrusted with the task of creating an independent capitalist "democracy." But in the former colonial and backward countries of the Third World, the bourgeoisie is so tied to its imperialist masters that it is incapable of carrying out even the most basic democratic tasks such as national emancipation. As was brought home in blood and fire in Indonesia in 1965, "two-stage revolution" is a chimera which can only lead to devastating defeat for the oppressed.

Ours is the perspective of *permanent revolution*: the understanding that in countries of belated capitalist development, even the achievement of the unresolved democratic tasks requires sweeping away the rule of capital. The proletariat must place itself at the head of all the oppressed in a struggle for socialist revolution. This is inextricably linked to breaking the power of the imperialist rulers through the fight for proletarian state power in the West. The International Communist League aims to build Leninist parties as the crucial instrument for imbuing the proletariat with the consciousness and purpose of its historic task of world socialist revolution.

In investing the forces of Islamic reaction with "revolutionary" potential, the I.S. doesn't even pay lip service to the necessity of mobilizing the proletariat as an independent class force. The WCPI correctly denounces them for "defending the Islamic state," asking rhetorically, "Do we need to reiterate the shameful position of the I.S. in defending Khomeini?" Yet while the WCPI stands far to the left of most self-styled Marxists in the region, they have not transcended the deadly framework of "two-stage" revolution.

Neither the WCPI nor its predecessor, the Communist Party of Iran (CPI), existed at the time of Khomeini's ascension to power in 1978-79. However in writing about this period they draw a nonexistent distinction between the "revolution" that overthrew the Shah and the rise to power of the mullahs. For example, a CPI political resolution referred to the "experience of the suppression of the 1979 revolution by the Islamic regime" (*Bolshevik Message*, February 1989). Workers strikes were key in bringing down the Shah, but the proletariat was politically subordinated to the Khomeinites by its misleaders—with the decisive assistance of the Iranian left. Crucially missing was a Bolshevik party that could lead the working class to seize political power against both the Shah and the forces of Islamic reaction.

Today the WCPI's program, "A Better World," calls for "the overthrow of the Islamic Republic and the immediate establishment of a workers' state." Yet they simultaneously call to "impose on capitalism the most far-reaching reforms," and end up casting about for other, alien class forces to come to the aid of the oppressed. Take for example their appeals to the United Nations, an imperialist "den of thieves" (as Lenin called its predecessor, the League of Nations). As Washington threatened yet more air raids on Iraq in 1996, the WCPI called on the UN to "put an end to the arrogance of the United States," refusing to call for the proletariat to defend this semicolonial country against imperialist assault. More recently they have demanded that the World Court, another imperialist agency, put Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein on trial. As we have long argued, it is the task of the *Iraqi proletariat* to overthrow the butcher Hussein, not the imperialists who would only replace him with another anti-Communist dictator.

Successful protest against propagandists for bloody theocratic Iranian regime at Toronto IWD fair has sharply polarized the Canadian left.

While opposing Islamic reaction in Iran, in Afghanistan the WCPI refused to take the elementary stance of supporting the Soviet Red Army intervention against the CIA-backed Muslim butchers. This flowed from their entirely false view that the Soviet Union became "state capitalist" in the mid-1920s because the Russian working class failed to completely "revolutionize the economic relations." The WCPI explicitly accepts the nationalist myth that it is possible to build "socialism in one country." This is counterposed to the Marxist understanding that the proletariat must extend its rule internationally to at least the main imperialist centers in order to advance to a socialist society. Rejecting the course fought for by Leon Trotsky's Left Opposition, which struggled to return the Soviet Union to the proletarian internationalist program that animated the Bolshevik Revolution and the early Communist International, the WCPI must necessarily fall back on the disastrous schema of "two-stage revolution."

In Iran in 1978-79, the support of the vast majority of the self-proclaimed left for the ayatollah-led "movement" was conditioned by their rejection of the revolutionary capacity of the proletariat. In that instance, they lined up with forces that didn't even *pretend* to be "progressive." Today, the International Socialists shamelessly continue to portray Islamic reaction as an "anti-imperialist" and "revolutionary" alternative. As we wrote in "'Third Camp' Social Democrats Pander to Islamic Fundamentalism" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 613, 30 December 1994):

> "The Cliffites' policy is suicidal for themselves and any workers, youth or women unfortunate enough to be influenced by them. The proletariat must be galvanized politically around a program not to replace the uniformed dictators with robed theocrats but to achieve their own class rule, not to be thrown back into benighted medievalism but to take society forward to socialist emancipation and enlightenment."■

Le livre noir du communisme

Crimes, terreur,

Black Book: Anti-Communist Big Lie

The publication in France last year of Le Livre Noir du Communisme *(The Black Book of Communism [Editions Robert Laffont, Paris]) has served as a focus throughout West Europe for a renewed campaign of hysterical slanders against Communism and the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Though not yet translated into English, the book has been embraced in the U.S. as well by anti-Communists of all stripes. The following article, translated from* Spartacist *(French edition) No. 32, Spring 1998, exposes the myriad lies in the* Black Book *and how they are wielded by bourgeois and reformist ideologues.*

Since capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe, the international bourgeoisies have stepped up their ideological offensive against Communism. They would like to wipe out of the consciousness of the proletariat and the oppressed any lingering attachment to the program or ideals of communism. They want to impose the idea that capitalist society—with its exploitation and unemployment, racism and poverty, war and the menacing growth of fascism—is the only world possible.

In countries like Britain, France and Italy, the parties of the so-called "left" have become the prime movers of the brutally racist, anti-working-class policies demanded by the rulers. To the accompaniment of rising unemployment and racism, the dismantling of the "welfare state" and imperialist aggression in the semicolonial countries, threadbare old anti-Communist shibboleths are the "new" sensation in bookshops and the mass media. Tony Blair wants to break the historic link between the British Labour Party and the unions, D'Alema of the Italian Party of the Democratic Left dumps the hammer and sickle symbol, and in France, social democrats publish a book by a dubious group of "historians": *The Black Book of Communism*, 846 pages of lies and amalgams aimed at justifying repression against organizations and individuals who might still look to communism, and at contributing to counterrevolutionary efforts to destroy the Cuban, Chinese, Vietnamese and North Korean deformed workers states.

The book, most of whose authors are ex-leftists (and who, adding insult to injury, still claim that they are leftists!), is an amalgam of Cold War propaganda and lies which echo those long retailed by the CIA. It is a list of supposed Communist crimes which lumps together death by famine at the time of the Civil War after the Russian Revolution with the Stalinist purge trials of the 1930s, Pol Pot's massacres in Cambodia, the victims of the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia in the 1970s-80s, and even those of the "Rwandese Patriotic Front," in order to arrive at a fantastic total which, according to the book's editor, Stéphane Courtois, "is close to 100 million deaths" allegedly caused by Communism.

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Left: Anti-Communist poster during Russian Civil War demonizes Trotsky as embodiment of "Jew-Bolshevism." Right: Election poster on eve of Nazis' rise to power declares, "Only one man can save us from Bolshevism—Adolf Hitler!" French *Black Book* retails lies pushed by anti-Semitic counterrevolutionaries, fascists.

There's nothing new about reactionary ideologues embarking on anti-Communist crusades (see "Leonard Schapiro, Lawyer for Counterrevolution," *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 43-44, Summer 1989). Nor about social democrats (and anarchists) vying with bourgeois rightists in anti-Communist fervor (see "Robin Blick: Menshevik Dementia," *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 49-50, Winter 1993-94). The reformists' adaptation to the chauvinism of their own rulers is their basis for enlisting in the bourgeoisie's anti-revolutionary campaigns.

Today the old-style social democrats are joined in their endeavor by none other than Robert Hue, head of the French Communist Party (PCF). While the PCF is equally as rotten, chauvinist and reformist as the Socialist Party (SP), nonetheless it takes extraordinary shamelessness for the heirs of the very Stalinists who gave "Communism" a bad name to so fulsomely join in the "death of communism" chorus. But the day after the publication of the *Black Book*, an editorial in the PCF newspaper *L'Humanité* (7 November 1997) railed that "The Russian Revolution gave birth to a monster which year after year devoured millions of people." Hue says that the Soviet Union did not have a "roughly positive balance sheet but a negative one. Even monstrous in many respects" (*L'Humanité*, 5 December 1997). And the so-called "far left" is largely disarmed in the face of the threadbare lies of the *Black Book*, mostly owing to their having made common cause with pro-imperialist anti-Sovietism for the past two decades or so.

Capitalism and Mass Murder

The purpose of the *Black Book* (which has been translated into 13 languages) is to discredit the 1917 October Revolution in order, they hope, to finally lay to rest the danger of new Octobers. The central technique is to equate Communism with fascism—an old war cry of reactionary bourgeois apologists, who aim thereby not only to smear the idea of communism but to trivialize the unique and unspeakable crimes of Hitler's Holocaust, when millions were murdered in the demented effort to eliminate whole peoples from the face of the earth. Like their reactionary forebears, Courtois & Co. amalgamate Communism with fascism by elevating bourgeois democracy to a transcendent principle, and then decrying Communism and fascism as "totalitarian" systems. Fascism is a form of *capitalist* rule which the bourgeoisie resorts to in extremis, dispensing with bourgeois democracy to maintain its class power as the German bourgeoisie did in handing power to Hitler on the road to World War II.

The authors of the *Black Book* pretend that Nazi Germany was the only major capitalist state in the 20th century guilty of crimes against humanity on a mass scale. Every Algerian and Vietnamese knows this is a lie! Trying to drown in blood the Algerian War of Independence, the French imperialists killed a million people—over a tenth of the total population. This brutal colonial war was prosecuted in good part under the government of Socialist Guy Mollet. In Madagascar in 1947, the French imperialists slaughtered some 80,000 people; in Indochina between 1946-54, estimates vary from 800,000 to 2 million dead (Gilles Perrault in *Le Monde Diplomatique*, December 1997). Then the American imperialists—who had atom-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, slaughtering hundreds of thousands of Japanese civilians as part of the "war for democracy"—took over the Indochina war from France, killing two million people, two-thirds of them civilians.

The undoubted atrocities of Pol Pot in Cambodia owe a huge debt to the U.S. imperialists: the Khmer Rouge inherited a country obliterated by more than half a

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Sygma

Concentration camp for Jews in France under World War II Vichy regime. Right: Algerian demonstrators massacred by Paris police, October 1961.

million tons of American bombs, which slaughtered an estimated 600,000 people (out of a population of 7 million), destroyed the economy and cultural level of the country and swelled the population of Phnom Penh to five times its prewar size. Pol Pot's Cambodia was never a workers state, even deformed. Upon routing the imperialists and their venal puppets, the first act of the Khmer Rouge—an extremely thin layer at the head of a peasant army, fearful that they could not control any social organization above the village level—was to raze the cities, destroying the tiny proletariat and forcing virtually the entire population into barely disguised labor camps at the most primitive subsistence level.

The ideology of Pol Pot & Co. was the antithesis of the program of communists for whom industrialization and technological progress lay the material basis for the free and full development of human potential in a socialist society of plenty for all. Indeed, the Khmer Rouge's idea was to smash urban and intellectual life and achieve "equality" through a levelling *down* to the lowest level. Philosophically they are at one with the "back to nature" ideal of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and his modern heirs, the "ecology" enthusiasts who think that everyone including the starving masses of the Third World ought to consume less.

Not surprisingly, those who today hold up Pol Pot as an example of the crimes of "Communism" seem to forget that he was backed much of the time by the American imperialists, and it was the Vietnamese Stalinists who brought an end to his rule.

Nazism and the Bourgeois Order

Courtois' "technique" is to generate absurd "statistics" so as to "prove" that Communists have killed more people than the fascists did. His thesis is that "the Communist system involves, although in a different way, a fundamentally criminal dimension" similar to if not worse than Nazism: "the facts speak clearly and show that the crimes committed by the Communist regimes concern around 100 million people, as against roughly 25 million victims of Nazism." Courtois talks about "genocidal logic" and about "mass murder, systematic murder, crimes against humanity."

It is striking how similar Courtois' anti-Communist slanders are to the language and content of Hitler's infamous *Mein Kampf*. There, Hitler wrote that the Jews were the founders and organizers of Marxism who had shown their true face in Russia where they "killed (sometimes with inhuman tortures) or starved to death with truly fanatical savagery close to thirty million people." According to *Mein Kampf*, the leaders of Soviet Russia were "bloodstained criminals...[who had] killed and rooted out millions of leading intelligentsia in a wild thirst for blood...[and] exercised the most cruel tyranny of all times" (quoted in Arno J. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?*, 1988).

The *Black Book of Communism* serves the purposes of the bourgeoisie today, which would like to revise history and distance itself from the horrors of Hitler and the Holocaust. But the Nazis were not an isolated phenomenon; they advertised themselves as and were widely seen as defenders of "the West" against the perceived "Jew-Bolshevik" threat to the world order. Hitlerite fascism was the most diehard, most ideological expression of the bourgeoisie's unremitting world struggle against Communism.

Courtois openly embraces the theses of the ideologist of the pro-Nazi right wing in Germany, Ernst Nolte, who insists that it was the Bolsheviks who really inspired Nazi barbarism, claiming that the degree and "techniques of mass violence" had been inaugurated by the Communists. In fact the relationship between the program of communism and that of Hitlerite fascism is that they are opposites. Authentic communism means the full liberation of all of humanity while fascism is the epitome of bourgeois racism and capitalist barbarism. Communists are "responsible" for Hitler only in the sense that anti-communism, along with anti-Semitic racism, was the pillar of Hitlerite ideology. The fear that the powerful German workers movement might emulate the example of the Russian October was what impelled the German bourgeoisie to hand over state power to Hitlerite gangsters.

Meanwhile, the French bourgeoisie has just concluded the trial of its faithful servant, Maurice Papon who, as a top official of the Nazi-allied Pétain regime during World War II, organized the deportation of Jews from France to Hitler's death camps. In 1961, as the prefect of police in Paris, he was responsible for the massacre of more than 300 Algerians peacefully demonstrating for Algerian independence. As a result of the trial, Papon was sentenced effectively to two days in jail; obviously the court recognized, as Courtois does not, that the key question about "war criminals" is: *whose class rule* did they serve?

For the authors of the *Black Book*, no concrete historical situation is worth analyzing with any seriousness at all. For example, in the section on Afghanistan, Sylvain Boulouque devotes only two lines to the massacres carried out by the CIA-backed mujahedin cutthroats who, now in power, stone to death women who dare to leave their homes without wearing the head-to-toe veil. In any case, he blames their crimes on the Soviet Union: "The Afghan resistance fighters also conduct massacres and, even though there's no mention here of the brutalities carried out by the Resistance, they remain unacceptable and unexcusable.... However the responsibility for what happened in Afghanistan lies with the Communists and their Soviet allies."

The book is so unserious that the authors don't even worry about getting their story straight. Nicolas Werth, one of the authors of the *Black Book*, feeding the lie that Stalinism is the legitimate child of Leninism, claims that the Bolshevik Party suffocated the power of the soviets immediately after taking power: "Within a few weeks these institutions [factory committees, unions, socialist parties, neighborhood committees, Red Guards and above all, the soviets] were stripped of their powers, subordinated to the Bolshevik Party and eliminated." Later, intent on showing that the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks reflected existing opposition within society, Werth maintains the opposite and a little bit of truth comes out:

> "In reality, the spring of 1918 was a crucial moment when the game was still undecided. Inside the soviets which had not yet been gagged and transformed into simple organs of state administration, there were real political debates between the Bolsheviks and the socialist moderates. The opposition papers continued to exist, even though they were persecuted daily; local political life saw a continuous growth of competing institutions."

Le Monde (14 November 1997) published an article by the historian Lilly Marcou showing that Werth multiplied tenfold the number of victims of Stalinist terror which he himself had given only four years before. Why does *Le Monde* (along with the entire "left" when it criticizes the *Black Book*) maintain that this quack's contribution to the book is the most serious and the most scientific? Because Werth's main task is to identify Lenin with Stalin and make Lenin responsible for the crimes committed by Stalin, the gravedigger of the October Revolution.

Economist

AP

Popular-front government of Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin (left) and Robert Hue's PCF unleashed strikebreaking cops against French truckers, November 1997.

At times, the book is simply grotesque. The Bolsheviks are accused of having "induced" the 1922 famine and of having therefore provoked the death of "five million people." The execution of the Romanov royal family by the Bolsheviks after taking power is presented as merely a personal settling of accounts by Lenin, whose brother had been killed by the tsarist regime after an assassination attempt against Tsar Alexander III, and so forth.

But the lies, historical absurdities and grotesque aspects of the book don't overshadow the fundamentally sinister aim of the *Black Book*. In the introduction, Stéphane Courtois expressed concern that the symbols of the revolution—"the Red Flag, the *Internationale* and the clenched fist—re-emerge every time there's a social movement of particular importance" and that "various openly revolutionary groups continue to be active and to work in full legality." This—together with the repeated demand for "a Nuremberg trial for the crimes of Communism," echoed by the fascists of the National Front—is a direct appeal for state repression against organizations and individuals who look to communism.

Trotskyism Is the Continuity of the Bolsheviks

Just like their numerous Cold War predecessors, the authors of the *Black Book* embrace and spread the bourgeois lie that Stalinism was the legitimate child of Leninism. Their main argument is that the roots of the Moscow Trials of the 1930s and of the Stalinist gulags are to be found in the October Revolution itself and, in particular, in the "Red Terror" of the Bolsheviks during the 1918-1921 Civil War.

In reality, the soviets took power at the beginning of November 1917 with hardly any human losses. The Russian bourgeoisie was so impotent, so compromised by the course and outcome of the war, so demoralized by the Kerensky regime, that it didn't dare pose any resistance. Kerensky's power in Petrograd was defeated almost without a fight. There was somewhat more resistance in Moscow. In the provinces, a telegram from Petrograd or Moscow was usually sufficient to transfer power to the soviets. There were hardly any arrests. The ministers of the Kerensky government were freed shortly after the revolution. At the beginning, the revolution applied the same kind of generosity as the first Paris Commune. For example, the Cossack General Krasnov, who had marched on Petrograd with Kerensky immediately after the soviets took power, was imprisoned but was freed the next day. Once freed, he immediately joined the ranks of the counterrevolution and, after having killed thousands of Communists, marched on Petrograd again with the Yudenich army.

The proletarian repression became more severe only slowly and progressively, keeping pace with the increase in counterrevolutionary activity—after the mass execution of Communists during the Czechoslovakian uprising in the Volga organized by the Cadets (the bourgeois Constitutional Democrats), Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks; after the attempt on Lenin's life, the assassination of Uritsky, etc. Local counterrevolutionaries were backed by the "democratic" imperialists. The French embassy organized the 1918 Yaroslav uprising which inflicted many casualties.

continued on page 8

Kyoichi Sawada

UUAP

U.S. imperialists' dirty war in Indochina resulted in slaughter of over two million Vietnamese.

Black Book...

(continued from page 7)

The "empire" of Admiral Kolchak was pushed by American finance and supported by Czechoslovakian military corps aided by the French government. Krasnov and Kaledin, heads of the counterrevolution on the Don, were backed financially and militarily by Germany. In all, 14 imperialist armies invaded the new workers state; side by side with local counterrevolutionaries, they devastated the country, massacred reds and wreaked terror on the Jewish villages.

The fact that the Russian revolutionary proletariat, which came out of WW I decimated in an economically devastated country, was able to win the Civil War was itself irrefutable proof of the depth of support for the revolutionary cause. The workers fought heroically, sacrificing themselves to the point that the most conscious proletarian layers were virtually wiped out. The peasants—having to choose between the Whites who stole back their land and the Reds who only requisitioned their grain to feed the cities—chose the Reds. It would have been a *crime* had the Bolsheviks not utilized *all* means necessary to ensure victory. Leon Trotsky, commander of the Red Army during the period of the Civil War, explained it admirably in his work, *Terrorism and Communism* (1920):

> "The working class, which seized power in battle, had as its object and its duty to establish that power unshakeably, to guarantee its own supremacy beyond question, to destroy its enemies' hankering for a new revolution, and thereby to make sure of carrying out Socialist reforms. Otherwise there would be no point in seizing power....
>
> "The revolution does require of the revolutionary class that it should attain its end by all methods at its disposal—if necessary, by an armed rising: if required, by terrorism...."

And in the 1935 English language preface he added:

> "History down to now has not thought out any other way of carrying mankind forward than that of setting up always the revolutionary violence of the progressive class against the conservative violence of the outworn classes."

The workers state which emerged from the Bolshevik Revolution was founded on proletarian internationalism and soviet democracy—the power of the workers councils whose delegates were democratically elected by the workers. But the years of Civil War and imperialist strangulation devastated the economy and the proletariat, in particular its most conscious layer, allowing the growth of a bureaucratic layer inside the party and in the state apparatus. Not only the Bolshevik leaders but the masses of workers saw the extension of the revolution to other countries as the key to the survival of the Soviet republic. But numerous proletarian uprisings—in Hungary, Germany, Poland, Bulgaria, Italy and elsewhere—were crushed.

Basing itself on the widespread demoralization which resulted from the defeat of the 1923 German revolution, and with Lenin on his deathbed, the bureaucracy headed by the "troika" of Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev gained control at the 13th Party Conference in January 1924 and carried out a real *political counterrevolution*. After January 1924, the people who ruled the USSR, the way the USSR was ruled, and the purposes for which the USSR was ruled, had all changed (see "When Was the Soviet Thermidor?" *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 43-44, Summer 1989). Some months later, the program of this conservative social layer found its expression in the anti-Marxist doctrine of "socialism in one country." Lenin's last political battle, which he conducted in bloc with Trotsky, was *against* Stalin and the nascent bureaucracy, in particular over Stalin's manifestations of Great Russian chauvinism and brutal arrogance.

Thus, in their defense of the revolutionary internationalism of the Bolshevik program, Trotsky and the Left Opposition carried forward the struggle for Leninism against the Stalinist bureaucracy. ***It is the Trotskyists who represent the continuity of communism and not their butchers, as the "death of communism" ideologues would have us believe.*** The purpose of Stalin's terror was to repress and intimidate the proletariat whose political power the bureaucracy had usurped, and especially to root out and destroy any loyalty to the Left Opposition and its program of international socialist revolution. By the end of the purges, out of the entire Bolshevik Central Committee which had made the Revolution, only Stalin remained in power! Stalinism represented not Leninism but its negation; in order to consolidate his power and establish his claim to be "Lenin's successor" Stalin had to murder the "Old Bolsheviks" and destroy the entire vanguard layer of the proletariat. Significantly, the imperialist bourgeoisies had little problem with the Moscow Trials at the time, as Trotsky noted in *Their Morals and Ours* (1938): "The big bourgeoisie of the democratic countries watched the execution of the revolutionists in the USSR not without pleasure, though feigning abhorrence."

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Left: Red Army commander Leon Trotsky rallies troops during 1920 war with French-backed Pilsudski dictatorship in Poland. Right: Soviet troops enter Ukrainian city of Odessa in 1919 during Civil War against pogromist counterrevolutionaries.

Red Army Smashed the Nazis, Despite Stalin

The *Black Book*, which represents the ideological justification for the brutal rule of capital over labor in the post-Soviet world, makes the grotesque assertion that the Holocaust of the 20th century was Communism, not Nazism. The very title is an effort to eclipse *The Black Book of Nazism*, a book which had detailed Nazi atrocities on the Russian front.

Hitler and his genocidal terror were stopped by the Red Army which liberated the death camps of Auschwitz, Sachsenhausen, etc. The race to Berlin and the destruction of the Third Reich by the Soviet Union represented the freeing of Europe from the scourge of Nazism—8 May 1945 is the day of the victory of the Red Army against the Nazis. This is the truth the *Black Book* is trying to hide.

Courtois is not a beginner at promulgating such lies. In his 1980 book, *Le PCF dans la guerre* (The PCF in the War), he could not entirely overlook Stalingrad and Kursk, two battles won by the Red Army which decided the fate of the Nazis, so he made sure to diminish them by trying to pass off minor skirmishes like the battle of El Alamein in Egypt as the decisive battles. But the Soviet people, at a cost of 27 million dead, bore the main brunt of the war, and it was the Red Army which broke the back of the Nazi power. Some 80 percent of German casualties in the entire war occurred on the Russian front. The Anglo-American imperialists were in fact mainly concerned with fighting for their colonial possessions and especially with getting their hands on Asia against their Japanese rivals.

The imperialist Allies finally opened the famous "second front" with the landing in Normandy in June 1944 because their greatest fear was that the whole of Europe might go Communist in the wake of the Red Army's victory. The Dutch Trotskyists of the Committee of Revolutionary Marxists clearly recognized that the Allied landing was aimed against Soviet expansion and the threat of proletarian revolutions in Western Europe, rather than against the Nazis (*De Rode October*, February 1943 [see *Prometheus Research Series* No. 2, February 1989] and *Cahiers Léon Trotsky* No. 43, September 1990). Indeed the working-class neighborhoods of Dresden and Hamburg were deliberately destroyed by Allied bombing just as Allied bombing smashed a general strike in Marseilles in May 1944, a few days before an Allied landing. The Nazis themselves were hoping for a separate peace with the "democratic" imperialists. And in defeat, the Nazi war criminals feared only the vengeance of the Red Army, as they tripped over each other in a mad scramble to make it safely to the nearest American lines.

Fundamentally, what lies behind the policies of the so-called "democratic" bourgeoisies since 1917 is fear of the threat to the world imperialist order represented by the October Revolution led by those they considered "Bolshevik Jews." Hitlerism was only the most brutal expression of the goals pursued by the capitalists since 1917: to drown the class struggle in a sea of chauvinism and to overthrow the proletarian property forms in the USSR. And in 1940 the French bourgeoisie (which has never forgotten that the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War led to the Paris Commune) allied itself with the Nazis through the Pétain regime.

As for the bourgeois "democracies," confronted with the Red Army victory in 1945 and prerevolutionary situations in several countries they immediately amnestied the worst Nazi war criminals and established the "rat line"—an escape route set up by the American intelligence agencies and the Vatican to place Nazi war criminals in the immediate service of the Cold War, from scientists like Werner von Braun whom they brought to the U.S. to Klaus Barbie, whom they resettled in Latin America. Meanwhile, in "de-Nazified" postwar West Germany, Hitler's spymaster Gehlen and his organization continued to ply their trade against the USSR and the East German deformed workers state.

The Frenchman Touvier (just like Barbie and hundreds of other Nazis), head of the "Second Service" of Pétain's militia in Lyon, also benefitted. He kept the friends he had in the police (who had let him escape from the offices of the French foreign intelligence service in 1947) and was approached to work again for France in Algeria in 1960 helping to repress the struggle for national liberation of the Algerian people.

It is not surprising that the *Black Book* takes the side of anti-Semites and Nazis against the Red Army. Werth mentions without raising an eyebrow the slogans of the anti-Bolshevik Ukrainian leaders Petlyura, Makhno and others: "free elected soviets without Muscovites or Jews;" "Ukraine to the Ukrainians, without Bolsheviks or Jews;" "long live soviet power, down with the Bolsheviks and the Yids." Under such slogans, they organized dozens of bloody pogroms against the Jewish ghettos in the towns and cities around Kiev and Chernigov. We Trotskyists stand proudly on the side of the Bolsheviks who mercilessly smashed this anti-Semitic scum!

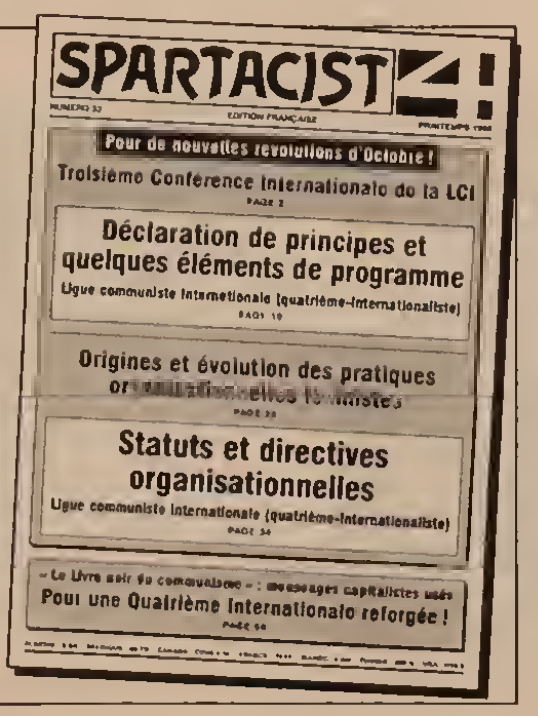
In considering the years-long struggle and sacrifices of the Soviet people against the Nazi invaders (to which he devotes exactly 18 pages out of his 240 on the USSR), Nicolas Werth focuses on the deportation of peoples by Stalin. The Nazis' genocide of more than two

Just Out!

Spartacist
(French edition)
No. 32
Spring 1998

$2 (56 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



million Soviet Jews is mentioned in one sentence and is presented as reprisals against alleged massacres by the Soviet NKVD: "Using as a pretext 'the Jew-Bolshevik atrocities,' the Nazi Sonderkommandos rushed to immediately murder tens of thousands of Jews." Werth counts as "victims of the gulags" the members of the Ukrainian OUN and UPA (fascistic anti-Semites who cooperated with the Nazis against the Red Army), the Estonian Forest Brothers and even Vlasov and his army, who went over to Hitler. For Werth, the epitome of horror was when thousands of Nazi criminals were at last jailed and executed by the Red Army:

> "Never had the 'special populations,' the gulag camps, the control and filtration camps and the Soviet prisons contained so many inmates as in that year of the victory: about five and a half million people, all categories included. A record that was eclipsed for a long time by the festivities of victory and the 'Stalingrad effect'."

Stalin's postwar gulags held many innocent people, but Werth equates these with the Nazi murderers in order to absolve the latter. What he and the bourgeoisie hate is that only in the Soviet Union did the fascist criminals receive a measure of justice.

During the Nazi siege of Leningrad, over a third of the city's population was wiped out through bombings and starvation. The ultimate Soviet victory took place *in spite of* Stalin, who had decapitated the Red Army in the purges of 1937. After relying for a time on the bloody "democratic" imperialists like France, Stalin then turned to an equally unprincipled alliance with Germany, the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939. He placed such faith in this undertaking that he ignored the information of heroic Soviet spies like Leopold Trepper and Richard Sorge, who warned of Hitler's impending invasion of the USSR.

Trotskyists understand that a workers state might have to make temporary military blocs with one or another imperialist power at particular junctures, but never at the cost of giving up the only ultimate defense of the Soviet Union: the struggle for proletarian revolution against ***all*** the imperialist nations. As Trotsky wrote in 1939 in *In Defense of Marxism*:

> "The entire foreign policy of the Kremlin in general is based upon a scoundrelly embellishment of the 'friendly' imperialism and thus leads to the sacrifice of the fundamental interests of the world workers' movement for secondary and unstable advantages. After five years of duping the workers with slogans for the 'defense of the democracies' Moscow is now occupied with covering up Hitler's policy of pillage. This in itself still does not change the USSR into an imperialist state. But Stalin and his Comintern are now indubitably the most valuable agency of imperialism."

The Trotskyists Stayed at Their Posts in Defense of USSR

The Trotskyists resolutely maintained the unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution despite the parasitic Stalinist bureaucratic caste. At the same time they understood that the only real and long-term defense of the USSR required proletarian political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist usurpers who undermined the gains of the October Revolution at every turn through their regime of repression and lies, their bureaucratic privilege, their atomization of the Soviet proletariat, their instilling of nationalist ideology in place of the internationalism which animated the Bolsheviks. The Trotskyists demanded restoration of soviet power (workers and soldiers councils) and sought to mobilize the Soviet working masses against the bureaucracy on the basis of socialist egalitarianism and revolutionary internationalism, the foundations of the Soviet workers state.

This policy was codified in the Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International, and has been a cornerstone of the politics of the International Communist League since our inception as a tendency in the 1960s. On every major battlefield of "Cold War II"—launched by American imperialism in the attempt to recover from its humiliating defeat in Vietnam—the ICL (formerly called the international Spartacist tendency) fought resolutely for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and all the deformed workers states, while fighting uncompromisingly against the Kremlin bureaucracy's capitulations to imperialism.

The war in Afghanistan from 1979 onwards was a focal point of the Cold War. On one side was the Soviet army and its left-nationalist allies who sought to institute reforms against the buying and selling of women and against the veil that prevented Afghan women from ever seeing the sun. On the other side were the CIA-sponsored *mujahedin* cutthroats who assaulted unveiled women and murdered teachers for the "crime" of teaching girls to read and write. For the imperialists, the civil war in Afghanistan was seen as the best chance in decades to kill Soviet soldiers and officers on a large scale and to support a virulently reactionary regime on the border of the USSR.

We took a side, raising the slogans "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and "Extend gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" The bourgeois liberals and the "left" supported the Islamic fundamentalist terrorists, including the Taliban. In the section of the *Black Book* devoted to Afghanistan we can find all the arguments spread at the time by the left and "far left" to line up the proletariat behind the anti-Soviet campaign. Needless to say, these forces today have no unfavorable comments to make about this section of the *Black Book*; they all agreed.

Basil Blackwell Inc.

Banners raised by Left Oppositionists in Siberian exile on anniversary of 1917 Bolshevik Revolution read: "Turn the Fire to the Right Against Kulak, Nepman and Bureaucrat, Not In Words but in Deeds," "Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

When Solidarność, the Polish company union bankrolled by the Pope and the CIA, tried to take power at the end of 1981, we demanded "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!" Eight years later, the Stalinists, headed by the bureaucrat Jaruzelski, handed over power to Walesa & Co. The so-called "left" worldwide mainly lined up with Wall Street and international social democracy as the champions of Solidarność; today, we do not hear a peep of protest from the French left about the section on Poland in the *Black Book*.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the ICL fought the sellout of East Germany which was being engineered by the leaders of the Stalinist SED (Socialist Unity Party). In the virtual power vacuum which followed the collapse of the Stalinist regime, we threw all our forces into the struggle for a red Germany of workers councils. After fascists desecrated the Soviet war memorial in Berlin's Treptow Park, we initiated a united-front demonstration on 3 January 1990, which the Stalinist leaders felt obliged to join and which drew 250,000 people to honor the Soviet soldiers who died liberating Germany from the Nazis. This outpouring of anti-fascist sentiment was rightly seen by the DDR Stalinists as an expression of the will to resist *Anschluss* (annexation) by West German imperialism. Our calls for a new, egalitarian communist party and for the immediate formation of workers and soldiers soviets pointed to the real alternatives for the DDR: proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution. The bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy chose the latter.

We also sought to resist capitalist counterrevolution in the homeland of October itself. In August 1991 we called on the Soviet workers to "Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution," stressing that the Moscow proletariat should have smashed Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary barricades in Moscow, and we distributed tens of thousands of leaflets throughout the Soviet Union. Today we are fighting to build a Trotskyist party to lead the Chinese proletariat in revolutionary resistance to the Stalinists who are determined to take China all the way down the "capitalist road."

Stalinism, the Popular Front and World War II

Although Courtois likes to present himself as a repentant communist, he is no newcomer to the business of anti-Communist propaganda. He was trained and educated by Annie Kriegel, an ex-Stalinist who became a specialist on the PCF and the Soviet Union for the right-wing anti-Communist *Le Figaro*. Kriegel won her spurs in the aftermath of May 1968 in France—a *prerevolutionary* situation sabotaged by the treachery of the PCF.

A clear-sighted section of the bourgeoisie, with Mitterrand as its spokesman, drew the lessons of May '68 and initiated the Union of the Left. This was a ***popular front***: a class-collaborationist alliance of the mass reformist workers parties with bourgeois elements, whose presence acts as a guarantee (and a ready-made excuse) that the reformists will do nothing to call into question the domination of the capitalist class. Long practiced by social democrats, whose dream is to loyally administer bourgeois states whether in their own name or in coalition, class collaboration became the accepted "Communist" policy under Stalin, especially with the inauguration of the "People's Front" in 1935. The French Union of the Left, set up in 1972, led to the 1981 victory of the popular front of François Mitterrand, head of the Socialist Party and a longtime bourgeois politician who also had been in intimate relations with the Nazi-allied Vichy regime.

Against this move to the "left," Annie Kriegel stood out at the time for her fiercely anti-Communist diatribes, taking up the themes of the "red menace" and "PCF, agents of Moscow." In her book *Communismes au miroir français* (Communisms in a French Mirror), written in 1973, only a year after the formation of the Union of the Left, she claimed that what the PCF did in 1944 "could only make sense in the context of a perspective of a direct seizure of power by a strategy like that which assured the victory of the Russian Revolution"! It was on this foundation that Stéphane Courtois wrote his first book, *The PCF in the War*. There, he ranted that the Hitler-Stalin pact "marked the birth of a Soviet imperialism, which had the particularity of likening imperialist expansion carried out by force to the expansion of the world revolutionary movement."

Here, Courtois placed himself in the tradition of Cold War ideologues like Leonard Schapiro, Hannah Arendt and George Orwell who saw Soviet "totalitarianism" as a powerful force bent on world domination. Not too long ago, anti-Communists of this sort were loudly insisting that Mikhail Gorbachev's enthusiasm for capitalist "market reforms" was simply a lie intended to lull the partisans of "democracy" to sleep while the Kremlin plotted ever more nefarious schemes for the destruction of the West.

The PCF in the War devoted many of its 600 pages to trying to "prove" its delirious anti-Communist fantasy with lots of quotes and exegeses of PCF statements of the time. Courtois managed only to accumulate proof of the repugnant anti-German chauvinism of the PCF, as he quotes, without raising an eyebrow, dozens of PCF declarations against the "Boche." (But still he suspected the PCF, as an agent of Moscow, of not being sincere enough in its chauvinism.)

The truth is that the PCF had long since chosen its camp: that of its own bourgeoisie. More than 15 years earlier, Leon Trotsky had explained in his seminal work, *The Third International After Lenin* (1928), how Stalin's nationalist theory of "socialism in one country" would lead the different parties of the Third International, founded in 1919 to lead the world revolution, to choose the camp of their own bourgeoisies:

> "*The conception of the building of socialism in one country is a social-potriotic conception....*
>
> "This is a mortal blow to the International....
>
> "The communist party of any capitalist country, which will have become imbued with the idea that its particular country possesses the 'necessary and sufficient' prerequisites for the independent construction of a 'complete socialist society,' will not differ in any substantial manner from the revolutionary social democracy which also did not begin with a Noske but which stumbled decisively on August 4, 1914, over this very same question."

With the Stalin-Laval Pact in 1935, the PCF definitively chose the bourgeois order in France and put into practice the "People's Front." In other words, the PCF, which came out of the pro-Bolshevik split in the social democracy at the 1920 Congress of Tours, had, 15 years later, definitively rejoined the social-democratic camp. On this question we have a sharp difference with the reformist groups who tail the PCF, like Lutte Ouvrière and Voix des Travailleurs, who moan about a possible liquidation of the Congress of Tours, which is in fact already far behind us. Thus, *Voix des*

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Black Book...

(continued from page 9)

travailleurs (20 November 1997) says that the recent PCF declarations regarding the *Black Book* were only "one more step in its transformation into a social-democratic party.... Up until now...it hadn't yet made the choice to completely rid itself of its ties to the working class, and to become a real governmental party."

It was on the basis of its popular-front alliance with the bourgeoisie that the PCF would betray the prerevolutionary situation in France in 1936, putting on the brakes and stopping a powerful general strike which would have posed the question of proletarian power, while in Spain the Stalinists were, in Trotsky's words, "the fighting vanguard of the bourgeois-republican counterrevolution" ("Class, Party and Leadership," August 1940). The PCF's policies during the war were in pursuit of this subordination to its own bourgeoisie.

The "Resistance" is largely a bourgeois myth built up thanks to the PCF to hide the truth that the French bourgeoisie collaborated almost without exception with the Nazis. In fact, in 1940-41, the French bourgeoisie put in place its own anti-Semitic policies of its own free will, and it tried to extend them into the zone that was directly administered by the German occupation forces in order to get its own hands on the property of the Jews it expropriated and sent to the death camps. Without the French state apparatus, the same one that sent Captain Dreyfus to Devil's Island, the Nazis wouldn't have been able to lay their hands on thousands of Jews. In fact it was Vichy which pressed the Nazis to take Jewish children in the death convoys, rather than the other way around.

And after the war, Vichy criminals like Maurice Papon, far from being punished, received promotions and the entire state apparatus of Vichy France was put back into service. Another Vichyist, decorated with the Francisque Order by Pétain, was none other than François Mitterrand. As we wrote in "Touvier: A Trial to Absolve the Crimes of Vichy" (*Le Bolchévik* No. 128, May-June 1994):

> "Whether as a senior Vichy functionary who, in 1942, defended the 'national revolution'; as founder and head of a Resistance network which from 1943 to 1944 fought to kick the 'Boche' out of France; as Interior Minister who in 1954 declared: 'Algeria is part of France' and led the repression against FLN combatants; or as 'leftist' president, elected in 1981 with the support of the PCF reformists and the anti-Soviet 'far left': from one end to the other, the anti-Communist Mitterrand defended the power and the profits of his class—the bourgeoisie."

It is a bit ironic that the PCF—which really did participate in the Resistance, and whose members often paid with their lives—should have promoted the myth of the "anti-Nazi" French bourgeoisie. But class collaboration—which requires the fiction of a "progressive," "anti-fascist" or "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie—was the cornerstone of the PCF's policy in world war as in times of "peace." The Stalinist-led Resistance, subordinated to Anglo-American imperialism, fought to defend "France" in the spirit of virulent anti-German chauvinism, making no distinction between German workers drafted into the Wehrmacht and racist SS butchers.

In contrast, the Trotskyists, despite their numerical and other handicaps, opposed fascism from the standpoint of the interest of the workers of all countries, actively seeking to contact rank-and-file German soldiers and sailors to win them to the perspective of socialist revolution in France and Germany, and of defense of the USSR. An important role in the Fourth International's work during World War II was played by the Jewish Trotskyist Abram Leon—author of the seminal Marxist work, *The Jewish Question*—who was to be murdered in Auschwitz in 1944 at the age of 26.

The end of the Second World War opened up a prerevolutionary situation in Italy and to a lesser extent in France and elsewhere. The bourgeoisies were discredited and hated for their crimes. It was the Stalinists who used their immense authority within the proletariat, based on that of the Soviet Union, to restabilize this new situation for the bourgeoisie. The Italian CP organized a "victory celebration" where they stripped the partisans of their arms. The PCF managed to stop the proletariat from overthrowing the French bourgeoisie in 1944 (see our article "The Bitter Fruits of the 1944-47 Cohabitation," *Le Bolchévik* No. 61). Even Courtois recognizes in his 1980 book (in small type, in a footnote): "Disciplined, these Communists turned in their arms when the party, through the voice of Maurice Thorez, asked them to." With PCF "Communists" as ministers, the French bourgeoisie massacred thousands of Algerians at Sétif on 8 May 1945.

And Socialist prime minister Jospin too knows perfectly well that the PCF was on the side of the bourgeois order and not for revolution; Jospin, echoing Robert Hue and to the applause of the PCF, came to the PCF's defense in parliament over the *Black Book* in November 1997:

> "For me the PCF is within the left bloc, in the Popular Front, in the battles of the Resistance and the Liberation, in the participation in the government of the left.... The PCF has never lifted a hand against liberties in France."
>
> —*L'Humanité*, 13 November 1997

The "Death of Communism" and Anti-Scientific Obscurantism

The *Black Book* situates itself firmly on the reactionary terrain of the French "new philosophers" who indicted not only Communism but its precursors of the bourgeois Enlightenment and the 1789 French Revolution. Writing of Courtois' predecessors, such as François Furet, we explained:

> "After the Revolution of 1848 the European bourgeoisie—centrally the German—became *counter*revolutionary....
>
> "Thus the radical democratic heritage of the French Revolution was taken over almost exclusively by the international workers movement in this period....
>
> "[After 1917] the anti-Bolshevik hysteria reawakened all the old hostility of European reaction to the French Revolution, which is seen as the original sin giving birth to this terrible event."
>
> —"In Defense of the French Revolution," *WV* No. 486, 29 September 1989

Spartakist

ICL fought for political revolution against capitalist restoration in East Germany. Banner at December 1989 protest in Berlin reads: "For the Communism of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg! For a Leninist-Egalitarian Party!"

Courtois adds a new dimension to the reactionaries' denunciation of all earlier progressive social thought as he indicts egalitarianism in general as the root of the "crimes of Communism," not sparing in his ravings such figures as Thomas More, big-time witchhunter on behalf of the Catholic Church, and Plato, ardent defender of an idealized version of a slave society. Evidently, anyone who compared an existing society unfavorably to some conception of a different social order or ever wrote a book about "utopia" is a dangerous radical in Courtois' eyes!

In the conclusion of his book, Stéphane Courtois launches a broad attack against the Marxist analysis of history:

> "These scientific presuppositions applied to history and society—the proletariat as the bellwether of the course of history, etc.—come from a millenarian and planetary phantasmagoria and are omnipresent in Communism. It is these which determine a crime-producing ideology."

The generalized attack against the application of science to history and against the very concept of progress necessarily leads to the glorification of religious obscurantism. The *Black Book* poses the problem of deciding the criteria to "tell good from evil" and to resolve it cites Pius XI in 1931, head of the Catholic hierarchy which later gave its silent support to the Nazi Holocaust.

At the outset, it was François Furet who was supposed to write the introduction to the *Black Book*. He had just published an 809-page diatribe entitled *Le passé d'une illusion* [The Past of an Illusion], which was nothing more than an ignorant digression against Communism, constantly trying to compare it to fascism. Furet claimed to be a historian, but in this thick volume he never stopped complaining that he understood nothing about the outbreak of World War I, his only "contribution" being to dismiss the scientific (Marxist) explanation that this was the inevitable product of the growing interimperialist rivalries to redivide the world. Furet wrote:

> "The more that an event is heavy with consequences, the less it is possible to think of it in terms of its causes. The 1914 war doesn't escape this rule. No one has really succeeded in showing that it was an inevitable result of the economic rivalries of the big powers.... The Second is not, like the First, the improbable, or in any case unforeseen, product of international rivalries which could have been handled more wisely."

Furet is a well-known figure. He was the chief ideologue in Mitterrand's France for the bicentennial celebrations of the 1789 French Revolution. Already then we warned the workers movement against this person who cursed the diversion of the Revolution from its respectable course with the execution of Louis XVI and the Jacobin Terror which smashed the counterrevolutionary feudal monarchy. Furet saw in this great revolutionary episode the source of all evil and of all later revolutions. And rightly so—it was an example of an insurrection of the oppressed and exploited for a just and egalitarian society, the revenge of the disinherited against the rich. Furet is the symbol of the decadence of French capitalism, which is today fiercely opposed to its own revolutionary origins.

In *The Past of an Illusion*, Furet not only settled his accounts with Bolshevism but also with Jacobinism. According to him, as long as the revolutionary Jacobin Terror is not denounced and eradicated from the collective consciousness a tendency toward revolution can persist and the French bourgeoisie in particular will not be able to sleep soundly. And this is also the central idea of the *Black Book*: "Still today, the business of mourning the idea of revolution, as it was envisaged in the 19th and 20th centuries, is far from over."

The *Black Book*: The Left's Passport to "Death of Communism"

The Italian fascists of the National Alliance have organized a Rome tour for Stéphane Courtois in order to publicize the *Black Book* which was translated by right-wing politician Berlusconi's publishing house. As well, Courtois complacently allowed himself to be interviewed by the magazine *Inquiry into History* ("created by people close to the far right," as *Le Monde* [31 March] modestly put it). The fascists descended onto the Nice campus on March 19 with leaflets in support of Courtois' book.

All the orchestrated debate about the *Black Book* has demonstrated how far the French left has gone toward embracing the "death of communism," led of course by the PCF and those who tail the PCF. Many organizations which still vaguely claim to be Marxists or partisans of the working class have written articles lamenting the publication of the *Black Book*. In fact, when they contest a few particularly grotesque details in the book it is in order to better make their peace with its fundamental theses. Especially after the counterrevolution in the USSR which all these groups supported, the *Black Book* provided an opportunity to bring their various "theories" into line with their role in the imperialists' anti-Soviet campaign of the 1980s, culminating in support to Yeltsin's counterrevolution.

The Pabloite Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) of Alain Krivine and Daniel Bensaïd is the organization which has taken the most care to "reply" to the *Black Book*. What they say is only a variation on the themes of Robert Hue. In his "reply," Bensaïd mentions Trotsky only in passing and only to turn him into a social democrat preoccupied solely with defending the values of "democracy" against Stalin. In one passage Bensaïd quotes the characterization of Hitler and Stalin as "twin stars," without mentioning that Trotsky made this comment during a pitched battle inside the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) over unconditional military defense of the USSR. In this fight, SWP leader James P. Cannon and Trotsky fought against and parted

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ways with a petty-bourgeois minority which flinched from defending the USSR, capitulating to the pressure of American imperialism on the eve of World War II.

In perfectly social-democratic style, Bensaïd complains of the "Cold War" tone used by Stéphane Courtois which Bensaïd considers "anachronistic." (For him, obviously, the experience of October is *really* dead and buried!) And following in the footsteps of Karl Kautsky, he poses the question of whether the Bolsheviks shouldn't have renounced power, bending to the rules of bourgeois "democracy":

> "We can retrospectively discuss the consequences of the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly by the Bolsheviks, of the respective representiveness of this Assembly and the Soviet Congress at the end of 1917, in order to know whether it wouldn't have been preferable to maintain on a long-term basis a double form of representation (a sort of prolonged dual power). We can equally ask ourselves if free elections shouldn't have been organized, as soon as the Civil War had ended, at the risk, in the context of destruction and international pressure, of seeing the militarily defeated Whites take the upper hand."
>
> —*Communism against Stalinism: A Reply to the Black Book of Communism*

In other words, for Bensaïd & Co., "maybe" the Bolsheviks should just have liquidated the world's first workers state, handing power back to the reactionary bourgeoisie and handing over the workers and peasants defenseless, to a terrible vengeance, in order to spare the LCR the embarrassment of being in any way linked to the defense of Bolshevik power.

With the reinforcement of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the transformation of East Europe into deformed workers states after the Second World War, Michel Pablo—the political father of the late Ernest Mandel, Alain Krivine, Daniel Bensaïd, etc.—liquidated the very purpose of Trotskyist parties. Predicting "centuries of deformed workers states," they entered the CPs, arguing that the Stalinists would follow a roughly revolutionary course. Now, in the midst of the bourgeois triumphalism of the post-Soviet period, the quintessentially impressionistic Pabloites see "thousands of years" of stable capitalist domination. They want even to remove the words "communist" and "revolutionary" from the name of their French organization, the better to liquidate themselves into class collaboration, tailing Jospin. Krivine tried to get on the "pluralist left" electoral lists of Jospin-Gayssot, and Bensaïd has become one of the pet philosophers of *L'Humanité*, even making the keynote speech on the 80th anniversary of the October Revolution.

Meanwhile, Lutte Ouvrière (LO) had a big meeting on 7 November 1997 where LO spokesman Arlette Laguiller correctly criticized the *Black Book* for trying to "demonstrate that the failure of the Soviet Union was the failure of Communism itself." This being said, nowhere does LO defend "Red Terror" against the White counterrevolutionaries, thus leaving the field to Courtois in his attack on Lenin and Trotsky. Lutte Ouvrière fails to mention the struggle of Trotsky and the Left Opposition against the Stalinist betrayal of the October Revolution. But perhaps this is not surprising in an organization which deserted the Fourth International during Trotsky's lifetime and which also joined the Cold War chorus against the USSR in the 1980s, going so far as to call Afghanistan the Russians' Vietnam.

The group Pouvoir Ouvrier (PO), affiliated to the British Workers Power (WP) organization, published a short editorial note on the *Black Book* (*Pouvoir ouvrier*, March 1998), where they don't even claim to disagree with anything in the *Black Book*. As far as the gross lies of Courtois, Werth & Co. about the post-1920 USSR are concerned, all PO has to say is that it was Trotsky who was the first to denounce the crimes of Stalin. So, PO would have "Trotskyists" vying with professional anti-Communist red-baiters for credentials in anti-Sovietism!

AP

Workers Hammer

New York City memorial meeting following Trotsky's assassination, 1940. ICL fights to reforge a Fourth International that Trotsky would recognize as his own.

PO's efforts are reminiscent of many earlier ventures by social-democratic "academics" and others to turn Trotsky into a bourgeois democrat, painting his struggle to oust Stalin *and Stalin's natianalist, anti-revolutianary pragram* as opposition to Soviet power.

PO's dive on the *Black Book* points straight back to WP/PO's origins in the so-called "third camp" (i.e., the Tony Cliff wing of pro-imperialist social democrats). Concomitantly, WP/PO have just revised their "theoretical" analysis of the USSR (see "Third International Conference of the ICL," *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 54, Spring 1998; "'Death of Communism' Centrists," *WV* No. 691, 22 May). Indeed, their new theory fits better with WP/PO's actual, operational anti-Soviet program throughout "Cold War II": support to Solidamość in 1981, to the Lithuanian nationalists in 1991 and to the monarchists and yuppies on Yeltsin's barricades in August 1991, which they boast of participating in.

In a March 1996 pamphlet, PO claimed that the "fall of Stalinism, despite the victories for the reactionary forces which followed in the short term, can only liberate the enormous revolutionary potential of the oppressed and exploited masses of the whole planet." Now, in their editorial on the *Black Book*, they go on:

> "Today, the effects of the bourgeoisie's counterrevolutionary victory in East Europe are fading in consciousness, to leave in their place disillusionment and then revolt against the oppression and misery which are rampant everywhere. In the past few years, the working class has found again the paths of struggle: the [strike] movement in 1995, the *sans-papiers* [undocumented workers], the unemployed movement—there is no lack of examples of this kind of combativity."

PO is certainly not alone on the left in trying to portray the *Black Book* as an ideological counterattack by the bourgeoisie to the latest wave of struggles by the workers and oppressed, ignoring the fact that these admirable and inevitable struggles are at present defensive actions in the face of capitalist attacks on the masses. It is true that the rulers' evident thirst to drive more ideological nails into communism's supposed coffin hints at their never-ending fear of red revolution. However, it is not "the struggles themselves" that will generate the communist consciousness necessary for socialist revolution but the intervention of a Trotskyist party introducing that consciousness and rooting the revolutionary program in the proletariat.

PO's professed optimism about the post-Soviet world really reflects its embrace of "the left wing of the possible": the centrist groups in France, like their larger, reformist cousins, all think that the election of a "left" government is some kind of victory for the workers. In fact, the Jospin-Gayssot "left" in office has managed in a few months to do more than [the previous right-wing government of] Juppé ever dreamed of: while the latter had to retreat after the strike wave of December 1995, and never recovered from it, the new government broke the 1997 truckers strike (thanks to PCF transportation minister Gayssot), smashed the movement of the unemployed without having to make any concessions and is endorsing the austerity measures of Maastricht Europe to make French capitalism more competitive with its imperialist rivals. And now this vicious capitalist government is organizing the deportation of more than 100,000 undocumented workers. For the umpteenth time, experience shows that reformist politics is no step toward revolution but an obstacle to the mobilization of the working class.

As for the anarchists, they invited two of the authors of the *Black Book*, Sylvain Boulouque and Jean-Louis Panné, to come spew their anti-Communist venom on Radio Libertaire. The anarchists told these two individuals that *they* were the first anti-communists, even before the Russian Revolution, and that the *Black Book* only confirmed their own anti-Bolshevik vituperations. This is not surprising. Werth's and Courtois' anti-Bolshevik heroes of the Civil War (Kronstadt mutineers, Makhno and his filthy anti-Semitic hands) are exactly those of the anarchists. Panné and Boulouque took advantage of the opportunity on Radio Libertaire to explain that the Red Peril still exists in China, North Korea and Cuba, seeking to fuel the cause of counterrevolution there.

While some frustrated youth may be attracted to anarchism as a vehicle for rebellion against the wretched reformist record of so-called "socialists," today's anarchist ideologues are the heirs of a very particular selection: when revolution vs. counterrevolution was posed in life, revolutionary-minded anarchist supporters like Victor Serge came over to the side of the Bolsheviks en masse. Rejecting that example, currents like Radio Libertaire and the anarcho-syndicalist CNT look to those Russian anarchists who persisted in anti-Bolshevik violence in league with the most sinister forces (see our series "Marxism vs. Anarchism," *WV* Nos. 640-643, 646, 649-650, especially Part 7, "Red October and the Founding of the Communist International," *WV* No. 650, 30 August 1996).

Build a Leninist Party!

Approaching the 21st century, the imperialist ruling class and its apologists are bent on spreading the most despicable anti-Communist lies in the hope of finally putting an end to the spectre of new October Revolutions. Strengthening their ties to reactionary and obscurantist forces such as the Catholic church, they embark on a generalized attack on science and proselytize for religion. All this serves to regiment the population and facilitates the present attacks on the limited social gains won by workers and minorities after World War II.

The reformist parties of the working class, above all when they are called on to administer the affairs of the bourgeoisie in government posts, participate directly in the bourgeoisie's reactionary campaigns. These parties perpetuate the existence of capitalism in a context where the imperialist powers are fighting each other to redivide the world into spheres of influence, which can only lead to the nuclear destruction of society. In preparation for the latter, they and their "far left" tails endorse the appetites and adventures of their own imperialism, for example by touting the "humanitarian" cover for France's forays in the Balkans and Rwanda. At the same time, a new generation of youth who haven't been burdened by the baggage of Stalinism, are beginning to fight against the horror and racist injustice of imperialist capitalism. To fight for a decent future they must learn the lessons of the past, and notably learn from the biggest victory ever won in the interests of the working class and of human progress: the Bolshevik Revolution. The key lesson is the need to build Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties, sections of a reforged Fourth International. This is what the International Communist League fights for.■

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WV Map

Steve Cox

Java-centered bourgeoisie rules over Indonesian prison house of peoples. Above: Victim of military terror in East Timor.

Indonesia...

(continued from page 1)

is strongly linked to workers' struggles elsewhere. The interdependence of the regional economies is highlighted by the millions of workers who have migrated to other countries to find work during the "boom" which has now gone bust. As these workers are thrown onto the streets or expelled, it is urgent for the workers movement everywhere to fight deportations and call for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. The ICL fights for a socialist Asia—for proletarian revolutions from Indonesia to South Korea, from Australia to Japan, the industrial powerhouse of the region. Central to this perspective today is the struggle for proletarian political revolution in China to stop the galloping danger of capitalist restoration.

Leninist Party: Tribune of the People

As a result of the current turmoil, at least for the moment there is a greater opening for political dissent than at any time since the 1965-66 bloodbath which ushered in the Suharto dictatorship over the corpses of a half million Communists, workers and ethnic Chinese. According to the *Washington Post* (28 May), the ruling Golkar party is itself "showing signs of splintering" and "a half-dozen new political parties have formed, ranging from a worker's party to groups representing business, opposition intellectuals, Muslim social organizations and ethnic Chinese." As Suharto stepped down, student protesters demanded that he and his family be brought to trial for the massive corruption and nepotism through which they amassed a fortune of billions. Protests have also called for the release of political prisoners, some of whom have languished in the regime's dungeons for three decades or more.

Habibie recently freed Muchtar Pakpahan, head of the Indonesian Workers for Prosperity Union (SBSI), which was formed in opposition to Golkar's corporatist All-Indonesian Workers Union. But leftist trade unionists like Dita Sari, imprisoned two years ago for her role in leading strikes, and others associated with the banned People's Democratic Party (PRD), including leader Budiman Sudjatmiko, remain in prison. Also imprisoned are East Timorese independence fighters like Xanana Gusmao and members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) who were rounded up following Suharto's 1965 coup. The international labor movement must demand: Free *all* victims of right-wing repression!

While Pakpahan and the PRD activists have demonstrated enormous courage in defying the military dictatorship, their perspective is centered on a class-collaborationist strategy which would chain the Indonesian proletariat to its class enemy. Pakpahan has been politically linked to the former military commander in Jakarta and to Islamic reactionaries. Abdurrachman Wahid, leader of Nahdlatul Ulama, the largest Islamic organization in the country, gave the opening address at the SBSI's founding conference in 1992. And many of the strikes which have broken out since 1990 have included demands for building places of worship on factory grounds.

The PRD, founded in 1994 by radical student youth who extended their organizing efforts to the factories and the urban and rural poor, harks back to the nationalism of Sukarno, the founding leader of the Indonesian Republic. While suppressed by the regime as "communists," the PRD does not even talk of socialism. Rather it calls for a "democratic coalition government," a program which would tie the working class to a mythical "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. It openly supports Megawati Sukarnoputri, Sukarno's daughter and former leader of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), one of the two legal "opposition" parties that were props of the Golkar regime. The PRD also embraces her call for alliances with Islamic opposition forces. Megawati is a Javanese chauvinist who supports Suharto's 1975 annexation of East Timor.

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Sukarno (left) cedes office in 1967 to General Suharto, who organized 1965-66 slaughter of Sukarno's former Communist "allies."

The PRD's petty-bourgeois nationalism is an obstacle in the needed struggle to mobilize the proletariat around its class interests. Nor can it even resolve the fundamental democratic questions facing the Indonesian masses. We oppose the ban on political parties and counterpose to the phony parliament, which is under the direct sway of the military, the call for a revolutionary constituent assembly based on universal suffrage. However, we stress that such demands can only be achieved in the framework of a struggle for proletarian state power. As we wrote last issue:

> "There is no democratic wing of the bourgeoisie, and there can be no genuine democracy under capitalism in backward, dependent countries saddled by imperialist exploitation and grinding poverty. The proletariat must be made conscious of its historic role as the leader of the dispossessed masses and the gravedigger of this system of capitalist exploitation. It is the task of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to bring that understanding to the working class."

Such a party must act as a *tribune of the people*, advancing the cause of women's liberation, calling for the right of self-determination for the numerous oppressed nations of the archipelago and for immediate independence for East Timor, combatting all forms of discrimination based on religion, language or ethnic origin. Both Irian Jaya and Aceh, a province on the northern tip of Sumatra, have seen sporadic separatist struggles for decades. At least 2,000 Acehnese were killed or abducted by the Indonesian army in the early 1990s. East Timor has been the scene of unremitting jackboot terror, including the infamous 1991 massacre in the capital of Dili, leading to the deaths of one-third of the population. A revolutionary workers and peasants government would cancel the imperialist debt and seize the vast holdings of the imperialists, the Suharto clan and all the domestic capitalists. People's tribunals would be established to mete out revolutionary justice to the military butchers—those who have perpetrated untold horrors on the East Timorese would be sent to Dili to be tried by their victims!

The fight to bring down the Indonesian prison house of peoples will require a sharp struggle against widespread nationalist prejudices, reflected in the chant raised by student protesters as they left the parliament following Suharto's ouster: "We are one people, one nation, one language." The nationalism promoted by the Java-centered Indonesian bourgeoisie is heavily intertwined with Islamic reaction, which most directly targets women and the largely Christian Chinese minority.

Women have entered the proletariat in ever larger numbers in recent years, playing a leading role in numerous class battles. Yet they remain subject to harsh Islamic dictates—many enshrined in law—including a ban on abortion and other measures intended to keep them chained to the patriarchal family. We fight for full equality for women, for free abortion on demand and for separation of religion and state.

It is crucial to mobilize the proletariat to defend the ethnic Chinese against pogroms and all forms of discrimination, including their virtual exclusion from government and academia and bans on Chinese-language publications. Anti-Chinese bigotry runs deep in Indonesian society, including among the plebeian masses. The Chinese minority makes up less than 5 percent of the population but includes a small elite which controls up to 70 percent of the country's economy. Regarded as the "Jews of Asia," Chinese throughout the region have long been used by the capitalist rulers and nationalist and Islamist movements as scapegoats for the misery of the masses. As with anti-Semitic outrages directed against the Jews of Europe, such "populist" racism is truly the "socialism of fools," poisoning opportunities for proletarian unity and playing into the rulers' hands. When asked by a reporter for the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (31 May) if the recent "orgy of anti-Chinese arson and looting" in Jakarta had been orchestrated by elements of the military, one Indonesian general admitted, "Yes, I think it was organized."

Unless the proletariat marshals its forces in defense of the Chinese minority, plebeian anger could easily be channeled into another round of pogroms. Moreover, the vast majority of ethnic Chinese in the region are part of the working class and have historically played a leading role in social struggles. As the London *Independent* (16 May) noted, "Unpopular regimes have some reason to fear the Chinese because they have often led revolutionary movements in Asia." Ethnic Chinese were prominent in the Philippines independence struggle at the turn of the century, in organizing the first trade unions in Thailand and in forming Communist parties in Thailand, Malaysia and elsewhere.

Islam and Early Indonesian Communism

The 1965-66 anti-Communist bloodbath crushed the three-million-strong PKI and its affiliated organizations—which had the support of 14 million workers and peasants—and atomized the proletariat. Books were banned for so much as mentioning the word "communism." Among those imprisoned was the writer Pramoedya Anata Toer, whose "Buru Quartet" of novels depicting the early struggles against Dutch colonialism is also banned. The military regime sought to ensure that anything smacking of communism was buried under a mountain of corpses. This is now reinforced by the lie of the "death of communism" promoted by the capitalist rulers worldwide following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

The Indonesian working class continues to live under the shadow of 1965. However, the last two decades have seen the rise of a young, literate and urbanized proletariat. In 1958, the industrial proletariat numbered some 500,000 and the country's manufacturing base was largely centered on handicrafts. Beginning in the mid-1980s, huge factory zones were built—largely by foreign capital—transforming rural towns and small cities in

West and East Java and northern Sumatra into massive concentrations of industrial production. The population of Tangerang, just west of Jakarta, leapt from 228,000 in 1980 to over 1.5 million just ten years later. Today, more than eight million workers are employed in manufacturing, over 40 percent of them women.

There has been a growing number of strikes against the slave-like conditions and starvation wages in these factories. Between 1990 and 1994 the number of officially reported labor actions increased by more than a factor of six (Vedi R. Hadiz, *Workers and the State in New Order Indonesia* [1997]). Out of this has emerged a range of new trade-union formations, such as Pakpahan's SBSI and the PPBI associated with the PRD. If the proletariat is to defeat its imperialist and domestic capitalist exploiters, class-conscious militants and radical activists must learn the lessons of the struggles and defeats of the past, not least through studying the history of Indonesian Communism itself. Chief among those lessons is the iron necessity for ***the political independence of the proletariat from bourgeois/Islamist forces.***

Even in its early revolutionary period, the PKI was flawed by a political accommodation to bourgeois nationalism. The PKI was founded by Dutch Marxist Henricus Sneevliet and others out of the Indies Social Democratic Association (ISDV) in the years immediately following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. The largely Dutch ISDV was steadfast in its opposition to colonial rule. But in seeking a road to the indigenous masses, the ISDV entered the nationalist Sarekat Islam. The ISDV called on this peasant-based movement—founded in 1911 to advance the cause of Javanese shopkeepers and traders against their Chinese rivals—to "become the organization of the worker and small peasant class" (Ruth McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* [1965]).

While courageously reaching out in solidarity to the oppressed Chinese minority, the early PKI continued the ISDV's policy of immersion in the Islamic group. After being expelled in 1921, the PKI even set up its own "Red Sarekat Islam" groups. This ran counter to the Theses on the National and Colonial Question passed at the Second Congress of the Communist International (CI) in 1920. In the Theses, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin stressed the need to "under all circumstances uphold the independence of the proletarian movement, even if it is in its most embryonic form" and warned of "the need to combat Pan-Islamism and similar trends, which strive to combine the liberation movement against European and American imperialism with an attempt to strengthen the positions of the khans, landowners, and mullahs, etc."

At the Fourth Congress in 1922, PKI leader Tan Malaka defended the entry into Sarekat Islam, even declaring that pan-Islamism "corresponds to the national liberation struggle." The PKI's futile strategy was conditioned by the absence of any sizeable indigenous proletariat in Indonesia at the time. Nevertheless, the PKI's political accommodation to Islamic nationalism was profoundly disorienting for those struggling to implant Communism in the colonial and semicolonial world.

Such opportunist appetites would soon be transformed by Stalin into a full-blown strategy of class-collaborationist blocs with a supposedly "anti-imperialist" national bourgeoisie. With the degeneration of the Communist International following the political counterrevolution in the Soviet Union in 1923-24, the Stalinist bureaucracy promoted the nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country," repeatedly sacrificing revolutionary opportunities abroad in the vain hope of securing bourgeois "friends" and warding off imperialist hostility. The Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 ended in a disastrous defeat for the proletariat as the Stalinized CI ordered the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to literally disarm the proletariat as part of their liquidation into Chiang Kai-shek's bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang, which then slaughtered thousands of Communists and worker militants. (For a fuller discussion, see "Permanent Revolution vs. the 'Anti-Imperialist United Front': The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism," *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 53, Summer 1997.)

PKI Embraces Sukarno

A failed uprising in 1926 led to the crushing of the PKI. In the two decades leading up to World War II, Dutch colonial repression was especially intense, as many nationalists and Communists were imprisoned in the notorious Tanah Merah concentration camp in the swamps of Dutch New Guinea. When Japan invaded in 1942, many Indonesians even viewed it as opening the road to "liberation," an illusion that was soon shattered by the brutality of the new occupying power. Typical of many nationalist politicians in the colonies of the West European "democratic" imperialist powers, Sukarno lent his services to the Japanese occupation forces and Suharto was a young officer in the Japanese-sponsored "self-defense corps." The collaboration by Sukarno and other Indonesian leaders with the Japanese occupiers underscores the fact that bourgeois nationalism in the colonial and semicolonial countries is necessarily dependent on one or another imperialist power.

The Stalinist CI had long since adopted its "popular front" policy submerging the proletariat in class-collaborationist alliances with bourgeois forces. In World War II, this meant support to the war effort of the "democratic" imperialist bourgeoisies momentarily allied with the Soviet Union against Germany and Japan. In contrast, Trotskyists called for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union while opposing both the Allied and Axis bourgeoisies in the interimperialist conflict.

Following the Japanese invasion, the retreating Dutch had transported hundreds of PKI members and other political prisoners to Australia. The PKI militants, who had been in complete isolation since 1926, were "instructed" by the Australian Communist Party (CPA) on the need to subordinate the struggle for national independence to the Allies' war effort. After the war, the CPA led a four-year-long labor boycott—"black ban"—of Dutch shipping in solidarity with the renewed independence struggle. But even this internationalist effort was designed to dovetail with the aims of Australian imperialism, then under a Labor government, which sought to extend its influence to Indonesia in the waning days of Dutch colonial rule.

By the time the Dutch imperialists ceded control to Sukarno's nationalists in 1949, the PKI was marching in lockstep behind the neocolonial bourgeois rulers. The Stalinists embraced Sukarno's "Nasakom" doctrine—the union of nationalist, religious and communist organizations—and PKI leader D. N. Aidit proclaimed in 1951 that the party must "place the national interest above the interests of class" (Donald Hindley, *The Communist Party of Indonesia 1951-1963* [1966]). The PKI renounced a revolt it had led in the provincial city of Madiun in 1948, which was suppressed by Sukarno's forces, who imprisoned more than 35,000 PKI members and sympathizers. The general who had crushed the uprising was even elevated to the PKI roster of "Heroes of the Working Class" (Leslie Palmer, *Communists in Indonesia* [1973]).

Aidit became an official adviser to Sukarno, while other PKI leaders were appointed as regional and local administrators. The PKI repeatedly banned strikes, opposed peasant land seizures and preached confidence in the regime's murderous police and military. Despite the PKI's wholehearted support to Sukarno, Communist militants, particularly in the trade unions, continued to face fierce repression. Nonetheless, when the government in 1961 ordered all parties to furnish it with membership lists, the PKI leadership dutifully handed over names and addresses, thus helping to seal the fate of tens of thousands who would be slaughtered four years later.

This was the bloody fruit of the PKI's Menshevik/Stalinist strategy of "two-stage revolution," which repudiated the struggle for workers rule until an illusory future "second stage" while chaining the proletariat to the national bourgeoisie in the name of a "democratic revolution." From China in 1925-27 to Spain in 1936-39 to Indonesia, the "second" stage was always the massacre of Communists.

The PKI upheld Maoism, the Chinese peasant-based variant of Stalinism, and the Beijing bureaucracy was the direct adviser to the Indonesian Stalinists in their capitulation to Sukarno. The 1949 Chinese Revolution, in which Mao's peasant-guerrilla army expelled the Chinese bourgeoisie from the mainland, was a historic victory for the international proletariat. But this revolution was deformed from its inception, ushering in a workers state in which a nationalist bureaucracy—akin to that in Stalin's USSR—excluded the proletariat from political power. Confronted by unremitting hostility from U.S. imperialism, in its early years the Beijing regime maintained a façade of militant "anti-imperialism" while seeking alliances with "neutral" capitalist regimes and hailing Third World bourgeois nationalists like Sukarno.

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Henricus Sneevliet (far left) and Tan Malaka, founding leaders of PKI. 1925 PKI meeting in Jakarta with banner in Arabic, Chinese and Dutch.

Tokyo University Press

Andrew Buurman

Left: Islamic students outside Jakarta parliament. Islamic reaction buttresses oppression of women and fuels racist terror against predominantly Christian Chinese minority. Below: ethnic Chinese shopkeepers in Jakarta following pogromist attack in May.

AP

Indonesia...

(continued from page 13)

At the time of the 1965-66 bloodbath, Beijing refused to even protest the destruction of the PKI, its staunchest supporter and the largest Communist party in the capitalist world. Following the massacre, Washington became open to a rapprochement with China, particularly as Beijing's rift with the equally nationalist Stalinist regime in Moscow had grown into an open split. In explaining a possible change in U.S. policy toward China, Secretary of State Dean Rusk gloated: "We know—the whole world knows—that the Chinese Communists have suffered setbacks during the past 14 months.... They have suffered a major setback in Indonesia—the Indonesian Communist party has been decimated."

In a 1969 document, the Spartacist League warned against "the growing objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal *with China*." Indeed, this deal was soon consummated with the reactionary anti-Soviet alliance between U.S. imperialism and Mao's China. Meanwhile, over the years the peasant-based Beijing bureaucracy has veered from the utopian autarky of the 1950s "Great Leap Forward" and the bureaucratic frenzy of the 1960s "Cultural Revolution" to the "get rich" gospel of Deng Xiaoping and his successors. The rule of Chinese Stalinism has today brought the country to the brink. The stark choice is capitalist reenslavement or proletarian political revolution based on a program of internationalist communism.

ICL Protests

For Workers Revolution in Indonesia!

Australasian Spartacist | Young Spartacus | Workers Hammer

As protests against Suharto dictatorship erupted in Indonesia, ICL launched international campaign of demonstrations and forums. Protests in Sydney, Australia (top), Boston (above, left), London.

Jeff Ballinger

Protest march by Nike workers, April 1997. Imperialist exploitation has led to wave of strikes by combative, young proletariat including many women.

Mao's peasant forces had been able to topple the weak and disintegrating Guomindang regime despite the CCP's class-collaborationist program. But in Indonesia this program led to the PKI's destruction in the face of the relatively strong Indonesian capitalist state, with its cohesive military. While the PKI and its Chinese patrons hailed Sukarno as an "anti-imperialist," Sukarno readily abandoned his former Communist "allies" as they were hunted down by the military and Islamic mohs using hit lists supplied by the CIA.

As part of its international crusade to "roll back" Communism, the U.S. had trained fully half of "non-aligned" Indonesia's officer corps and a third of its general staff. The imperialists also consciously cultivated Islamic fundamentalism as an anti-Communist weapon. In 1950, U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles pointed to a "common bond" with the "religions of the East," whose "spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism." Three years later, the National Security Council called for "using the forces of nationalism and Islam in opposing communism." The Cold War American "AFL-CIA" trade-union bureaucracy, which was up to its neck in anti-Communist intrigues from Italy to East Europe, helped prepare the ground for the massacre by setting up anti-Communist "labor" operations for the military regime.

Under Suharto's "New Order," Indonesia was a linchpin in the U.S.-organized ASEAN alliance directed particularly against the Chinese deformed workers state. In turn, Washington backed its butchers in Jakarta to the hilt. The 1975 invasion of East Timor came one day after U.S. president Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger visited Suharto, and the U.S., Australian and British imperialists continue to ply the Indonesian military with arms and "advisers." The JCET program under which the Pentagon has trained Suharto's murderous Kopassus "Red Berets" is also used to organize "counterinsurgency" death squads in Colombia. ***Imperialists: Keep your bloody hands off Indonesia!***

Toward the Indonesian Revolution!

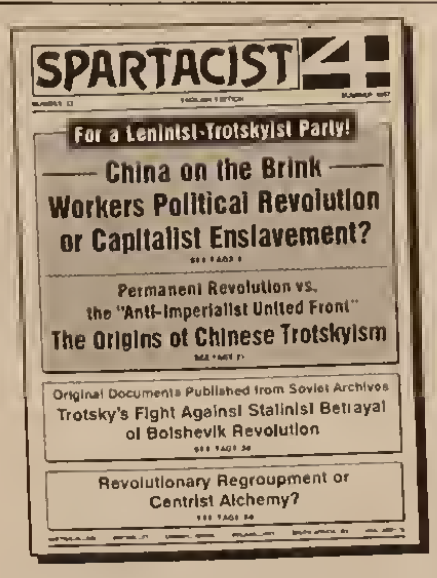
Indonesia remains a classic case of combined and uneven development, with modern industry grafted onto a society with manifold forms of oppression that are a heritage of the pre-industrial past and were reinforced by Dutch colonialism. As the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution demonstrated, the democratic tasks facing such backward, dependent countries can only be resolved under the *dictatorship of the proletariat* supported by the rural masses and as part of a struggle for socialist revolution internationally, particularly in the advanced capitalist countries.

An internationalist perspective is a question of life and death for revolutionary militants in Indonesia, where proletarian rule would immediately be threatened by the overwhelming economic and military might of the imperialist powers. At the same time, the ongoing economic crisis underscores the strong ties linking workers in Indonesia with their class brothers and sisters in the region—and around the world. The fallout from the Asian financial collapse has been felt from Japan, whose economy is already reeling from years of recession, to Yeltsin's Russia and elsewhere. Japan's huge industrial proletariat is now chafing under record unemployment levels.

The recent two-day strike by the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions against IMF austerity being imposed by the police-state regime of U.S.-backed "democrat" Kim Dae Jung points to the opportunities for proletarian struggle throughout the Asian Pacific Rim. On the other hand, the distinct possibility that the dispossessed masses could be turned into fodder for chauvinist fratricide was underscored by the nuclear weapons tests by the Islamic theocratic regime in Pakistan and the virulently anti-Muslim Hindu-fundamentalist Indian government.

Key to a revolutionary-internationalist program is the call for unconditional military defense of China—as well as North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against capitalist attack and internal counterrevolution, including its right to nuclear weapons. The Beijing regime's drive toward capitalist restoration and the cracking of the "iron rice bowl" of guaranteed lifetime employment and social benefits have triggered a wave of defensive strikes. But to stop the counterrevolutionary tide, it is necessary for the proletariat to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy through a political revolution.

The fate of the Indonesian proletariat—and of all humanity—hinges on one overriding factor, the need for revolutionary leadership. Against the chauvinist poison pushed by the national capitalist rulers and their labor lieutenants, communists seek to unite workers everywhere around their historic interests in sweeping away this system of imperialist exploitation, war and oppression. The International Communist League fights to build Leninist vanguard parties from Indonesia, the Philippines and China to Germany, Japan and the U.S. as part of a reforged Trotskyist Fourth International. ■



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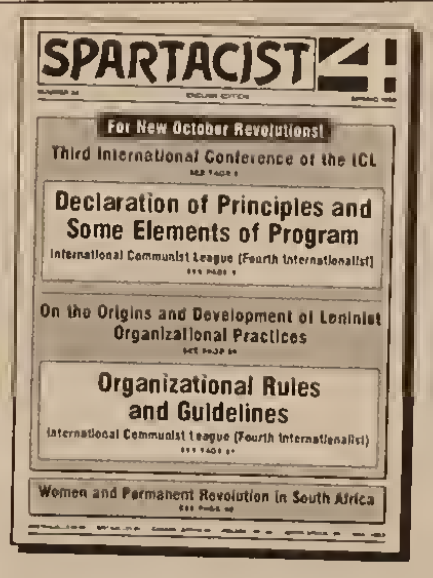

No. 54, Spring 1998, $2 (48 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to

Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard **skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated July 3.

NYC...

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the entire financial district and a big chunk of Midtown would be "cleansed" of the sidewalk food vendors that thousands of working people and students rely on for coffees and lunches, depriving some 350 families of a livelihood. This gratuitous measure was carried out in the name of making the city less "chaotic" and more "civilized"!

Three days later, the NYPD hauled off 24 supporters of open admissions at CUNY in handcuffs. Among those arrested were a state assemblyman and 62-year-old Brooklyn College professor Renate Bridenthal, who came to the U.S. as a refugee from Nazi Germany. Their "crime" was to protest at a "public" hearing—which was cleared of the public—where the CUNY Board of Trustees rammed through plans to shut down remedial classes at the four-year colleges and exclude any student who fails any of the four entrance exams. This will effectively end the open admissions policy inaugurated in 1969, as CUNY chancellor Anne Paolucci made clear when she sneered about "cleaning out" the colleges after "30 years of neglect." Open admissions provided an avenue to higher education for working-class youth, particularly minorities and immigrants. This racist new policy will bar more than half of all Hispanic and Asian applicants and 46 percent of black students from the four-year colleges.

As the capitalist rulers slash welfare and other social services, attack municipal unions with slave-labor "workfare" schemes and decimate the living standards of working people, they have simultaneously intensified police repression in order to deter even the mildest protest. This is what is behind the racist "war on drugs," the massive increase in private strikebreaking forces and the burgeoning—and overwhelmingly black and Hispanic—prison population. Commenting on Giuliani's arrest of CUNY student protesters in his column in the *New York Times* (28 May), Bob Herbert asked acerbically, "Who needs remedial classes when you can send students straight to jail?"

Just about any protest in New York is now routinely sealed off by police barricades, intimidating those who may wish to join in from doing so. Giuliani's latest threat to eliminate newspaper stands poses a broader assault on the right to distribute political literature on city streets. And the new arrest procedures implemented by Giuliani embolden the police, as the 80,000 New Yorkers who are issued "desk appearance" tickets each year for so much as looking cross-eyed at a cop will now find themselves in jail for a couple of days or more while fingerprints and other ID are checked. Even a high-ranking CUNY official critical of the new admissions policy refused to let Bob Herbert publish his name, saying: "I saw Giuliani with the taxicabs. I don't want to be a taxicab driver." And a cabdriver from Bangladesh told the *Times* (21 May), "Giuliani is running a dictatorship. I don't know how people here are tolerating this."

Giuliani can get away with acting like a tinpot dictator because he knows the municipal labor tops are in his hip pocket. For decades, the NYC union bureaucrats were accustomed to mouthing off against proposed cutbacks only to go behind closed doors and emerge hours later with a repackaged version of the same givebacks, as they did under black Democrat David Dinkins. "They'll take it from me," the liberal Dinkins assured the city's rulers before proceeding to put 6,000 more cops on the streets and slash thousands of municipal jobs. But Giuliani rode into office on his record as a labor-hating prosecutor and as the candidate of racist "backlash" and unrestrained cop terror. Faced with a mayor who showed no interest in posturing as a "friend of labor," the union tops just caved in from the start. As a *New York Post* (21 May) editorial lauding Giuliani put it, "It is a measure of how completely the mayor has altered the city's mindset that when he makes a dire threat, no one for a moment doubts his seriousness."

In a message clearly directed at all of NYC labor, Giuliani boasted as he shut down the cabbies' protest: "The message is: you don't get to close down the city of New York.... Don't think about it." But the leaders of the unions which in fact have the power to shut down this city would never dream of doing that. Giuliani wields the power of the capitalist state apparatus, the cops and courts. But in the first instance, it is the cravenly pro-capitalist union bureaucracy which acts to police the workers movement. AFSCME District Council 37 chief Stanley Hill not only backs the Republican mayor at the polls but has served as a slave-labor contractor for his capitalist masters, enforcing a sweetheart deal which has led to the replacement of 20,000 unionized municipal workers by conscripted "workfare" labor. And the leadership of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, whose 32,000 members keep the city's buses and subways running, signed a contract two years ago explicitly allowing for the use of welfare recipients as subway cleaners.

A solid strike by the TWU or other major NYC unions could galvanize widespread support among the city's minority population, particularly through raising demands such as full union wages and benefits for *all* workers in the city's transit system, schools and hospitals, and opposing the racist cutbacks in education and other social services. But mobilizing the power of labor to defend the interests of the working class and of all the oppressed requires a class-struggle leadership forged through political struggle against the union misleaders who chain workers to the partner parties of capitalism, the Democrats and Republicans. The Spartacist League seeks to build a revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government which will expropriate the bourgeoisie and use the wealth of this society for the benefit of all. ■

Philly...

(continued from page 16)

heavily minority union aimed at reaching out to other city workers and particularly to the black and Hispanic population, who are subjected to pervasive segregation and a notoriously racist police force.

Yet during the last strike in 1995, the TWU leadership openly embraced the racist cops. The union misleaders appealed to the sinister Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) for "support" and hailed these armed guardians of the capitalist profit system as "brothers." The cops were welcomed at a strike rally, where the TWU tops broadcast the F.O.P.'s cynical statement of "solidarity" from the platform. At the time, the F.O.P. was actively courting the TWU as part of a rabid, nationwide effort to whip up support for the execution of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. In an article laying out a strategy for victory in the 1995 strike (*WV* No. 620, 7 April 1995), we stressed:

> "From hauling off arrested air traffic controllers in their 1981 strike, to the 1985 bombing of Philadelphia MOVE and the destruction of the Osage Avenue neighborhood, to running scabs through Teamster picket lines during the 1994 trucking strike, the cops are the sworn enemies of labor and the oppressed."

It will be these same racist cops who will be called out against the transit strike to enforce the scabherding carried out by SEPTA management.

With utmost cynicism, the big business press is trying to pit the ghetto poor against the union, railing that the strike "promises to be painful" for "workfare" recipients who won't be able to get to their slave-labor assignments. The capitalist rulers' destruction of social welfare programs not only serves to cut off even the minimal support for the unemployed, but is meant to help drive down the wages of the entire working class. Yet the pro-capitalist union tops not only refuse to fight these attacks but have in many cases signed on as overseers for the bourgeoisie's union-busting "workfare" schemes.

What is needed is a class-struggle leadership of the unions which would mobilize labor in a fight for jobs for all at union wages, for free mass transit and against racist oppression and cop terror. In particular, this means mobilizing labor to demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal—and the countless other fighters for the oppressed as well as trade-union militants locked behind bars—and abolition of the racist death penalty. It was only through an outpouring of protest and publicity—including from labor—internationally that Mumia won a stay of execution in August 1995.

SEPTA is one of the largest public transit systems in the U.S. Yet Local 234 members are among the country's worst paid transit workers. Since 1992, the TWU tops have rammed through "productivity" schemes and other concessions putting tens of millions of dollars into SEPTA's coffers. Emboldened by these capitulations, the SEPTA bosses are now demanding an "overhaul" of work rules, increased use of part-time workers, a cut in wages for new-hires and a freeze in medical insurance payments. Despite these massive cutback demands, the TWU tops kept the members working for eleven weeks after the contract expired before finally launching the strike.

It is necessary to spread the strike to all Philly-area transit, particularly regional rail lines which transport suburbanites to their office jobs in the city. SEPTA has been able to continue its Victory-Red Arrow buses running with operators organized in the United Transportation Union (UTU), who are being allowed to go through TWU mechanics' picket lines. This treacherous scabbing must stop: Picket lines mean don't cross! One out, all out!

All of this points to the need for a program which looks to the mobilization of labor's social power and not to the cops, courts and politicians of the class enemy. The current vendetta against the Teamsters is an object lesson in the dangers of court intervention: having invited the bosses' courts into the union, the former Carey leadership was forced out by the capitalist government as punishment for the union's successful strike against UPS last year. The Spartacist League fights for a revolutionary workers party forged through political struggle against the labor misleaders who chain workers to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. Such a party must champion the cause of all the oppressed as part of the struggle for socialist revolution. ■

Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet exposes in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party.

50¢ (16 pages)

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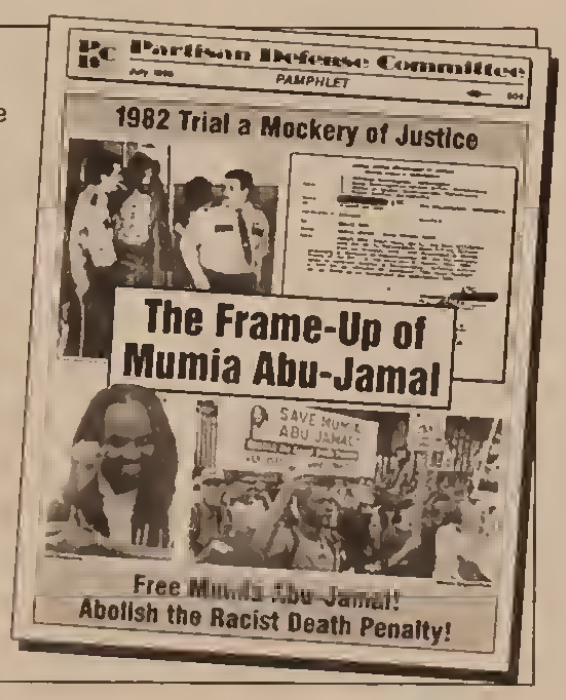

New Jersey...

(continued from page 3)

> Well, I might be a slave, but I will go to my grave a rebellious slave."

Like countless others, Assata Shakur was targeted by the cops because she was among the best of a generation of radical black militants who courageously fought against this racist system. Dozens of Panthers were assassinated outright in the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO terror operation, many more thrown behind bars. Among those was Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who was finally released last year after serving 27 years in a California prison for a crime the government knows he did not commit. Another is Mumia Abu-Jamal, who remains on death row in Pennsylvania following a 1982 frame-up conviction for his history as a young Black Panther leader, a MOVE supporter and an outspoken journalist who has earned international prominence as the "voice of the voiceless." Shakur's comrade Sundiata Acoli remains behind bars to this day.

From the victimization of these militants to the daily terror meted out to black people in the ghettos and on the streets and highways, the racist capitalists amply confirm Shakur's statement, "The basic reality in the United States is that being black is a crime and black people are always 'suspects' and an accusation is usually a conviction." But despite their personal courage, the Black Panthers rejected the only strategy to sweep away the racist bourgeois order—socialist revolution by the multiracial proletariat—opting instead for a reformist program which included the utopian call for "community control" of the police. As the armed enforcers of the capitalist profit system, the cops' job is to violently suppress workers and minorities. Racist repression and cop terror will be ended only when the working class seizes state power under the leadership of a multiracial Leninist vanguard party. Hands off Assata Shakur! Free Sundiata Acoli! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

Marilyn Vasta

Former Black Panther Assata Shakur in exile in Cuba.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Giuliani's NYC

"Quality of Life" Police State

Albans/Daily News

Franco/NY Times

Racist NYC mayor Giuliani (left) unleashes cops against protesting taxi drivers, May 21.

Harlem preacher Calvin Butts may not have been politically precise when he denounced Mayor Rudolph Giuliani for "moving toward a fascist state" in New York City last month, but he sure captured the sentiments of much of the city's downtrodden and increasingly besieged black, Hispanic and immigrant population. In the space of one week, the racist Republican mayor unleashed his cops to break up a demonstration by the city's largely immigrant taxi drivers, ordered the arrest of two dozen opponents of the racist purge of City University (CUNY), announced plans to bar food vendors from many Manhattan streets and implemented new arrest procedures which effectively amount to "preventive detention." Giuliani's intentions were underlined when his top cop ranted that protesting cab drivers were "terrorists" and a planned protest by street vendors was denounced as "violence." "That's why we have a 38,000-member Police Department," Giuliani warned ominously.

Under the Orwellian guise of improving the Big Apple's "quality of life," Giuliani and his cops are fostering a climate of fear and intimidation throughout the city. This comes as nothing new to the residents of the city's ghettos and barrios for whom police terror is a daily fact of life. Increasingly, black and Hispanic families refuse even to allow their kids to play in the streets for fear they will be gunned down by a trigger-happy cop. Now it isn't even safe to stay indoors. Barely a week has gone by recently without at least one report of cops breaking down apartment doors without warning, terrorizing black families and wrecking their homes on the basis of bogus "tips" by drug "snitches." In the latest of these Gestapo-like "drug raids," a SWAT team busted in the front door of a Brooklyn family in the early morning hours of May 1, detonated a concussion grenade, handcuffed 62-year-old Basil Shorter, his wife and two children and ransacked the apartment for an hour and a half.

The self-styled "pro-immigrant" mayor has also taken his ax to the city's large immigrant population. Giuliani was furious when the city's cabdrivers—many of them Caribbean, South Asian and Russian immigrants who drive 12 hours a day, seven days a week in order to make ends meet—staged a hugely successful one-day strike to protest new regulations jacking up fines and insurance payments to such exorbitant levels that many drivers would end up working for literally nothing. Giuliani's "payback" came when cabbies assembled at the entrance to the Queensboro Bridge eight days later for a protest motorcade to City Hall. They were met by a wall of cops. Those who made it to City Hall on foot were shoved off by the cops to a corner several blocks away. Cabs trying to cross into Manhattan without passengers were summarily stopped and their drivers dragged out and arrested. Giuliani reveled, "We broke their strike—destroyed it, really." This former U.S. Attorney was unruffled when even a federal appeals court later ruled that his action was a violation of the constitutional right to assembly.

Meanwhile, sidewalk artists have been driven off the pavement outside the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Black Israelite sect has been forced to end its 20-year tradition of soaphoxing in Times Square, and in traditionally free-wheeling Greenwich Village the cops will now seize your car if the radio is too loud. On May 23, a mayoral panel announced that

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Victory to Philly Transit Strike!

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

JUNE 2—Philadelphia buses, subways and trolleys ground to a halt at noon yesterday as 5,500 members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 234 went on strike against the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA). In the face of management attempts to ram through attacks on wages, jobs and working conditions, workers on several suburban lines joined the walkout, the fifth transit strike in the city since 1977.

With much of the city's population reliant on public transit, the impact of the strike was felt immediately. Democratic mayor Ed Rendell openly railed against the strike, hailing SEPTA's "outstanding offer." With Philly a possible venue for both the Democratic and Republican national conventions in 2000, Rendell threatened that if any TWU pickets show up at possible convention sites "the police will be there" to clear the way. Already, courts have issued injunctions limiting pickets, and at least two strikers have been arrested. Drop the charges now!

A victory for the TWU against SEPTA's drive to cripple the union would strike a blow for all city labor and the minority poor. In the first instance, this means building mass, militant picket lines, defying the strikebreaking cops and anti-union court injunctions. But this requires a conscious strategy by this

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MacMillan/Philadelphia Daily News

TWU protest outside City Hall on first day of transit strike.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 693 — 3 July 1998

For Workers Revolution—For a Socialist Asia!

Japan Economic Crisis Shakes Imperialist Order

AFP

Economist graph

Kobayashi/Newsweek

As Tokyo traders watch yen plummet, deepening economic crisis sparks fears of international depression, provokes broad attacks on Japanese workers.

The bailout of Japan's currency in late June underlined the crisis-ridden state of the world's second-largest economy. Washington deployed billions of dollars on international money markets to keep the yen afloat, in return extorting promises of "reform" from the government of Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto, including further opening the economy to U.S. investors and industrialists. Even so, the yen has continued to drift downward.

U.S. Escalates Japan-Bashing— The Main Enemy Is at Home!

The plunge in the value of the yen came only a week after Tokyo announced that its economy had registered a net decline over the past year and its worst annual performance since the end of World War II. Coming atop a decade of economic downturn, the financial crash which inundated Southeast Asia and South Korea last year has hit Japan's weakened economic structure with the force of a tsunami. Japan's capitalists have slashed investment in productive capacity. Working people have cut back consumption to essentials. For the first time in half a century, last November the Ministry of Finance allowed a major bank to go bust, followed by the country's fourth largest securities firm, the

continued on page 8

Hideous Racist Lynching in Texas

Smash Klan Terror!

The race-hate provocation staged by two dozen robed and hooded Klansmen in the East Texas town of Jasper on June 27 was a grotesque "celebration" of the lynching of James Byrd Jr. three weeks earlier. The KKK nightriders should have been driven out by an integrated mobilization, with the friends and family of James Byrd at the head and contingents of labor brought in from around the state and the rest of the country. From the Democratic White House to the Republican state house, racist capitalist politicians issued pious expressions of sympathy for James Byrd. But the hypocrisy of these pronouncements was underlined on June 27, as the would-be killers of the KKK were protected by 200 cops, Texas Rangers and FBI agents while a black anti-Klan protester was arrested.

Jasper is billed as an example of the "New South," with a population—evenly divided between blacks and whites—which supposedly thrives on "racial harmony." The town even has a black mayor. But the horrific murder of James Byrd underlined the chilling boast later issued by one of the KKK "protesters": "Make no mistake about it: This is Klan country."

James Byrd Jr. was picked up by three white men in the early morning hours of June 7, savagely beaten, chained by his ankles to the back of their truck and dragged for three miles. His body was ripped apart, his head and right arm found a mile from his torso, a long trail of blood marking his excruciating final moments. James Byrd was 49 years old, the father of three children. The night he was killed, he had been walking home from his parents' house after a bridal party for a niece.

The three white men were quickly found. A cigarette lighter with a KKK symbol scratched on it had been left at the scene of the beating. Two of the men have tattoos linking them to white racist groups. The third, Shawn Berry, confessed to the police. Referring to a "novel" prescribing race war and genocide, which has become the bible for white supremacists around the U.S., Berry recounted one of the other killers saying, "We're going to start *The Turner*

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AP

Clara Taylor with photos of her brother, James Byrd Jr., victim of racist murder.

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Dennis Rivera's "Victory": Union Pensions Looted for Layoffs

NYC Hospital Workers Shafted

NEW YORK CITY—Three days after more than 20,000 health care workers turned out for a June 18 pre-strike rally in midtown Manhattan, Local 1199 leader Dennis Rivera announced a deal with the greedy hospital bosses that he was "ecstatic" about. This "progressive" faker is undoubtedly happy that he may have managed to scuttle what would have been a widely popular strike, but the nursing aides, housekeepers, X-ray technicians, cooks and custodians who keep many of the city's largest private medical centers running just got kicked in the teeth.

Rivera has promised the members of the National Health and Human Services Employees Union unprecedented job security. This is the sort of "job security" that has filled homeless shelters and slave-labor "workfare" rolls around the country. Under the proposed contract, up to 3,700 jobs will be slashed over the next five years. Adding insult to injury, the union's members will pay to have their throats cut. Rivera has agreed to fork over $135 million from union pension funds to pay for "early retirement." At the same time, the employers get to cut their contributions to the pension fund, looting it by another $100 million or more over the life of the contract.

Worse still, the contract would provide "job protection" only to workers hired before September 1992, allowing for a quarter of the workforce to be laid off anytime. This is a frontal assault on the union itself—dividing the membership along generational lines—like the "two-tier" wage schemes used by the capitalists nationally to grind down workers' living standards over the past 20 years. Even those workers covered under the "security" provision can be laid off if the institution closes or claims to be in "perilous" financial condition. Rivera crows that "this contract will offer virtual job security." But just like "virtual reality" isn't real, Rivera's virtual security is no security at all. And what 1199 members, who average about $30,000 a year, get in return for all these givebacks is a paltry 6 percent pay raise that works out to some $40 a week after two years.

This sellout—which should be thrown back in Rivera's face—is an object lesson in the price paid for the bureaucrats' subordination of the labor movement to the capitalist parties. Dennis Rivera's real loyalties lie not with the union members who pay his salary but with the Democratic Party, of which he is New York State vice chairman. Rivera carefully built up his "progressive" reputation by, for example, calling out his membership to support student rallies against cutbacks or spouting empty expressions of "solidarity" with striking workers. But when nurses went on strike at Brooklyn's Maimonides Hospital in April, the Rivera bureaucracy had Local 1199 members cross picket lines to work alongside scabs brought in to bust the strike.

At bottom, Rivera is no different than open supporters of Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani like AFSCME District Council 37 municipal workers head Stanley Hill and Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 president Willie James. Hill has presided over the loss of over 20,000 unionized city jobs now being filled by conscripted "workfare" recipients, while James two years ago shoved through a deal which would have replaced 500 subway cleaners with such slave labor. We demand the full integration of "workfare" recipients into the unions, with full union protection, benefits and wages.

As we wrote last issue, "Giuliani can get away with acting like a tinpot dictator because he knows the municipal labor tops are in his hip pocket." In 1989, as black Democrat David Dinkins was promising Wall Street that NYC workers "would take it from me," his successful mayoral campaign was virtually run out of Rivera's union offices. Last fall, Rivera gave backhanded support to Giuliani, announcing his "neutrality" while standing alongside the racist Republican mayor at a press conference on Medicaid cuts.

The heavily black, Hispanic and immigrant membership of 1199 is a cross-section of NYC labor. Amid pervasive racist cop terror and the elimination of open admissions at City University, a strike by the potentially powerful transit union or the hospital workers could be extremely popular among New York's besieged minority and working-class population. There is a particular sympathy with overworked, underpaid health care workers in this racist capitalist society, where the bottom line in "medical care" isn't saving lives, but boosting profits. The "managed care" moguls are the '90s equivalent of last decade's hated junk bond traders, who will do anything to make a buck—from slashing jobs to slashing medical treatment. Meanwhile, thousands are dying in the ghettos and barrios from preventable and treatable diseases like tuberculosis and asthma.

Rivera uses his leadership of a potentially volatile union to derail class struggle. To unleash the power of the unions means breaking with the partner parties of capital. We need a revolutionary workers party, forged in political struggle against the pro-capitalist union tops, to sweep away the profit-gorged exploiters and racist union-busters and create a workers government in which jobs, decent housing and medical care will be available to all.■

WV Photo

June 18 rally in Manhattan by health care workers.

TROTSKY

LENIN

India and Permanent Revolution

More than 50 years after achieving independence from British colonial rule, India remains under the yoke of imperialist exploitation, a prison house of subjugated peoples in which the workers and rural masses are desperately impoverished and women subjected to benighted oppression. During the interimperialist slaughter of World War II, the bourgeois-nationalist Congress and its Stalinist sycophants lined up behind "democratic" Britain while a competing wing of Indian nationalism looked to Japan. The Trotskyists fought to mobilize the proletariat, leading behind it all the oppressed, in the struggle for socialist revolution against British imperialism and its domestic lackeys. The program of permanent revolution advanced by the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India in a 1941 declaration remains no less urgent today.

India faces a historically belated bourgeois-democratic revolution, the main tasks of which are the overthrow of British imperialism, the liquidation of a semi-feudal land system, and the clearing away of feudal remnants in the form of the Indian Native States. But although bourgeois-democratic revolutions occurring in the advanced capitalist countries in previous centuries found leadership in the then rising bourgeoisie, the Indian bourgeoisie appearing on the scene only after the progressive role of the bourgeoisie in the world as a whole has been exhausted, is incapable of providing leadership to the revolution that is unfolding in India....

The task of such leadership falls in the nature of things on the Indian proletariat, which is the only class capable of leading the toiling masses in the onslaught against imperialism, landlordism and the native princes. The concentration and discipline induced by its very place in capitalist economy, its numerical strength, the sharpness of the class antagonism which daily brings it into conflict with the imperialists who are the main owners of capital in India, its organisation and experience of struggle, and the vital position it occupies in the economy of the country, as also its steadily worsening condition under imperialism, all combine to fit the Indian proletariat for this task.

But the leadership of the working class in the bourgeois-democratic revolution poses before the working class the prospect of seizing the power and, in addition to accomplishing the long overdue bourgeois-democratic tasks, proceeding with its own socialist tasks. And thus the bourgeois-democratic revolution develops uninterruptedly into the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only state form capable of supplanting the dictatorship of the Indian bourgeoisie in India. The realisation of the combined character of the Indian revolution is essential for the planning of the revolutionary strategy of the working class. Should the working class fail in its historic task of seizing the power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the revolution will inevitably recede, the bourgeois tasks themselves remain unperformed, and the power will swing back in the end to the imperialists without whom the Indian bourgeoisie cannot maintain itself against the hostile masses. A backward country like India can accomplish its bourgeois-democratic revolution only through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The correctness of this axiom of the theory of permanent revolution is demonstrated by the victorious Russian revolution of October 1917, and it is confirmed on the negative side by the tragic fate of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27.

—Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India,
"Thesis of Indian Fourth Internationalists" (1941)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jane Patterson

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is June 30

No. 693 **3 July 1998**

Defend Chicago PL Teacher!

The following protest letter was sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to John Garvey, principal of Foreman High School in Chicago, on June 12.

We vehemently condemn the anti-communist witchhunt against Foreman High School teacher Bonnie Blustein. Blustein was suspended for three days on "charges" that she is using the classroom for communist "indoctrination" of her students by espousing the views of the Progressive Labor Party. Meanwhile the Chicago *Sun-Times*, quoting anonymous "school board sources," calls for extending the witchhunt to two other Foreman High teachers.

The attack on Blustein is classic political persecution reminiscent of the McCarthyite witchhunt of the 1950s. The government destroyed the lives and livelihoods of thousands during its infamous Red Purge, as the domestic counterpart to the Cold War against the Soviet Union.

Under capitalism the public education system functions to serve the interests of the racist capitalist ruling class, in the service of socializing the next generation of workers. While hypocritically touting the First Amendment in civics classes, public school officials quickly lash out at those who actually speak out against this rotten profit system—just as bourgeois society routinely denies workers the simple rights to organize or even speak about union matters on the job.

The witchhunt against Blustein is a direct threat to the rights of all teachers, workers and students to express and organize opposition to capitalist exploitation and racist injustice. We say: Hands off Bonnie Blustein! End the anti-communist witchhunt at Foreman High!

Cheri Mitchell
for the Partisan Defense Committee

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

A Philly Union Fights for Its Life

In an age of capitalist triumphalism, the conflicts between labor and capital seem to have been all but resolved, if the corporate press is to he helieved. Of course, nothing could be further from the truth.

Triumph for capital has historically been crushing defeat for workers, as big business gobbles more and more, fattening its ever burgeoning bottom line, even if this meant feeding on labor's wages and benefits.

In Philadelphia, for some, this is the best of times: Billions are traded on its regional stock exchange, buildings are rising in Center City, and stores are bustling. It is also, for some, the worst of times: Unemployment eats at the heart of the inner city, homelessness spreads like a social disease, and welfare cutbacks threaten the very existence of the urban poor.

Into this context the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 234, after working for eleven weeks with no contract, have been forced to go out on strike against the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA). In an age of capitalist triumph, the bosses are hot for more and more labor concessions: a radical "overhaul" of work rules, more part-timers, wage cuts for new hires, and a freeze in medical insurance payments. Edward Rendell, called "America's Mayor" by the corporate press, apparently isn't labor's representative, for union calls for mass picketing at the proposed sites for the 2000 "Republicrat" or "Demican" National Convention were met by a mayoral snarl: "the police will be there"—in force! If cops are there, you can bet they'll be carrying a court order, an injunction limiting the number of pickets, and limiting labor's power to garner the support it badly needs to protect its interests. The law has ever been on the side of wealth, as scholars Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward noted in *The New Class War* (1985):

> "Until the mid-nineteenth century in the United States, the courts held that unions were criminal conspiracies; later, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 provided the basis for declaring unions to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade. Even after the Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914 explicitly declared that unions were not illegal combinations in restraint of trade, striking workers were nevertheless, until the Great Depression, regularly subjected to court injunctions and criminal prosecution, and to the coercive power of police and state militia (54)."

Even now, so many years later, unions are demonized in the corporate press, and painted as greedy. While strikers are damned, why are the rich and powerful, who have the lion's share of wealth, depicted as noble? Could it be that much, indeed most, of what we read is the work of the corporate press? (And isn't this an argument for a labor press?)

TWU, Local 234 is a largely multiracial union that is addressed by management in a tone of undisguised contempt. A recent negotiation was described by a SEPTA bigwig as "a five-to-ten-minute sham." A TWU call for "binding arbitration" as a step to ending the strike was rejected out of hand.

The SEPTA strike comes at an important point in time, when capital is using its muscle to discipline labor. If labor is conscious, bold, and imaginative, it can reverse this defeatist trend of give-backs and capitulations, and open the door to peoples power. It means standing up to the courts, the cops, and the corporate press. It means fighting the forces of high finance and bourgeois leaders. It means battling, until a full victory is won!

10 June 1998

© 1998 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Philly Transit Strikers Hold Out Against Union Busting

No to Binding Arbitration!

JUNE 29—Amid on-and-off talks to end the four-week-long Philadelphia transit strike, the 5,500 members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 234 continue their battle against the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA). While the Local 234 leadership has repeatedly announced its desire to reach a "compromise," SEPTA has refused to budge from its demands to increase two-tier wage differentials, hire part-time van and bus drivers and otherwise attack hard-won union gains.

With businesses screaming about lost revenues, the city government, led by Democratic mayor Ed Rendell, is steadily upping the pressure on the union. On June 26, City Council president John Street filed a lawsuit in the state Supreme Court demanding round-the-clock negotiations supervised by the anti-labor state government. The city bosses' attack on the TWU is just the spearhead of their drive against all Philadelphia labor. A victory for the TWU would strike a blow particularly for city workers unions, as well as the minority poor. Victory to the Philly transit strike!

The City Council suit is just the latest of a series of government strikebreaking measures against the union. Each time that unionists have fought to extend the strike by picketing regional rail and bus lines, which transport suburbanites to their office jobs in Center City, the courts have stepped in with anti-picketing injunctions. Philly's notoriously racist and corrupt cops have repeatedly been mobilized to enforce the injunctions. If SEPTA tries to bring in scabs or run some rail and bus lines with management strikebreakers, which it has repeatedly threatened to do, the cops will be there to herd them across the picket lines and brutalize strikers.

Roese/Philadelphia Inquirer

Philadelphia transit strikers stop scab bus in suburban Montgomery County.

As in all major labor battles, the role of the cops and courts as core components of the racist, anti-labor bourgeois state has been on display. Yet the pro-capitalist leadership of the TWU looks to the capitalist government to effect a "fair" settlement. Throughout the strike, which was only called eleven weeks *after* the Local 234 contract had expired, the TWU tops have declared that they would call off the strike if SEPTA submitted to binding arbitration. This is a deadly trap! Such arbitrators put forward a "neutral" face the better to mask their role as agents of the capitalist state charged with forcing through anti-union settlements. No to binding arbitration!

Even without union strike benefits, transit workers are holding firm. As one striker told the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (21 June), "If you give in to them now, next year they're going to want more, and, sooner or later, you're going to find yourself out on the street anyway." But the strikers can't hold out forever. To defeat SEPTA requires shutting down *all* Philadelphia-area transit, particularly the regional rail and bus lines. This means building mass, militant picket lines and defying the strikebreaking cops and anti-union injunctions. Operators in the United Transportation Union are being allowed to drive Victory-Red Arrow buses while TWU mechanics are on strike. This treacherous seabbing must stop now—picket lines mean don't cross!

The Rendell administration has sought to whip up anti-union sentiment by claiming that the strike is hurting the minority poor, who overwhelmingly rely on public transit. What a cynical sham! Rendell is a die-hard enemy of labor, blacks and Hispanics. First elected mayor in 1992, largely on a "get the unions" program, Rendell early on oversaw the mass arrest of almost 200 striking members of the heavily minority Hospital Workers Local 1199C. Before that, as Philadelphia district attorney, he was the top cop in the frame-up of MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was railroaded to death row in 1982 for a murder he did not commit. And it was Rendell who prepared the arrest warrants against MOVE in May 1985 which led to the murderous cop assault that ended in the Osage Avenue inferno, killing eleven MOVE family members and burning down an entire black neighborhood.

The union must actively reach out to the city's black and Hispanic population, who are subjected to grinding poverty and brutally racist police repression. What is needed is a class-struggle leadership to wield labor's power in defense of all the oppressed: for jobs for all at union wages, for free mass transit, for labor/minority mobilizations against racist attacks. In particular, the labor movement must champion the cause of freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, who has recently issued a statement in support of the transit strike (see above). Jamal's frame-up conviction and death sentence is a clear illustration that the cops and courts are part of a system of racist, anti-labor injustice (see article on page 16).

While hatred of Rendell is palpable among strikers, the TWU bureaucracy tirelessly preaches reliance on "good" local Democrats and the Clinton administration. The TWU caused a stir early in the strike when it picketed near sites under consideration for the Republican convention in 2000. With the Democrats also looking to Philadelphia to host their convention, Local 234 president Steve Brookens grovellingly wrote to them that the union "is committed to keeping Philadelphia a key element in any Democratic Party election strategy, but we need a similar commitment from the Democrats to keeping Philadelphia a worker-friendly community" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 26 June).

No less than the Republicans, the Democrats are a *capitalist* party committed to the enforcement of racist oppression and the exploitation of labor. After engineering the elimination of welfare and instituting slave-labor, union-busting "workfare," Clinton last year hammered Amtrak workers, imposing a 60-day, no-strike "cooling off period" on the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees—who had been working almost three years without a contract—after appointing a "Presidential Emergency Board" to ram a contract down their throats.

There must be a political fight inside the labor movement against its misleaders, whose strategy of reliance on capitalist politicians and the capitalist courts is a sure road to defeat. To mobilize labor's social power, not only in its own interests but on behalf of all those oppressed, requires the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party committed to ending racist capitalist rule through socialist revolution.■

Italy: Popular Front Government Unleashes Cops Against Fiat Strikers

The following is translated from a June 11 leaflet issued by the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I), section of the International Communist League, denouncing a vicious cop attack against pickets outside a Fiat plant in the Naples area. The SLAI, a division of the syndicalist-influenced COBAS trade unions, has been staging eight-hour strikes at the plant every Saturday. The cops were ordered in by Prime Minister Romano Prodi's Ulivo (Olive Tree) coalition government, which includes the Party of the Democratic Left (PDS) and relies on the active parliamentary support of Rifondazione Comunista (RC), the two successor parties to the reformist Communist Party (PCI). At an SLAI support rally in Acerra on May 24, an LTd'I speaker expressed solidarity with their struggle, stressing our principled opposition to class-collaborationist reformism and state intervention in the workers movement.

SPARTACO

On Saturday, May 16, between four and five in the morning, an SLAI COBAS picket at one of the entrances to the Fiat auto plant at Pomigliano d'Arco was brutally assaulted by over 300 cops. In the course of the cop charge, two workers were thrown to the ground and nearly crushed by passing cars. Parliamentary deputy and SLAI COBAS leader Mara Malavenda (who was expelled from RC's parliamentary fraction for refusing to vote confidence in the Prodi government) was viciously attacked and thrown to the pavement, her head smashed into the concrete. Police prevented an ambulance called by the SLAI COBAS from reaching the injured for over 20 minutes. Only the intervention of other strikers prevented the cops from continuing to attack Malavenda as she lay on the ground. One picketer was also repeatedly sexually molested by a police official.

The entire workers movement must respond to this outrageous attack by the bourgeois state. The Ulivo government is a bourgeois popular-front regime—a coalition of bourgeois and reformist parties—carrying out a capitalist program that is completely counterposed to the interests of the working class. With the support of Rifondazione Comunista and in concert with the bureaucrats of the trade-union federations, the regime wants to send a clear message to the entire working class: resistance to austerity, unemployment, and two-tier wage systems will be met head on with the violence of the bourgeois state's repressive apparatus under PDS Interior Minister Napolitano. This is especially so in the case of the Fiat empire, the Prodi government's main capitalist patron.

An Injury to One Is an Injury to All!

The working class must respond with mass mobilizations, starting with an extension of the Pomigliano d'Arco strike to Fiat's other plants in the North as well as the South. To defend itself against the inevitable attacks by police, scabs and fascists, the workers should

Luciano Paterno

Ferrara/Nouvelle Presse

Reformist PDS of Massimo D'Alema (far left) plays central role in popular-front government of Prime Minister Romano Prodi (left). March against unemployment in Naples, scene of recent cop assault on Fiat strikers.

organize picket-line self-defense squads and draw other sectors of the workers movement into the struggle. The unemployed should be mobilized through the call for dividing available work among all workers, with no cut in pay. Immigrants, victimized by rising racist terror by fascist bands and the cops, must also be mobilized.

Militant Syndicalism Supports the Popular Front!

The SLAI COBAS at Fiat Pomigliano is calling for a strike against forced overtime on Saturdays, which the company uses to maximize exploitation of the workforce even as Fiat management prepares to fire all workers who are "not sufficiently productive" due to health or other reasons. In spite of the open scabbing by the trade-union federation bureaucrats, who help the police in ensuring that Fiat gets the overtime schedule it wants, the just struggle of the SLAI COBAS is having success: 75 percent of the workers scheduled to work on May 16 stayed out.

But the stakes are very high. In an international context of increasingly bitter interimperialist economic competition, the bourgeoisie wants a proletariat that is completely subject to the demands of the profit system. This government—in which the parties of the workers movement (the PDS and RC) play a central role—is carrying out the bourgeoisie's dictates by introducing job "flexibility," increasing the rate of exploitation and inflaming divisions in the working class between men and women, immigrants and Italians, South and North, younger and older workers.

Workers' resistance to the capitalist program of "blood and tears" requires a revolutionary party that fights against the popular front with the aim of smashing the class rule of the bourgeoisie and installing a workers government based on organs of proletarian power. The power of the working class must be mobilized in the fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours with no cut in pay, in order to divide all available work among all workers and defend the living standards of the proletariat. Now more than ever, it is necessary for the unions to organize the unorganized, especially immigrants and the unemployed. We fight for industrial unions that unite all workers in the same industry. Unemployment and cuts in social services hit women and youth the hardest. We demand equal pay for equal work and 24-hour day care. But to realize these demands the masses have to be systematically mobilized on the road to a proletarian revolution.

The SLAI COBAS, like other "rank and file" organizations and unions, style themselves as "apolitical" and claim to stand for "pure, hard" syndicalism. In reality, every significant union struggle inevitably becomes political, and syndicalism reveals the bourgeois class nature of its program. In response to the police assault, a brutal act of political intimidation by the ruling class, Malavenda and the SLAI COBAS leadership pressed legal charges against the cops and complained that "the cops are attacking striking workers instead of fighting organized crime." Their leaflet called on the cops to "do their job"—but the cops' "job" is precisely that of repressing the struggles of the workers and all the oppressed.

This appeal to the cops expresses—and promotes among the workers—faith in the same bourgeois repressive apparatus which just used an iron fist to try to smash the strike at Pomigliano. For Marxists, the bourgeois state is, in its essence, special bodies of armed men—the army, police, etc.—which along with the judiciary, prisons, and state bureaucracy defend private property. The same faith in bourgeois institutions led the COBAS to appeal to the bourgeois state in 1995 for a referendum to recognize their equal right to collective bargaining along with the trade-union federations. And in the last elections, a majority of the leaders of the "rank-and-file unions" voted for Rifondazione Comunista's popular-front program. RC's "thanks" for this was to publish a "balanced" report on the police rampage at Pomigliano, refusing even to condemn it. This is a clear declaration that RC sees Fiat boss Agnelli's opinion as more important than the outcome of the strike and the physical well-being of their comrades.

In contrast to the rest of the so-called "left," including the COBAS leadership, we Trotskyists of the LTd'I fight for the complete political and organizational independence of the working class and we oppose on principle any form of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie or its state. Accordingly, in the last election we opposed a vote to any of the parties in this bourgeois coalition—including Rifondazione "Comunista"—and we warned that an Ulivo government would be anti-worker, anti-immigrant, anti-woman and imperialist.

At a meeting in Acerra after the police attack, the SLAI COBAS spokesmen described the current government as "fascist," thereby encouraging the idea that only a fascist regime can carry out an anti-working-class program. On the contrary, a "democratic" bourgeois state—even when administered by the reformist leaders of the workers movement—is anything but neutral in the class struggle. Rather, it is an instrument of the class rule of the capitalist bosses—one political form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, of which fascism is another. The mystification pushed by the SLAI COBAS

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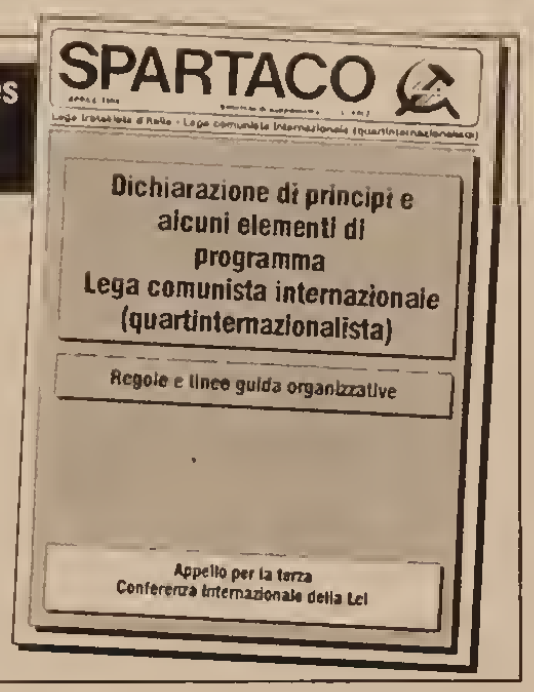

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For the Right of Self-Determination for Kosovo Albanians!

Down With Imperialist Intervention in the Balkans!

JUNE 29—Two weeks ago, more than 80 warplanes from 13 NATO countries roared across Macedonia and Albania. Stopping just short of the border of Yugoslavia, this "exercise" was intended as an overt threat of imperialist terror against that country. It was the largest mobilization of NATO military might in the Balkans since the murderous U.S.-led campaign of air strikes against Bosnian Serbs in the summer of 1995. Now, defense ministers in Washington and European capitals are openly mooting plans for air strikes against Serb-dominated Yugoslavia, as well as an intervention by ground troops, unless Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic halts military repression against ethnic Albanians in the province of Kosovo. The defense minister of Germany—which under Hitler's Nazis occupied Yugoslavia during World War II—provocatively declared that NATO bombings would not be limited to Kosovo but would go after "selected targets throughout the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" (Reuters, 17 June).

AP photos

As U.S. warplanes carry out provocative "exercises" near Serbian border, American troops police Bosnia as part of UN/NATO imperialist expeditionary force.

Only months after threatening to bomb Saddam Hussein's Iraq back to the Stone Age, U.S. rulers are now posing as champions of "human rights" in Kosovo. The imperialist rulers are furious at their inability to impose order in the Balkan powder keg. But like its one-sided slaughter of Iraqis in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Washington's main aim in any military strike against Serbia—the core of the rump Yugoslavia which issued out of capitalist counterrevolution—would be to reassert its role as world cop by sending a bloody message to those who dare defy the dictates of U.S. imperialism. The bloody U.S. ruling class feels it can terrorize the peoples of the world at will, from colonial-type occupations of Somalia, Haiti and Panama to the bombing of Third World countries such as Libya and Iraq. *In the event of imperialist attack, the international working class must defend Serbia against U.S./NATO forces!*

For years, Washington armed and incited Muslim and Croatian forces against the Bosnian Serbs. Following the 1995 air strikes, the NATO powers imposed a "peace accord" policed by an imperialist occupation force. But as we warned at the time, "The U.S.-imposed pact and NATO occupation will produce yet more bloodshed, while further hardening nationalist hatreds among the South Slav peoples" (*WV* No. 634, 1 December 1995). Now, direct U.S./NATO military attacks against Serbia would threaten an even greater scale of destruction and risk igniting new and perhaps wider wars. Meanwhile, the punishing imperialist sanctions against Serbia, which were imposed in 1992 and curtailed after the 1995 accord, only to be ratcheted up again this spring, have inflicted terrible suffering on the civilian population—especially old people, children and the poor. *Down with imperialist sanctions against Serbia! All U.S./UN/NATO forces out of the Balkans now!*

Capitalist Counterrevolution and Nationalist Fratricide

Imperialist-fomented capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe has brought the Balkan peoples all-sided communalist slaughter, ripping apart the former Yugoslav deformed workers state along national/communalist lines. The orgy of bloodletting in Bosnia, whose territory is fiercely contested by Serbs, Croats and Muslims, has been marked by forced population transfers (termed "ethnic cleansing") carried out by all sides. If the Bosnian Serb forces were responsible for the lion's share of such communalist atrocities, it was only because they had superior firepower and historically occupied a greater part of the country. The International Communist League opposed *all* the competing nationalist forces in the ethnic civil wars that erupted in the former Yugoslavia in 1991. At the same time, we have opposed all imperialist intervention in the Balkans.

In contrast to Bosnia, Kosovo has a largely homogeneous population—90 percent of its two million are ethnic Albanians. Since early March, the Serbian army has launched murderous assaults against villages in Kosovo, Serbia's southern province, aimed at stamping out a separatist rebellion by the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK). The military attacks have left more than 300 dead and some 80,000 homeless, especially along the Albanian border, where Milosevic aims to create a *cordon sanitaire* (buffer) to prevent the shipment of military supplies to the nationalist guerrillas. As we go to press, Serbian tanks, artillery and armored personnel carriers have begun another major offensive against UCK forces, which now claim to control 40 percent of Kosovo's territory.

We defend the right of the Albanian-populated areas of Kosovo to self-determination—that is, the right to secede from the Serb-chauvinist regime in Belgrade. However, should the imperialists stage a military intervention over Kosovo, the issue of self-determination would be subordinated to our military defense of Serbia against U.S./NATO forces. In any case, we give no political support to the UCK, whose own murderous nationalism is reflected in indiscriminate attacks against ethnic Serbs with the aim of driving them out of Kosovo. A number of UCK leaders previously fought with the Muslim forces—which were infested with Islamic fundamentalists—against the Serbs in Bosnia. We defend the right of the Serbian minority to live in Kosovo on the basis of full equality. And we champion the defense of the Roma (Gypsy) minority, who are subjected to chauvinist atrocities from all sides.

The continual flare-up of national and ethnic wars in the Balkans underscores the fact that only workers revolution can put an end to the cycle of nationalist slaughter in this blood-soaked region, because only on the basis of a collectivized planned economy democratically administered by organs of proletarian power (soviets) can the nationalist antagonisms bred by capitalism be transcended. This was exemplified by the experience of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. In leading the workers to power in October 1917, Lenin's Bolsheviks laid the basis for the numerous nationalities which had been oppressed under the tsarist prison house of peoples to achieve the right to self-determination. Firmly grounded in a perspective of international proletarian revolution, the October Revolution opened the road to true socialist equality through the expropriation of the capitalists and landlords.

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans

Nationalist civil wars were both a direct antecedent to and by-product of the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Yugoslav deformed workers state. The victory of Tito's Communist Partisans against the German Nazis and Croat and Serbian nationalists in World War II resulted in the overthrow of

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AP

Ethnic Albanian women and children flee Serbian forces attacking villages in Kosovo.

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Imperialist Hypocrisy and Nationalist Frenzy

India-Pakistan Nuclear Rivalry

Reuters photos

Chauvinist outpourings in India (left) and Pakistan greeted A-bomb tests which represent ominous escalation of war fever on subcontinent.

For Unconditional Military Defense of China!

LONDON—The nuclear tests carried out in May by India, followed two weeks later by its neighbour and rival Pakistan, were met with a chorus of imperialist condemnation. Following New Delhi's announcement, Labour prime minister Tony Blair sanctimoniously lectured India about its threat to a "safe world." U.S. president Bill Clinton, commander in chief of the deadliest nuclear arsenal in the world, hypocritically decried India's challenge to "the firm international consensus to stop the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction," imposing a raft of punitive economic sanctions first against India and then Pakistan.

Only months earlier, these two statesmen of "peace" were gearing up for mass destruction in Iraq, where the Anglo-American imperialists and their allies slaughtered 100,000 people during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. A million more Iraqis, including over 600,000 children, have died as a result of imperialist sanctions over the past eight years. Unlike the case of Iraq, the measures against India and Pakistan have not been embraced by many other imperialist powers, and the U.S. has already resumed some aid programmes to New Delhi. The International Communist League denounces the imperialist sanctions against India and Pakistan. Down with the starvation blockade of Iraq!

The proclamations by Britain and the U.S.—the only country ever to *use* nuclear weapons—reek of imperialist arrogance against the prospect of semicolonial countries entering the relatively exclusive "nuclear club." And conspicuously absent in the imperialist hue and cry over "nuclear proliferation" is any reference to the considerable nuclear arsenal of Zionist Israel, which has been engaged in "extensive defense cooperation" with India (*Jerusalem Post* International Edition, 30 May).

Nonetheless, the India-Pakistan nuclear rivalry represents an ominous escalation of nationalist war fever on the subcontinent. India's tests, its first since an initial atomic explosion in 1974, came only two months after the election of a coalition government headed by the virulently Hindu-chauvinist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee. The BJP is a creature of the fascistic Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), whose cadre form the leading core of the BJP. A relatively marginal political force only a decade ago, the BJP grew rapidly after the BJP/RSS-led *Hindutva* (Hinduness) fundamentalist combine instigated mob assaults in 1990 and 1992 on the most sacred mosque in India, the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya, triggering pogroms in which thousands of Muslims were slaughtered. Now, the chauvinist outpouring over the A-bomb tests directly threatens the huge Muslim minority within India, whom the BJP decries as "Pakistani" and an "enemy within."

The BJP announced its intentions of "reviewing" India's nuclear weapons policy even before taking office in March. But a month before the Indian tests, the theocratic regime of Pakistani prime minister Nawaz Sharif carried out a launch of its new Ghauri missile—provocatively named for the first Muslim invader of the subcontinent in 1193—which is capable of reaching well into Indian territory. India's nuclear explosions in turn provoked a chauvinist furore within Pakistan, as former prime minister Benazir Bhutto, once the darling of Western liberals and "leftists," and others screamed for Sharif to order similar tests.

BJP leaders gloated of their determination to "put an end to the Pakistan menace" (*Frontline*, 6-19 June). But as was made clear by the coalition government's defence minister, longtime "socialist" leader George Fernandes, the explosions were also meant to convey a message to China. This message did not fall on deaf ears in the imperialist centres. The U.S. bourgeoisie, in particular, is divided over how best to pursue its aim of capitalist counterrevolution in the Chinese deformed workers state. Key sections of the American ruling class seek to continue prodding the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy along the road of a "cold" restoration of capitalism. But as U.S. naval provocations off the Chinese mainland two years ago and the current flap over Clinton's visit to Beijing illustrate, there is also considerable sentiment that Washington employ military blackmail to further its counterrevolutionary aims.

The ICL fights for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Beijing bureaucracy which is leading the drive towards capitalist counterrevolution. At the same time, the A-bomb tests on the Indian subcontinent and the anti-China furore promoted by leading imperialist spokesmen underscore the Trotskyist call for unconditional military defence of the Chinese deformed workers state against capitalist attack, including upholding *China's right to a nuclear arsenal*.

Both under the BJP-led coalition and its "secular" Congress and United Front predecessors, India's government has been strengthening all the hideous mechanisms of capitalist class rule, inflaming religious and ethnic divisions, wielding murderous violence against the lower castes perpetrated by upper-caste landlords and their hired thugs, intensifying the already brutal subjugation of women while threatening to engulf the subcontinent in communalist war. Pakistan, despite a veneer of parliamentary democracy, remains a military dictatorship under the grip of Islamic fundamentalism. Islamabad accompanied its A-bomb tests with the imposition of a draconian "state of emergency" which will be used to repress any resistance to the severe economic hardships being forced down the throats of the hideously exploited Pakistani working masses.

India and Pakistan have already fought three wars in the past 50 years, two of them centred in Kashmir, the Muslim-majority region which is divided between the two countries. Today, Kashmir is again a trip wire for war, as BJP revanchists scream of seizing "Pakistan-occupied" Kashmir and thousands of troops stand eyeball to eyeball on the border, regularly exchanging fire. The region is on a knife edge. The ICL is committed to forging internationalist vanguard parties, based on the Trotskyist programme of permanent revolution, to lead the impoverished and dispossessed masses of the subcontinent in the fight for proletarian power and the creation of a socialist federation of South Asia.

Capitalist Exploitation, Communalist Terror

The rise of the BJP comes in the context of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe and is paralleled by the growth of Islamic fundamentalism in predominantly Muslim countries. During the Cold War, India could count on diplomatic, economic and military aid from the Moscow Stalinists. With the Sino-Soviet split of the late 1950s, the Beijing regime became a chief backer of capitalist Pakistan, while the Kremlin criminally supported the Indian bourgeoisie in a 1962 border war against the Chinese deformed workers state. In the 1980s, the Soviet bureaucracy began pulling back on its international commitments as it embarked on a programme of

AP

U.S. forces slaughtered thousands of retreating Iraqi soldiers in 1991 Persian Gulf War. American denunciations of India's "weapons of mass destruction" reek of imperialist hypocrisy.

"market reforms" which was to lead to full-scale capitalist restoration.

At the same time, India's Congress government initiated a policy of economic "liberalisation," privatising sectors of the state economy and opening the door to untrammeled imperialist exploitation. Combined with implementation of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank austerity dictates, this meant taxes on food and fuel and driving down manufacturing wages to compete with cheap imports from Southeast Asia. These "reforms" created a large urban middle class, grasping to make ends meet, resentful of the entrenched and filthy rich Congress tops and their big business cronies, and fearful of the impoverished toiling masses below them.

The razing of the Ayodhya mosque by fascist-led Hindu-fundamentalist mobs in 1992—and the ensuing massacre of up to 2,000 Muslims—helped propel the BJP on the road to power. Evoking memories of the horrendous 1947 Partition which created post-independence India and Pakistan, religious fanaticism reverberated across the subcontinent. As we wrote in "Hindu Fascists Whip Up Religious Slaughter" (*WV* No. 567, 15 January 1993):

> "The BJP is an upper-caste Hindu-led party, oriented to maintaining the traditional caste hierarchy in the context of capitalist urbanisation which undermines the old rural-centred system. It appeals to a layer of urban educated petty bourgeois who can find no jobs, and traders and petty entrepreneurs who often see Muslims in the same way as the European fascists viewed the Jews before World War II. In India anti-Muslim communalism is the reactionary rallying cry for the fascist mobilisation of the new middle classes in the context of general urban plebeian rage and economic desperation—a feature of modern capitalist India, not some feudal leftover."

The BJP/RSS-led *Hindutva* combine includes the Bombay-based fascist Shiv Sena, formed in the early 1960s primarily to smash militant trade unions then organising Bombay's highly cosmopolitan proletariat in the textile mills, railways and banks. Among its early targets were Tamil workers from southern India, who were denounced as "criminals, gamblers, illicit liquor dealers, pimps, goondas [gangsters], and Communists" (Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India* [1997]). When 15 million workers went on a general strike in 1992, they were confronted by BJP-organised strikebreakers. But the Bombay region remained highly unionised. In 1996, the Peugeot car factory there was hit by two major strikes against demands for higher productivity, the second lasting four months. And last year, prominent trade-union organiser, Datta Samant, was gunned down in Bombay, sparking a citywide strike.

While raising import tariffs in line with its rhetoric of *swadeshi* (self-reliance), the BJP is intent on escalating the economic "liberalisation" begun under Congress, though not enough to satisfy the IMF vultures. The brutal reality of life for workers in India was shown last month, when over one thousand workers extracting salt from the sea in Kandla, a port in the western state of Gujarat, drowned in a storm. Unlike those of the prosperous middle class who have satellite TV, these largely illiterate workers could not even afford radios which would have notified them of storm warnings. Fifty years after independence, the vast majority of India's 900 million people live in extreme poverty, dispossessed and effectively disenfranchised, while corrupt capitalists, landlords and politicians amass fortunes through extortion, super-exploitation and brute force.

This is the legacy of the Nehru/Gandhi dynasty's Congress party, which governed India throughout much of the post-independence era. Most liberal and reformist opponents of the BJP promote the "secular-democratic" pretensions of the bourgeois-nationalist Congress. In fact, India and Pakistan were born out of the *defeat* of secular-democratic aspirations in the anti-colonial struggle against the British Raj, which manipulated and exacerbated communalist hatreds to bolster imperialist rule. As the parting act of British imperialism's bloody "divide and rule," Clement Attlee's Labour government engineered the 1947 Partition, unleashing an orgy of communalist fratricide in which some two million people were killed and over eleven million driven from their homes—the largest forced population transfer in history (see "The 'Quit India' Movement 50 Years On," *Workers Hammer* Nos. 131 and 132, September/October and November/December 1992).

AFP

CIA-sponsored Afghan *mujahedin* launched attacks against Soviet army in Afghanistan from bases in Pakistan.

For Permanent Revolution on the Indian Subcontinent

The wretched history of Congress underscores the impossibility of "secular democracy" under capitalism in horrifically backward countries like India. Congress chief and founding Indian prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru, joined by Muslim League leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah, presided over the communalist slaughter which accompanied the division of British India into predominantly Hindu and Muslim states. Today, both Pakistan and India remain prison houses of peoples. The former includes over a million Hindus, as well as Baluchis, Pashtoons and other oppressed nationalities. India has the second-largest Muslim population in the world (after Indonesia)—larger than Pakistan and that of the entire Arab world—as well as a myriad of other peoples chafing under the rule of the Hindu-centred "all-India" bourgeoisie.

Hindu (and Hindi-language) chauvinism has been integral to capitalist rule in post-independence India. During her lengthy reign, Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi, cynically supported Sikh and Tamil separatist movements when it suited, only to suppress them later. After ordering the army massacre of more than 2,000 Sikhs at Amritsar's Golden Temple in 1984, Indira Gandhi was killed by her own Sikh bodyguards. Her son and successor Rajiv then unleashed a bloodbath of thousands more Sikhs in retribution. Seven years later, Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated by Tamil Tigers, who had been brutally suppressed by the expeditionary force he had sent to Sri Lanka. Now headed by his widow, Congress is no longer the hegemonic party it once was, as its base of support has fractured along regional and religious fault lines.

Among the chief promoters of the myth of capitalist "democracy" in India are the two reformist workers parties, the Communist Party (CPI) and the CPI (Marxist). These ex-Stalinist parties, which have administered various state governments for years, are deeply rooted in class collaborationism, alternately tailing Congress and other bourgeois forces. While both the CPI and CPI(M) derive their mass support at least in part from an anti-communalist reputation, they are thoroughly wedded to Hindu-centred Indian nationalism. Both backed the slaughter of the Sikhs by Gandhi in 1984 and denounce the struggle of the Muslim Kashmiris as "terrorism."

The CPI and CPI(M) joined with several other groups in a 16 May proclamation countering the BJP's "reckless nuclear policy" with typically abject butter-not-guns reformism (*People's Voice* [Canada], June 1998). In fact, they capitulated to the chauvinist frenzy. Indrajit Gupta, CPI interior minister in the United Front coalition government which preceded the BJP in power, declared: "The nuclear tests are a great achievement for India, no doubt, but we can't even supply ordinary drinking water and electrical power to the people" (*New York Times*, 28 May). The political bankruptcy of the ex-Stalinist parties has prepared the current upsurge of fundamentalist and fascistic forces.

India Today

BJP-organized Hindu-chauvinist mob destroys Ayodyha mosque in 1992, leading to pogromist slaughter of up to 2,000 Muslims.

Shaped by two centuries of British colonial rule, Pakistan and India are classic examples of combined and uneven development, in which modern industry and technology co-exist with aspects of pre-industrial society. Age-old caste oppression remains pervasive in India, while women are the slaves of slaves throughout the subcontinent. In Pakistan, women are subjected to *purdah* (seclusion) and jailed or stoned to death for adultery and similar "crimes" under the hated Hadood Ordinance, which is based on Islamic law. Young women who refuse to submit to arranged marriages often have acid thrown in their faces or are otherwise brutalised. India has seen an alarming revival of *sati* (the religious practice of burning widows to death on their husbands' funeral pyres) and dowry burnings, the murder of young brides by

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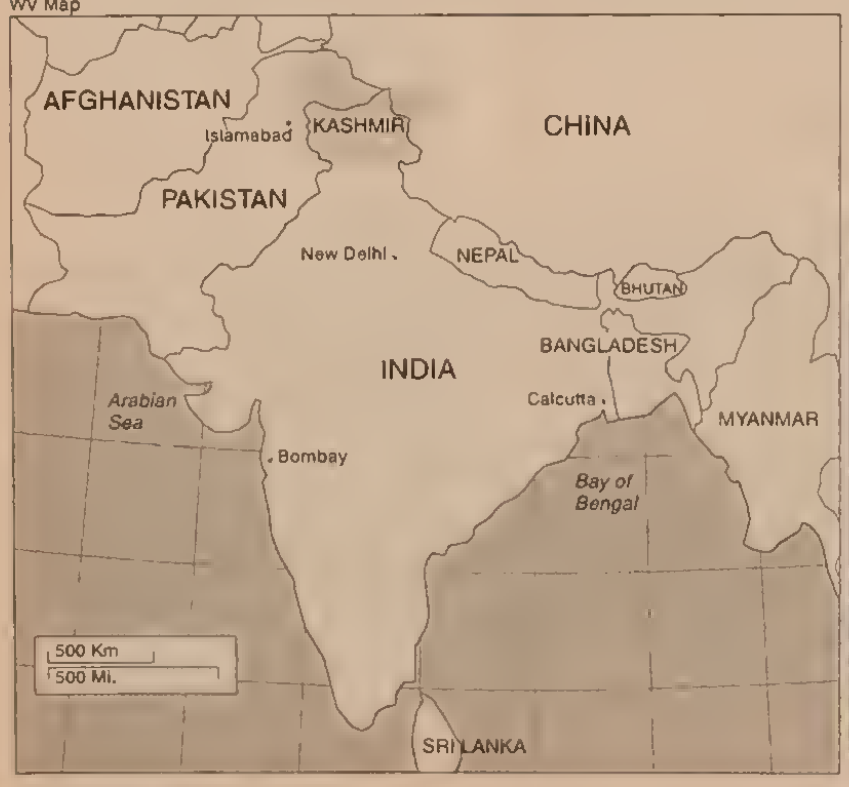
WV Map



Commonwealth Office

British imperialist butcher Mountbatten (center), flanked by Indian Congress leader Nehru and Muslim League head Jinnah. Imperialist partition in 1947 set stage for horrific communalist slaughter.

Der Spiegel

Japan...

(continued from page 1)

century-old Yamaichi Securities.

The burgeoning economic crisis can be seen in everything from the plummeting Nikkei stock index to record levels of unemployment. And it is paralleled by growing political disarray in the country's postwar capitalist establishment, notably including the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). Earlier this spring, Sony chairman Norio Ohga likened Hashimoto to U.S. president Herbert Hoover on the eve of the Great Depression and warned that the economy "is on the verge of collapsing." The reformist Communist Party (JCP), after being marginalized for decades as a Cold War pariah, is running second only to the LDP in opinion polls. Trading on populist appeals and its record as the only significant party not to have participated in the merry-go-round of unpopular and discredited coalition governments, the JCP is expected to win up to 20 percent

PART ONE OF TWO

of the vote in July elections for the upper house of parliament.

Even before the latest economic jolt, *Newsweek* (20 April) wrote: "Japan is verging on a recession that could prolong the Asia crisis indefinitely and drive U.S.-Japan trade frictions up to the red line." In fact, antagonisms between Washington and Tokyo have already hit the red line on numerous occasions. This came out most dramatically last fall when the U.S. threatened to embargo Japanese cargo ships on the West Coast during a dispute over shipping rights in Japanese ports. Such measures are matched by an escalation in rhetoric which smacks of Reagan's anti-Soviet "evil empire" ravings in the 1980s, as U.S. Treasury officials denounce Hashimoto's finance chief as the "Minister for the Destruction of the World Economy."

The spokesmen and ideologues of American capitalism have good reason for concern. Japanese financiers hold $320 billion in U.S. Treasury bills and bonds, about 10 percent of that portion of the federal debt which is in private hands. If Nomura Securities, the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi, Sumitomo Bank et al. sold off most of their American government and corporate securities to cover losses at home, interest rates would go through the ceiling and stock prices through the floor. More immediately, the contraction of the Japanese economy and the plunging yen have led to a sharp decline in imports of American goods and the biggest U.S. trade deficit in a decade.

Bourgeois wishful thinking about the "death of communism" notwithstanding, the widening financial collapse in Asia underlines the Marxist understanding that inherent in the capitalist system is the tendency toward periodic economic crises which, in the words of the 1848 *Communist Manifesto*, "put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on trial." As demonstrated by the succession of global depression and world war in the 1930s, such crises inexorably lay the

AKG

Arrival of U.S. warships in Tokyo Bay in 1853 forced Japan out of feudal isolation.

basis for ever more destructive wars among the national capitalist rulers to redivide world markets and spheres of exploitation.

At the same time, the relentless assault on the living standards of the working masses of Asia, the deepening immiseration of the urban and rural poor, have provoked struggles against the austerity dictates of the International Monetary Fund, the imperialist bankers and the domestic capitalist rulers. This is most evident in the ongoing wave of protests in Indonesia, which has already resulted in the ouster of blood-soaked dictator Suharto. Economic collapse in Southeast Asia and the decline in the yen have shaken the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy, whose drive for capitalist restoration has

Independent

Development of railways signalled Japan's transformation from feudal order to industrial power toward end of 19th century.

been fueled in large part by offering up extremely low-paid Chinese workers to foreign investors. A Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party is key to transforming the defensive battles of the Chinese workers into a fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist bureaucracy and reverse the counterrevolutionary tide.

The proletariat of Japan, industrial powerhouse of the Asian Pacific Rim, holds the key to the fate of the region. If Japanese workers are not to be plunged into mass unemployment or new imperialist adventures, they must join with the workers of Indonesia, Thailand, China and South Korea in the struggle for a socialist Asia. As we wrote in "'Death of Communism' Myth Goes Splat" (*WV* No. 677, 31 October 1997) following last October's Wall Street crash:

> "Socialist revolutions internationally—ushering in a classless, egalitarian society based on production for need, not for profit—is the only answer to the anarchy and brutality of the capitalist system. It is our task to forge the proletarian leadership needed to lead humanity out of this abyss."

Imperialist Rivalry and Resurgent Nationalism

Little more than a decade ago, Japan was regarded as the economic superstar of the capitalist world, its growth rate more than twice that of the United States. Tokyo's "industrial policy," orchestrated by the powerful Ministry of International Trade and Industry, was held up as a paragon of farsighted capitalist planning, especially in contrast to the obsessive concern of U.S. corporations and banks with short-term profitability. But ever since the "bubble economy" based on speculation in stocks and real estate burst in the late 1980s, the Japanese economy has been dead in the water, its banks—the world's largest—saddled with bad debts which they refused to write off for fear of triggering a wave of bankruptcies.

The immediate backdrop to this dramatic decline, and the growing threat of global depression, lies in the destruction of the Soviet Union through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. As long as the Soviet Union existed, conflicting interests between U.S. imperialism and its Japanese and German rivals were by and large subordinated to the dictates of the U.S.-led Cold War alliance. For the sake of that alliance, Wall Street and Washington were willing to open the U.S. market to Japanese manufacturers while tolerating the insulation of Japan from import competition and foreign capital penetration. However, as British financial journalist Christopher Wood pointed out in his 1994 tract, *The End of Japan Inc.*: "With the end of the Cold War America no longer sees a need or reason to put diplomatic or strategic interests ahead of its own commercial self-interest."

Particularly under Democrat Clinton, U.S. "trade hawks" have brazenly issued ultimatums to Japan of the sort generally directed to Third World neocolonies. In April, Clinton explicitly demanded that Hashimoto implement massive tax cuts and other domestic policies promoted by Washington. U.S. commentators not only denounce the corrupt "crony capitalism" now blamed for the Asian crisis but even paint Japan's financial elite as in the grip of powerful crime syndicates, witness the *U.S. News & World Report* (13 April) headline, "Yakuza Inc." In Australia, whose export economy is dominated by trade with Japan, the frenzy has reached an even more fevered pitch. The *Sydney Morning Herald* (9 June) blared "How Japan Drove Down the Region," while the *Australian Financial Review* (11 June) screamed, "Australia Under Attack"!

This war of words is mirrored in the Japanese media. A recent commentary in the *Japan Times* (27 March), headlined "Just Say No to U.S. Demands," railed that the U.S. was guilty of "de facto intervention in Japan's domestic affairs" and warned U.S. officials that "there are limits to the kind of demands they can make." The inauguration of the so-called Big Bang policy opening up the country's financial markets to foreign institutions led to a wave of jingoism, with such headlines as "Foreign Companies Hit the Beaches, Occupy the Country" and "American Capital Runs Roughshod Over Japan."

Such allusions to a replay of the 1941-45 Pacific War are not isolated. In recent years, the U.S. media have been filled with hypocritical reminders of the Korean and Chinese "comfort women" (*ianfu*) forced to serve as prostitutes for the Japanese military in World War II and of the 1937 Nanjing massacre, where Japanese occupation forces beheaded, impaled, buried alive or otherwise murdered more than 340,000 Chinese in less than two months.

For its part, the U.S. bourgeoisie incinerated more than 200,000 Japanese civilians in a matter of minutes in the 1945 A-bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; yet the Smithsonian Institution was forced to scuttle a tame exhibit on the 50th anniversary of these first—and only—wartime uses of nuclear weapons after a storm of opposition by American political and military spokesmen. The vile anti-Japanese racism which accompanied the imperialist war in the Pacific was manifested not only in the mass imprisonment of ethnic Japanese in the U.S. but in the grotesque glorying in the American press of Japanese scalps, skulls and ears American GIs brought back as "trophies" (see John Dower, *War Without Mercy* [1986]).

Meanwhile, Japan has been awash in a sea of jingoist propaganda aimed at reversing its image as the defeated aggressor in World War II. With the drive spearheaded by Todai University professor Fujioka to rewrite history textbooks, it has now become common in the pages of the "respectable" bourgeois press and on TV talk shows to deny Japanese imperialist atrocities in China, Korea and elsewhere. An array of prominent industrial and political figures are promoting the new film *Pride*, which exonerates World War II military dictator Tojo. This is the sort of "historical revisionism" which was previously heard only from

Der Spiegel

Robert Hunt Library

Under Meiji Restoration of late 1860s, which restored emperor as nominal head of state, Japan embarked on drive toward modern, industrial state. Right: Japanese invasion of Korea in 1904 led to four decades of colonial occupation.

the sound trucks of militarist sects or in discreet conversations at cocktail parties.

The resurgence of national chauvinism is a prelude to eventual military confrontation. America's ruling circles saw the demise of the Soviet Union as ushering in a "one superpower" world of unchallenged U.S. domination over its imperialist competitors and the semicolonial peoples of the Third World. The 1991 "Desert Slaughter" of Iraq, followed by repeated air strikes and the ongoing UN-sponsored starvation blockade, was a sharp expression of this, as Washington made clear that it would brook no "insubordination" from Third World bourgeois regimes and sought to ensure a stranglehold over oil supplies vital to Germany and Japan.

While falling in behind U.S. military moves in the Persian Gulf, the militarily far weaker Japanese bourgeoisie has been asserting its appetites in the Pacific Rim. Since 1992, after amending the constitution to allow for the deployment of its forces abroad, Japan has participated in five UN "peacekeeping" missions. Twice in less than a year—first to Cambodia and then Indonesia—Hashimoto has conspicuously dispatched military, not civilian, aircraft to "evacuate" Japanese nationals.

However, there is one point on which both American and Japanese capitalists agree: the need to crack down on the proletariat. Behind the shipping dispute which came to a head last year was a concerted drive by shipping companies in both countries to break the Japanese maritime unions' control over shifts and working conditions. Ideologues for Anglo-American capitalism prescribe for Japan the program of wage-gouging, union-busting and payroll-slashing carried out in Thatcher's Britain and Reagan's America in the 1980s. MIT economist Rudi Dornbusch declares that Japan "desperately needs a Reagan-Thatcher revolution," while Christopher Wood argued in his 1994 book:

> "While Japanese companies remain for now content to employ more than 3 million excess workers with nothing to do and no value to add, American firms in recent years have restructured ruthlessly. Since 1989 when the U.S. slowdown first became evident American companies have shed more than 7 million jobs in continuing waves of retrenchment.... The process may have often seemed brutal. But the penchant for 'downsizing' has been effective. American companies' earnings have risen, and the American stock market with them."

Yet the pro-capitalist labor misleaders on both sides of the Pacific strive to deflect the workers from class struggle against their "own" exploiters and instead keep the proletariat chained to the "national interest" of their respective bourgeoisies. Racist Japan-bashing protectionism is a hallmark of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, and is particularly pronounced among "progressive" types like the United Auto Workers and Machinists leaders. In a similar vein, the ex-Stalinist JCP avidly promotes Japanese nationalism, demanding that Japan cease to be a "nation structured on U.S. military bases." This is laced with reformist calls for petty tax reductions and opposition to "capitalism without rules."

Against the social-chauvinist labor traitors, whose policies have twice this century helped drag the workers into interimperialist world wars, the Spartacist League/U.S. and Spartacist Group of Japan, sections of the International Communist League, fight to forge revolutionary vanguard parties based on the program of international socialist revolution. As we note in the Declaration of Principles adopted at the Third Conference of the ICL earlier this year:

> "In the conflicts between rival regional trade blocs today, the outlines of future wars are sharpening. In the face of growing inter-imperialist rivalry, we reassert: *'The main enemy is at home!'*"

Origins of Japanese Capitalism

How is it that in the space of just two decades a country regarded as the most economically successful of major capitalist states is now widely perceived as the weak link of the world economy? To answer this question adequately it is necessary to consider the history of Japanese capitalism from its origins in the 19th century. This history is directly intertwined with that of U.S. imperialism: from the American warships in Tokyo Bay which forced Japan out of feudal isolation in the mid-19th century to the U.S. occupation following Japan's defeat in World War II and the subsequent Cold War alliance between Washington and Tokyo.

Along with Germany and the U.S., Japan was one of the three major "new industrializing countries" of the late 19th century. But while West Europe and its North American colonies had experienced a centuries-long transitional epoch of mercantile capitalism, Japan went from a feudal order to an industrializing capitalist state within a span of two generations. This generated a capitalist system in which certain characteristics of feudalism remained especially strong.

Japan's *daimyo* (feudal lords) responded to the initial incursion of Western imperialism in East Asia in the 16th and 17th centuries with a rigid national isolationism under the Tokugawa Shogunate. Weakened by internal contradictions, by the mid-19th century Tokugawa isolationism could not withstand the renewed onslaught of Western imperialism, now strengthened by emerging industrial capitalism. In the two decades following Britain's defeat of China in the Opium War of the early 1840s, Western gunboat diplomacy forced the Japanese government to sign a series of commercial treaties opening up the country to foreign trade.

The late 1860s saw the overthrow of the Tokugawa Shogunate by modernizing and nationalistic elements of the ruling elite in the Meiji Restoration, which restored the emperor as nominal head of state. The official motto of the new Meiji state—"strong army, rich country"—expressed its commitment to developing modern industry as the necessary basis for military strength. C. G. Allen, a leading student of Japanese economic history, judged that "there was scarcely any important Japanese industry of the Western type during the latter decades of the nineteenth century which did not owe its establishment to state initiative." Iron and steel, cement-making, chemicals, coal and copper mining, the merchant marine were initially wholly or largely financed and operated by the state.

Beginning in the last period of the 19th century, the government sold many of these enterprises to politically favored capitalist clans popularly called *zaibatsu*, literally "money cliques." This was the origin of the vast financial/industrial conglomerates described by one American scholar as modern holding companies combined with a feudal-like hierarchy and loyalties. Indeed, Mitsui was an old merchant/money-lending family which had played an important role in the Tokugawa era, while Mitsubishi was founded by a former samurai turned mercantile entrepreneur. The integrated complexes of commercial, industrial and financial capital they created were closely bound up with the state bureaucracy and enjoyed generous government subsidies, for example through low-interest loans.

Yet the economy remained dependent on export of labor-intensive light manufactures—primarily silk and cotton textiles—while importing advanced machinery and much of its steel. What allowed and encouraged Japan to establish a heavy industrial base was the complete disruption of the existing pattern of international trade as World War I engulfed Europe in 1914. The Japanese chemical industry now displaced German-made drugs, fertilizers and dyestuffs throughout East Asia. Between 1913 and 1918, the number of steel mills in Japan increased *tenfold*, from 21 to over 200.

Japan thus emerged from the war as a relatively developed capitalist country. Linked to the U.S. as its main trading partner, Japan fully participated in the prosperity of the 1920s—and in the Great Depression of the 1930s. The sharp contraction of output and income which followed the 1929 Wall Street crash necessarily led to a marked decline in the volume of Japan's exports to North America and Europe. Additionally, barriers were everywhere raised against what was then called the Japanese "trade menace." As a result of the Smoot-Hawley tariff and other American protectionist measures, between the late 1920s and mid-1930s the proportion of Japanese exports shipped to the U.S. dropped from over 40 percent to little more than 20 percent of a far smaller total volume. Japan was also cut off from its second leading market, West European colonies in Asia such as British India and the Dutch East Indies.

In response, beginning with the conquest of Manchuria in 1931 the Japanese bourgeoisie moved to establish its own colonial empire: the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." The Western imperialist powers in turn resorted to intensified economic warfare. The July 1941 embargo of vital oil supplies by the U.S., Britain and the Netherlands left the Japanese bourgeoisie with only one alternative if it was not to return to a pre-industrial economy. In a punishing attack that December on Pearl Harbor—the main U.S. naval base in the Pacific—Japan's rulers hoped to force Washington to accept their Greater East Asia

continued on page 10

Some 120,000 Japanese Americans were thrown into concentration camps during World War II by racist American rulers.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

UPI

Reuters

Minesweepers leave for Persian Gulf in 1991 in first Japanese overseas military mission since World War II.

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program

Adopted in 1998 by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Published in Japanese by the Spartacist Group Japan

100¥ (34 pages)

Order from/make checks payable to:
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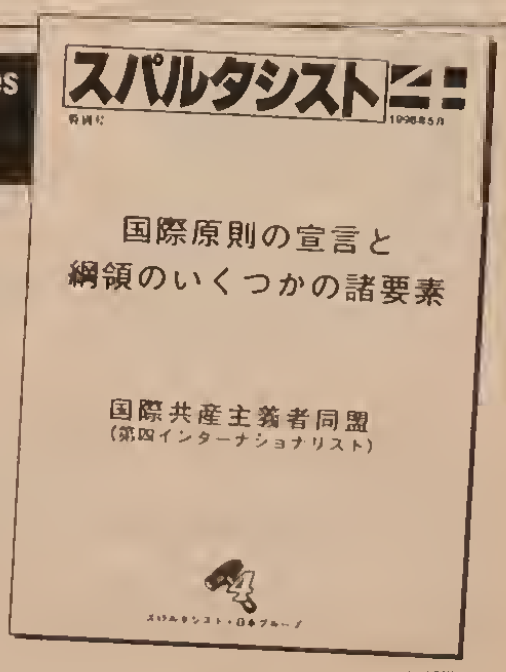


Japan...

(continued from page 9)

Co-Prosperity Sphere. But Tojo and his fellow militarists woefully underestimated not only the industrial power of the United States but the appetite of its rulers to control the whole world.

By 1945, as defeat loomed in the Pacific War, influential elements of the Japanese ruling class advocated negotiating peace terms with U.S. imperialism based on shared opposition to "red revolution" in Asia. In February 1945, Prince Konoye, a former prime minister, advised Emperor Hirohito: "Defeat may lower our national prestige, but British and American opinion has not gone to the length of contemplating making changes in the structure of the Japanese State. What we should fear most is the possibility of Communist revolution following defeat" (quoted in Joyce and Gabriel Kolko, *The Limits of Power* [1972]). A few turbulent years later, Konoye's projection of an anti-Communist alliance between Wall Street and the *zaibatsu* came to be realized.

Forging the Washington-Tokyo Cold War Axis

When the U.S. military occupied Japan after the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, American ruling circles were divided on what strategy to pursue in the Far East. What was then a minority current—including the House of Morgan, General Electric and other elements with extensive prewar ties to Japan—favored transforming Japan's traditional rulers into junior partners. But there was also a strong current of American bourgeois opinion which wanted to destroy Japan's potential as a rival imperialist power while building up Chiang Kai-shek's China as the main U.S. client state in East Asia.

The initial policies pursued by the American occupation regime under the megalomaniacal General Douglas MacArthur were thus contradictory and contributed to the political and social turmoil of the early postwar years. While the Japanese military was subjected to an extensive purge, the emperor was retained and the imperial governmental bureaucracy remained intact, serving as the agency through which American policies were implemented—and, on occasion, subverted. At the same time, thousands of leftists and working-class militants were released from prison, some having been arrested up to two decades earlier under the 1925 Peace Preservation Law.

Following the war, Japan experienced an explosion of class struggle unique in its history. Within a year and a half of the August 1945 surrender, five million workers were enrolled in trade unions, more than ten times the prewar peak. As the only political force which had opposed the militarists' drive toward war, the Communist Party emerged from underground with great moral authority and grew enormously. The most militant union federation, Sanbetsu, was strongly influenced by the pro-Moscow JCP. However, in keeping with the international Stalinist line of "two-stage revolution" and the Kremlin's effort to maintain its wartime alliance with the "democratic" imperialists, the JCP openly disavowed the fight for proletarian power in favor of the "democratic revolution" supposedly being carried out by U.S. occupation forces. The JCP called for a class-collaborationist "popular front" alliance with "progressive" elements of the Japanese bourgeoisie. In fact, the Socialists briefly participated in two such popular-front governments in 1947. But the Communists continued to be regarded as mortal enemies by the Japanese ruling class and American imperialists.

Wide World

1948 Tokyo municipal workers strike. U.S. occupation forces under General Douglas MacArthur presided over anti-Communist purge which broke militant unions.

Acme

By 1947, the new Cold War between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union dominated global politics. China was engulfed in a full-scale civil war between Mao's peasant-based Red Army and Chiang's forces, which culminated two years later in the expulsion of the Chinese bourgeoisie from the mainland and the creation of a bureaucratically deformed workers state on the model of Stalin's USSR. These developments brought about a shift in U.S. policy toward Japan. Now the American bourgeoisie was united in building up a stable and prosperous Japan as a bulwark against Communism in Asia. As the SGJ noted in an article headlined, "Smash the Counter-revolutionary Alliance Between Japan and U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!" (*Spartacist* [Japan] No. 18, May 1997; printed in *WV* No. 667, 2 May 1997):

> "The German and Japanese bourgeois states were rebuilt under the American military shield and shared in a division of labor in the postwar anti-Soviet crusade. The 'economic miracles' of Germany and Japan are directly connected with those countries' roles as forward quartermasters for American armies in Europe, Korea and Vietnam."

Predictably, the main target of this "reverse course" was the left and workers movement. In 1948, MacArthur outlawed all strikes by government employees. This affected key sectors of the economy, notably the state-owned railways. In his 1986 book *The Reckoning*, written against the background of the escalating U.S.-Japan trade war, liberal American journalist David Halberstam recounted the key role of the U.S. occupation regime in eradicating labor radicalism in Japan and therefore eventually strengthening the competitive advantages of Japanese industrialists:

> "In 1949, with MacArthur's support, there was an all-out assault upon Communist leadership in the unions which became known as 'the Red Purge.' In union after union the Communists and some of their colleagues were simply arrested and removed from their jobs. As many as ten thousand workers were fired during these purges, and hundreds of thousands were pulled back from union membership."

It was the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 which finally pulled Japan out of its prolonged postwar economic depression. The *zaibatsu* (reorganized under the label *keiritsu*) now became MacArthur's quartermasters, supplying arms and other equipment for the imperialist war against the forces of the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states. MacArthur presided over a scorched-earth policy which resulted in the slaughter of up to four million Koreans by the time of the 1953 truce and oversaw the creation of a vicious police state in South Korea. From the outset of the war, MacArthur argued for the use of nuclear weapons against China and North Korea. MacArthur was subsequently denounced as a loose cannon, but such plans were also repeatedly entertained by Democratic president Truman, who withdrew MacArthur in 1951 in part because he wanted someone more "reliable" in command in case nuclear weapons were deployed.

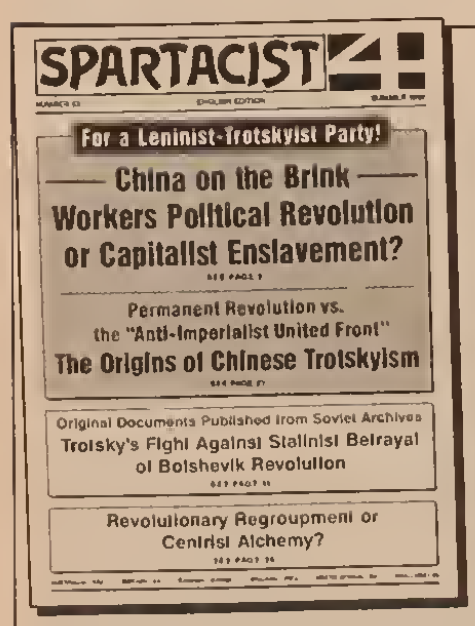
Seeking to keep the Communists out of government and ensure that the Socialists would not again gain governmental office in Tokyo, in 1955 the U.S. State Department brokered the fusion of the two main bourgeois parties to form the Liberal Democratic Party, which ruled Japan for the next four decades. The Cold War alliance of Japanese and American imperialism was personified by Nobusuke Kishi, LDP party boss in the late 1950s. A top official in the Japanese puppet government in Manchuria and then in the wartime Tojo regime, Kishi was imprisoned for several years as a war criminal by the American occupation authorities. He was released during the "reverse course," as Washington moved to enlist the Japanese right in the global anti-Communist crusade.

The Kishi government demonstrated the integral connection between the Cold War against the Soviet Union and China abroad and the *keiritsu*'s war against the workers movement in Japan. In the face of mass protests, in 1960 Kishi rammed through the Japanese Diet (parliament) a renewed military treaty which granted the U.S. "the use by its land, air, and naval forces of facilities and areas in Japan." Shortly thereafter, the government intervened to defeat a bitter, year-long strike of coal miners at the Mitsui-owned Miike mine, the largest and most modern colliery in the country. The Miike strike was a key labor battle in postwar Japan, and the defeat of the miners did much to consolidate *keiritsu* capitalism.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

AP

Combative South Korean workers protest layoffs in February as financial crash sweeps East Asia.



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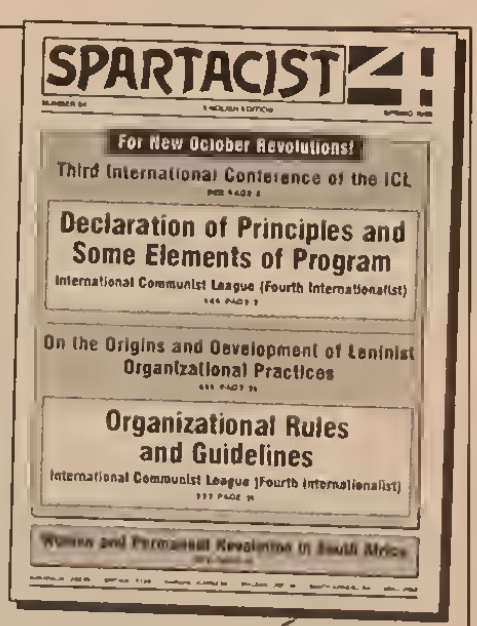

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India-Pakistan...

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husbands' families greedy for more or a second dowry. Such barbarous practices are increasing most among the urban layers most attracted to the BJP.

The intertwining of ethnic and sexual oppression on the subcontinent was highlighted by the eruption of communalist terror in 1993 in response to a book by Bangladeshi writer Taslima Nasrin, an opponent of religious fundamentalism and women's oppression who was subjected to death threats and criminal prosecution. In our article in defence of Nasrin in *Women and Revolution* (No. 44, Winter 1994-Spring 1995), we wrote:

> "Nasrin's case raises questions far beyond the important democratic issues of women's rights, freedom of speech and the separation of religion and state. Addressing the profound oppression of women and the religious and national hatreds, her writings inevitably, and unintentionally, raise questions that only a revolutionary socialist program can answer."

In the epoch of imperialism, the bourgeoisies in countries of belated capitalist development are incapable of carrying out even fundamental democratic tasks. Much less are they able to implement a thoroughgoing agrarian revolution, which requires the expropriation of the big landlords and their capitalist allies. In short, the bourgeoisie cannot satisfy the most basic needs of the impoverished masses. The only way out of the multiple layers of oppression, degradation and exploitation is through the Trotskyist programme of permanent revolution: the seizure of power by the proletariat—standing at the head of the poor peasantry, the oppressed women, castes and national minorities—as part of a perspective of socialist revolution throughout the region and internationally, particularly in the imperialist centres.

National justice for the myriad oppressed peoples of the subcontinent, including the right to self-determination, requires the revolutionary overthrow of both the Indian and Pakistani bourgeoisies. This can only be based on an internationalist perspective. In the three wars already fought between India and Pakistan, we advanced the position of *revolutionary defeatism*, calling on the workers to turn their guns the other way. In the face of growing war fever today, it is necessary for the workers of India and Pakistan to unite around their common class interests in opposition to the chauvinism of their "own" bourgeoisies.

The proletariat has a direct and immediate interest in smashing the caste system and crushing communalist and pogromist forces. Frequently drawn from among local and migrant minorities, it is often the working class that is targeted by communalists. There have been numerous instances in recent Indian history of powerful strike movements which transcended communal and ethnic divisions. In 1984, some 300,000 dockers engaged in the longest port strike in Indian history, defying savage strike-breaking by the Indira Gandhi regime, including the massacre of over 300 workers. In the midst of this heroic battle, a report in *Workers Hammer* (No. 57, May 1984) stressed:

> "This strike is particularly important because it has united a key section of India's vast proletariat across the myriad national/ethnic/religious divisions of the subcontinent. Tamils in the south, Bengalis in the east, northern and western Indians in the great port of Bombay are all battling the bloody bourgeois-nationalist regime of Indira Gandhi."

It is in the course of such struggles that a revolutionary leadership will be forged to bring to the proletariat an understanding of its historic task in sweeping away the whole capitalist system of exploitation and oppression. The ICL fights to build Leninist-Trotskyist parties to fight for socialist revolution against all the reactionary capitalist regimes of the subcontinent: Hindu chauvinists in India, Islamic fundamentalists in Pakistan and Bangladesh, and the brutal Sinhala-chauvinist People's Alliance government which is engaged in the bloody suppression of the oppressed Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. For the right of Tamil Eelam! For federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka as part of a socialist federation of South Asia!

Anu Pushkarna

India's multinational proletariat has direct interest in crushing communalist terror, caste oppression as part of struggle for workers revolution.

Reuters

Pakistani troops patrol border dividing Kashmir, trip wire for nationalist war between India and Pakistan.

Imperialism Threatens Nuclear Barbarism

Justifying its A-bomb test, the Indian government focused on denunciations of Beijing for arming India's enemies, especially Pakistan. Tibet's reactionary Dalai Lama rushed to congratulate India after the nuclear explosions. This Buddhist cleric, whose monk-ridden "independence" struggle serves as a battering ram for capitalist counterrevolution in China, is a current favourite of the world's anti-Communist glitterati. Among his fans are India's "socialist" defence minister, Fernandes, "a fervent supporter of the Tibetan cause" (*New York Review of Books*, 25 June).

In a "leaked" letter to Clinton, Vajpayee made a thinly veiled appeal to U.S. imperialism for an alliance against the Chinese deformed workers state. The Indian prime minister blamed China for "the deteriorating security environment" and spoke of "an overt nuclear weapon state on our borders, a state which committed armed aggression against India in 1962," referring to India's humiliating defeat after its attempted military incursion into a disputed border region. A commentary in the Indian journal, *Frontline* (23 May), on the BJP government's ambitions noted:

> "This focus on China is deliberate, as the beginning of a methodical red-baiting offensive within the country, as the inauguration of an arms race on the Asian continent, and as an appeal to long-term U.S. goals in Asia. What we are witnessing is the staging of a short-term Indo-U.S. tension as a prelude to a long-term comprehensive strategic alliance."

Washington hardly has need of a "strategic alliance" with backward India at the moment. But the drumbeat of belligerent rhetoric against China has gotten noticeably louder among American ruling circles of late, and not just among Republicans taking Clinton to task for alleged campaign contributions from the Chinese military. An article headlined "Red Scare?" in *U.S. News & World Report* (8 June) asked, "Is China friend or foe?" And a piece in the *New York Times* (20 June) by op-ed columnist Thomas Friedman sympathetically noted that with India now deprived of Soviet patronage, the A-bomb tests were "meant to signal America and China that India views their emerging 'alliance' with great concern." Two days later, the *Times* carried a sabre-rattling contribution by Robert Kagan and William Kristol warning: "The Chinese leadership must know that when it breaks its promises—by aiding Pakistan's and Iran's nuclear weapons programs—it will be punished with sanctions." These conservative ideologues concluded with Cold War rhetoric about the need to "contain China's strategic ambitions."

Beginning in the early 1970s, U.S. imperialism and the Beijing bureaucracy consummated a counterrevolutionary alliance aimed against the Soviet degenerated workers state, then the military and industrial powerhouse of the "Communist bloc." Both the U.S. and China also supported Pakistan against Soviet-allied India. Following the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan in late 1979, Pakistan became a strategic base for CIA operations in support of the anti-Communist "holy war" waged by Islamic fundamentalist Afghan *mujahedin*. We proclaimed "Hail Red Army" and called to "extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples." The Kremlin bureaucracy's treacherous withdrawal in 1989 led to the barbaric, anti-woman Taliban coming to power in Afghanistan and gave enormous impetus to the rise of Islamic fundamentalism elsewhere. The pullout was also a direct precursor to capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union itself.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, Washington has curtailed aid to Pakistan while focusing on the drive to restore capitalism in China. Though the 1949 Chinese Revolution was deformed from the outset under the nationalist leadership of the Stalinist Communist Party, it resulted in the shattering of capitalist rule and the creation of a planned, collectivised economy. Decades of Stalinist misrule and the escalation of "market reforms" in recent years have brought China to the very brink of capitalist counterrevolution, which would mean bloody chaos and immiseration for a quarter of the world's population and would further intensify the imperialist scramble to redivide markets and spheres of exploitation. The ICL strives to cohere the nucleus of the Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party which is desperately needed to lead the Chinese proletariat in a political revolution to stop the Beijing bureaucracy's galloping drive towards capitalist restoration. This perspective is premised on unconditional military defence of China against capitalist attack, including imperialist sanctions and nuclear blackmail.

While the imperialists fume about the handful of nuclear weapons held by India and Pakistan, the real danger to the continued existence of humanity lies in the vast arsenals held by the major capitalist powers, particularly the U.S. And as history has shown, there are no bounds to the scale of imperialist barbarity—from the U.S. A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 to the horrendous massacres perpetrated by British imperialism in colonial India. As noted in the ICL "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

> "Capitalism has long since outlived its progressive historical role of creating a modern industrial economy. In order to maintain their rule, the national capitalist classes must exploit national, ethnic and racial divisions, which have been intensified since the destruction of the Soviet Union. Increasingly mutually hostile imperialist powers and rival blocs must oppress the peoples of the former colonial world and those still under the yoke of colonial peonage, impoverish the world's masses, engage in continual wars for the maintenance and redivision of the world markets in order to prop up the falling rate of profit, and attempt to smash the revolutionary struggle of the workers wherever it breaks out. In its final frenzied effort to maintain its class rule, the bourgeoisie will not hesitate to plunge humanity into nuclear holocaust or dictatorial oppression of unprecedented ferocity."

The only alternative lies in the proletariat establishing its own class rule around the globe, seizing state power from all the exploitative ruling classes and ushering in an international socialist society. The fate of humanity lies in the timely reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International to lead the struggle for new October Revolutions around the world.■

Texas...

(continued from page 1)

Diaries early." Incredibly, the local sheriff claimed at a press conference, "We have no Aryan Nation or KKK in Jasper County"—a statement met with angry jeers by blacks in the audience.

East Texas is home for two KKK klaverns, as well as groups such as the Texas Aryan Nationalist skinheads. In 1993, the KKK rallied in the white bastion of Vidor, 50 miles from Jasper, amid a successful racist drive to force out the few blacks living in the town's housing projects. And the racist killers come dressed in blue uniforms as well as in white robes. Ten years ago, cops in nearby Hemphill, Sabine County, killed Loyal Garner Jr. They pulled him over as he crossed from Louisiana to Texas, dragged him off to jail, then pulled him out of his cell and beat him when he asked to make a phone call. After lying on the floor all night, he died the next day in the hospital. As we wrote at the time in "Cop Terror Stalks Black America" (*WV* No. 444, 15 January 1988):

> "Jim Crow is supposed to be dead. And in some circumstances you're allowed to act like the formal equality is real. Until you find yourself in a situation where the real racist rules apply. Loyal Garner made a horrible mistake. *He thought he had rights;* after being arrested, he thought he could ask to make a phone call. That mistake was fatal."

Marzani & Munsell

Charlotte Observer

Robert F. Williams (inset) organized armed self-defense against KKK terror in Monroe, North Carolina, 1957.

The cops who took Loyal Garner's life were acquitted even of "violating his civil rights."

In the wake of this latest KKK murder, there was an outpouring of support for James Byrd's family. Chicago Bulls basketball star Dennis Rodman, who went to school in Texas, offered to pay all the funeral costs. But the "sympathetic" declarations of government officials at all levels were deeply cynical. Democrats and Republicans alike have pushed the elimination of welfare, the massive prison construction boom, the speedup on death row. These policies amount to a statement that the capitalist class deems a substantial part of the black population to be "expendable." Emboldened by government attacks on blacks, immigrants and other minorities, skinhead and Nazi groups have been expanding across the country, an auxiliary to the systematic cop terror unleashed daily to keep black people "in their place."

The capitalist rulers denounce the KKK lynchers as the vestige of a supposedly bygone racist past. The racist status quo is today more than adequately enforced by the killer cops—in the low-wage, open shop South as well as in the ghettos of the North. The daily cop killings of black people are no "excess" or "oversight," but part of a calculated program of racist repression. Such repression is integral to this capitalist system, aimed at keeping blacks segregated at the bottom of the economy and at keeping the working class divided so that it cannot effectively fight for its class interests. At the same time, as long as capitalism remains, fascist murderers like the Klan and Nazis will be coddled and even cultivated by the bourgeois rulers, who hold the nightriders in reserve as strikebreakers and, in the last resort, as shock troops for the defense of the capitalist profit system.

The fight against black oppression and anti-immigrant racism is central to revitalizing the labor movement in this country. What's needed is a revolutionary workers party, built in struggle against the racist pro-capitalist misleaders of the unions, to lead the working class at the head of all the oppressed in a socialist revolution which puts an end to the fascist scum and the capitalist system which breeds them.■

Balkans...

(continued from page 5)

capitalism and brought two generations of peace and relative ethnic harmony to the peoples of Yugoslavia. Kosovo was accorded a measure of self-rule and, in 1974, formal autonomy. Among other things, this meant that ethnic Albanians and Serbs were taught in their own languages at shared school facilities. However, Tito's Stalinist nationalism was diametrically opposed to the fight for socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe, which was necessary to provide the economic basis for genuine national equality in the relatively impoverished Balkans.

The Yugoslav workers state was deformed and undermined from the outset by Stalinist bureaucratic rule. This was exacerbated with the introduction of "market socialism," which opened Yugoslavia to increasing imperialist economic penetration, and reinforced and widened disparities among the various regions. The result was to fuel resurgent nationalism and pave the way for the counterrevolution in which Milosevic played a prominent role. Milosevic came to power in Serbia in 1987 through a vicious chauvinist campaign against the Kosovo Albanians, revoking Kosovo's autonomy and purging more than 140,000 Albanians—including teachers—from the provincial government's workforce. Public education in the Albanian language was suppressed, and ethnic Albanians were forced to endure discrimination and police brutality.

Kosovo leader Ibrahim Rugova, who is touted by Washington as a "moderate," now openly calls for NATO military intervention against Serbia, as does Albanian prime minister Fatos Nano. Nano is himself an imperialist puppet, presiding over the occupation of Albania by an Italian expeditionary force. Nano is now appealing for NATO troops to occupy northern Albania, which is largely under the control of former Albanian strongman Sali Berisha, who was driven from power last year by a rebellion provoked by a massive "pyramid scheme" corruption scam. Berisha has now tried to stage a comeback on the basis of Albanian nationalism by sponsoring the KLA, which also supports NATO intervention. A KLA leader told the *New York Times* (10 June): "If NATO troops go into Kosovo, we will welcome them and respect any arrangement made with them, but they have no place in Albania."

In fact, Washington is *opposed* to independence for the Kosovar Albanians. The imperialists are fearful that further disintegration of the Balkans along national lines could lead the whole region to blow up. U.S. imperialism is not even opposed to a Greater Serbia as such, provided it sets the terms and Milosevic knuckles under.

Despite the united show of NATO force last month, events in Kosovo have highlighted the underlying divisions among the rival imperialist powers. The European Union has insisted on obtaining UN authorization for any military intervention in Kosovo, while Russia, the Serbs' traditional patron, has threatened to veto any UN Security Council resolution. Germany has now resumed its historic role as imperialist patron of Croatia and Slovenia. Meanwhile, the German bourgeoisie has begun deporting the hundreds of thousands of refugees who fled the Balkan wars which German imperialism helped instigate. Turkey has long-standing ties to the Albanians, while rival Greece supports the Serbs.

The nationalist conflicts in the Balkans are a trip wire for war. In addition to Kosovo and Albania itself, the Albanian population is spread across Serbia, Greece and Macedonia, where the oppressed Albanian minority constitutes over one-quarter of the population. Any "solution" to these conflicting national interests within the framework of capitalism inevitably involves expulsions, forced population transfers and mass murder. Furthermore, the breakup of Macedonia—occupied by one thousand UN troops, including 350 Americans, and surrounded by neighbors with claims on its territory—would be a certain harbinger of war. The immediate precipitant of the Balkan wars of 1912-13 was a revolt by the Albanians of Kosovo whose capture of Skopje, now the capital of Macedonia, destabilized the central Balkans. The surrounding states of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro went to war in a mad frenzy to seize territory. This was a prelude to World War I.

The bourgeoisie today trumpets the supposed "death of communism," but it was nationalist Stalinism which perished, in the end dragging the peoples of Yugoslavia—as well as the rest of East Europe and the former Soviet Union—back to the slaughterhouse of capitalism. The just resolution of even the most elementary national and other democratic rights on the Balkan peninsula requires united revolutionary struggle by the multiethnic working class to sweep away all the competing bourgeois-nationalist regimes and the entire capitalist system. This requires the forging of revolutionary workers parties capable of winning the masses away from the nationalist demagogues on all sides in the fight for a Socialist Federation of the Balkans as part of a Socialist United States of Europe.■

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Mumia...

(continued from page 16)

York Times of June 14th entitled, "Justice for Police Officer Daniel Faulkner." The target of this attack, Mumia Abu-Jamal, a renowned journalist from Philadelphia who has been on death row for 16 years for the alleged shooting of Officer Faulkner, and who was known as "the voice of the voiceless" for his award-winning reporting on police abuse and other social and racial ills that afflicted the minority communities of Philadelphia, had received worldwide support in his effort to overturn his unjust conviction. At the time of his arrest in 1981, Jamal was serving as the president of the Association of Black Journalists and had previously been a founder of the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia and a supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE group.

The advertisement for death, taken out at the cost of tens of thousands of dollars, selectively quotes from witnesses at Jamal's 1982 trial, all of whom have been thoroughly discredited in subsequent court hearings beginning in 1995. Omitted are the evidence and witnesses who have come forward to establish facts which were kept from the jury during the 1982 trial. The ad claims as a "fact" that two police officers heard Jamal confess to the shooting of Officer Faulkner the night of the killing. Yet the police officer who guarded Jamal reported that very morning that Jamal had made "no comments." That officer reportedly was on vacation and unavailable at trial, when in fact he was at home waiting to testify.

Similarly, the charge that the shot which killed Faulkner came from Jamal's legally registered .38-calibre weapon contradicts the medical examiner's report—first entered into the official record in 1995—that the bullet removed from Faulkner's brain was a .44-calibre. That fact was also kept from the jury. Moreover, a weapons expert found it incredible that the police at the scene of the shooting failed to test Jamal's gun to see if it had been recently fired or to test his hands to see if he had fired a weapon.

The testimony cited in the ad of "eyewitnesses" who claimed to identify Jamal as the shooter was equally flawed, coming from witnesses whose testimony has now been exposed as false. One of these witnesses, a white cab driver named Robert Chobert, first reported to police that the shooter was 225 pounds and "ran away" from the scene. This couldn't have been Jamal, who weighed 170 pounds and was found by the police sitting on a curb at the scene of the shooting, bleeding profusely from a shot fired by Faulkner. Why Chobert changed his story did not become clear until 13 years later when, at a court hearing in 1995, he admitted that at the time of the shooting he had been driving his taxicab without a license while still on probation for felony arson—throwing a Molotov cocktail at a grammar school. The jury which presumably found Chobert truthful never heard these facts. Furthermore, Chobert revealed in 1995 that he had asked Jamal's prosecutor to help get his driver's license back. Years later he was still driving, unhindered by the police, without a license.

The main witness cited in the ad, Cynthia White, was someone no other witness even reported seeing at the site. In return for her testimony that Jamal shot Faulkner, White was allowed to continue to work the streets as a prostitute for years, apparently with police protection. In a 1997 hearing, another former prostitute, Pamela Jenkins, who was a friend of White at the time, testified that White was acting as a police informant, a fact not given to the defense, and that she had testified only after the police had threatened her life.

Other sworn testimony revealed that witness coercion was routinely practiced by the police as they pursued their investigation against Jamal. In 1995, eyewitness William Singletary testified that police repeatedly tore up his initial statement—that the shooter, not Jamal, ran away from the scene—until he wrote something acceptable to them. The following year, another former prostitute, Veronica Jones, courageously came forward to testify that she had also been coerced into changing her initial true eyewitness account that two men had fled the scene of the killing; again, not Jamal. To anyone familiar with the notorious practices of the Philadelphia Police Department, this pattern of police misconduct is not unique to Jamal's case.

At the 1982 trial and every subsequent hearing in Jamal's case, information was withheld from the defense by the prosecution in a court room presided over by Judge Albert Sabo. In an unrelated proceeding, six former Philadelphia district attorneys swore under oath that no accused could receive a fair trial in Sabo's court. Jamal presented over a score of separate constitutional violations to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, from the withholding of evidence to the racial exclusion of jurors. Eleven qualified African Americans were rejected by the prosecution, a standard practice as was recently revealed in the exposure of a "training tape" for excluding blacks from juries prepared by the Philadelphia district attorney's office in the mid-1980s. On this basis alone, Jamal should be given his freedom.

In a country where the racial bias inherent in the death penalty was recognized by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1987 (even as it ruled that such bias provided no basis for appeal!) Philadelphia reigns as the "capital of capital punishment." A 1998 study by the Death Penalty Information Center, titled "The Death Penalty in Black and White," notes that blacks make up 84 percent of those on death row from Philadelphia and that black men from that city are almost four times more likely to receive a death sentence than other defendants.

Since this sinister ad only repeats old, discredited tales and completely ignores the evidence presented in Jamal's appeals, one is left to ask, "Why now?" The Pennsylvania State Supreme Court is about to render a decision on Jamal's appeal of Judge Sabo's predictable denial of a new trial for Jamal. Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge, who signed Jamal's death warrant in June 1995, has vowed to once again order Jamal's execution should he lose his appeal. Anticipating the possibility of a repeat of the massive protests that succeeded in saving Jamal's life in August 1995, the pro-death penalty and law enforcement forces now seem more determined than ever to defeat and deflect the strength of that movement.

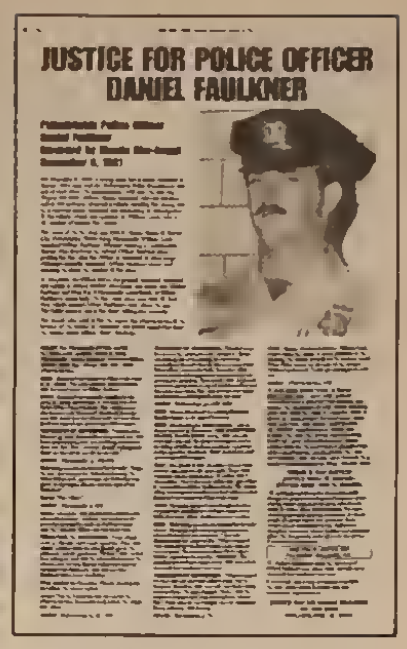
In a country awash with commodity advertising, the many thousands of dollars spent in this false and misleading ad will not subvert or detract from the public outcry in support of Jamal. The rush to judgment back in 1982, fueled by sensational media reporting that echoed police demands for the death of Mumia Abu-Jamal irrespective of the evidence, has produced a historic injustice which has kept an innocent man in prison most of his adult life. The effort to now seal his fate through advertising is equally reprehensible and must be rejected in favor of immediate freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Leonard I. Weinglass

* * *

Funds for Mumia's Legal Defense Are Urgently Needed!

If the Pennsylvania Supreme Court turns down his appeal, the next battleground on the legal front will be in the federal courts, involving massive new costs. Get your union or organization to make a contribution for Mumia's legal defense, payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense"), and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. Contact the PDC—New York: P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252, e-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com; Chicago: P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; San Francisco Bay Area: P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462, phone (510) 839-0852.■



Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

Philly cops screaming for Mumia's execution beslege hospital workers union hall in 1995. Now sinister ad in *New York Times* marks escalation of cop vendetta against Jamal.

WV Photo

August 1995 New York labor/black mobilization initiated by Partisan Defense Committee was part of international protests which stayed Jamal's execution.

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated July 31.

Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet exposes in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party.

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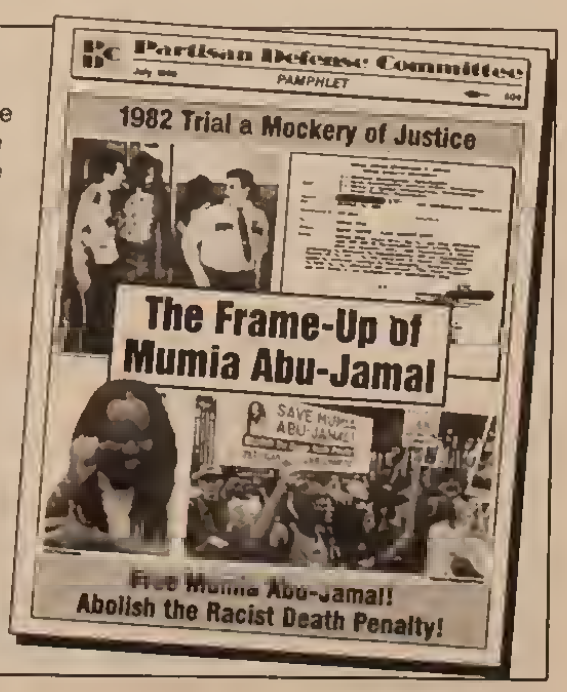

Flint Strikes...

(continued from page 16)

picket line angrily told a *WV* reporter that machinery has been moved out of the plant with the evident complicity of union officials, who did nothing to stop it. Moreover, UAW officials have kept production for non-GM companies going in the struck plants, with union members crossing picket lines. This flies in the face of the most basic trade-union principles. ***Picket lines mean don't cross!***

Particularly since the wave of mass layoffs at the Big Three in the early 1980s, the UAW tops have pushed through one concession after another, promising the workers that enhancing corporate profitability would secure jobs. A UAW agreement at the Metal Center last year offered the company increased "flexibility" in work rules in exchange for promises to invest in the plant. In the early 1980s, GM closed its assembly plant at Fremont, California—a relatively new facility built in 1968—dispersing the heavily black workforce. The UAW let the company reopen the plant as a joint venture with Toyota, ***with no contract or union*** at the time. This was a pilot project to break union control over working conditions throughout GM and the rest of the auto industry.

The introduction of the so-called "Japanese management system"—itself a result of ruthless union-busting in Japan in the late 1940s and early '50s under the auspices of the U.S. occupation authorities—meant the elimination of whole job categories and massive speedup. The "just in time" inventory system, which has made GM so vulnerable to strikes at parts plants, was based on the premise that *there would be no strikes.*

Twenty years ago, American auto workers could boast that they were among the highest paid in the world, though they had to work like hell for their wages. But behind the recent merger through which Germany's Daimler has essentially taken over Chrysler is the fact that U.S. labor costs have plummeted compared to West Europe and Japan. The widespread implementation of multi-tier wage systems, which particularly affect women, minority and young workers, and the sharp overall drop in real wages over the last two decades are paralleled by a drastic decline in union membership and frequency of strikes. The result of years of concessions by the UAW is that GM and the other auto giants pile up record profits and jobs continue to go by the boards, as the Big Three produce *more* cars with fewer workers.

UAW members have been systematically betrayed by their leaders. But simply calling for more militant tactics, as do a host of reformist "socialist" groups which tail the labor bureaucracy, is not the answer. The key lies in understanding that these betrayals are rooted in a politicy of class collaboration promoted by all wings of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

1937 Flint sit-down strike led to rise of UAW as powerful industrial union.

Flint was the site of the powerful sit-down strikes of the late 1930s, part of an upsurge of labor militancy which built the UAW and the CIO industrial unions. But from the outset, the CIO leadership pushed workers into the arms of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" and the Democratic Party—a party of big business no less than the Republicans. The treacherous result of the union bureaucracy's subordination of the labor movement to the capitalist parties was made crystal-clear in the 1996 GM contract negotiations, as the UAW tops made sure there would be no strike to disrupt Clinton's re-election. The result was a rotten agreement, allowing GM to dump 30,000 workers and to permanently pay workers at new parts plants far less than other auto workers. And even as the current strikes were underway, the UAW convention in Las Vegas provided a platform for Clinton's labor secretary to demand that the union call off the work stoppage.

Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras

Mexican workers occupy Ford plant in Nuevo Laredo, 1995. UAW tops' protectionism is poison to international labor solidarity.

As we noted in an exchange with a Machinists union official on the 1995 Boeing strike (*WV* No. 634, 1 December 1995):

> "The labor bureaucracy is the top layer of the unions which long ago separated itself from its working-class base, and which sees the world through the same lens as the capitalists and their government. The purpose of these top union officials is to ensure the subordination of the workers to the national interests of the enemy class. This collaboration with the capitalist rulers is codified in the labor bureaucrats' fealty to the Democratic Party—and it has led to an unending string of defeats for organized labor."

This was clear in the case of PATCO, which went down to defeat because the AFL-CIO bureaucrats, particularly the Machinists leadership then under social democrat William Winpisinger, hid behind capitalist "legality" and refused to shut down the airports in solidarity with the fired PATCO workers. This debacle gave the corporate bosses the green light to fabulously enrich themselves on the backs of the working class. It was only the solidity of the UPS strike, where there was virtually no scabbing, which put constraints on the natural treachery of the Teamsters leadership and propelled the strike to victory.

The bourgeois aspirations and outlook of the labor tops can be seen in the ease with which they move to positions within the capitalist establishment itself. The UAW tops have been trumpeting the fact that Daimler gave them a seat on the board of directors following the merger with Chrysler. Two decades ago, then UAW chief Doug Fraser used his seat on Chrysler's board to help force through plant closings. His predecessor, Leonard Woodcock, was rewarded for his services by being appointed U.S. envoy to China by Democrat Jimmy Carter in 1977.

The allegiance of the labor bureaucracy, as well as a majority of the working class itself, to the Democratic Party is the main obstacle to successful class struggle against the capitalists in the U.S. As part of the fight for a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement, the Spartacist League is committed to the building of a revolutionary workers party, forged in political struggle against the class collaborationism of the union tops. Such a party must be based on the understanding that the workers can defend their interests and those of all the oppressed only through their mass mobilization in struggle, culminating in the creation of a ***workers government*** which expropriates the bourgeoisie and seizes the instruments of production.

For International Labor Solidarity!

GM's drive to intensify the exploitation of auto workers through "outsourcing" production and squeezing workers in its U.S. plants takes place in the context of intense competition, both among the Big Three and with rivals overseas, centrally in Japan. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union —which despite the rule of a corrupt, nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy was based on a planned economy in which capitalist exploitation had been eliminated—has led to sharpened rivalry between German, Japanese and American imperialism.

GM squeals for protection from "unfair" Japanese trade practices while simultaneously preaching the gospel of "free trade" as it builds plants in Thailand, Brazil, Mexico and other Third World countries. Since 1978, GM has built more than 50 parts plants just in Mexico—where auto workers earn as little as $1 per hour—making its Delphi subsidiary the largest private employer there. The export of capital to low-wage areas, where profit margins are greatest, is a fundamental feature of modern capitalism. At the same time, GM is an *American* corporation, reliant on the U.S. imperialist state to protect its property and enforce its dictates, which will not and cannot shift all its production overseas.

Joining their corporate masters in railing against "unfair" competition, the union tops ram through "productivity" schemes and givebacks with the lie that this will "save American jobs." While often buying into the union tops' protectionist line, many strikers on the Flint picket lines expressed sympathy with low-wage workers in other countries. In getting copies of the last issue of *Workers Vanguard*, with a front-page article on Indonesia, strikers were interested to learn that the brutal Suharto dictatorship came to power through an anti-Communist bloodbath which wiped out the most militant sectors of the proletariat. Some workers bitterly asked why the American union leadership was doing nothing to help organize superexploited workers in Mexico.

"Progressive" labor bureaucrats like AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney and UAW president Stephen Yokich may talk of the plight of Mexican workers. But this hypocritical posture is belied by their incessant appeals to the American rulers for protectionist measures *against* workers abroad. This is *counterposed* to the urgent need to unite workers across national borders. The same GM management which drives down wages and lays off workers in the U.S. also subjects workers in Mexico, Brazil and Thailand to grinding exploitation and slave-labor conditions.

The UAW tops have long acted to serve the interests of American imperialism at home and abroad. The social-democratic UAW leadership under Walter Reuther, congealed through the anti-Communist purges which drove militants out of the unions in the late 1940s and early '50s, fully embraced the Cold War crusade against the Soviet Union. Over the years, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy—through "labor" fronts like the AIFLD in Latin America and AALI in the Far East—acted in concert with the CIA to subvert Communist-led unions and buttress anti-labor dictatorships. Thus, the American union misleaders have helped ensure that U.S. "multinationals" like GM can freely engage in superexploitation of workers in Third World countries.

Protectionism serves to foment bigotry against Asian and Latin American workers. Following the imposition of the NAFTA "free trade" rape of neocolonial Mexico—which the AFL-CIO tops opposed purely as a threat to *American* jobs—the Teamsters bureaucracy organized a racist campaign to keep Mexican truckers out of the U.S. The misnamed UAW "Solidarity House" gang is no better. In the early 1980s, even as it greased the skids for mass layoffs, the UAW bureaucracy launched a vicious Japan-bashing campaign which included sledgehammer attacks on Toyotas and Datsuns. One of the victims of this climate of racist frenzy was Chinese American Vincent Chin, who was bludgeoned to death by a retired Chrysler foreman and his stepson as they screamed that it was because of people like Chin that they had lost their jobs.

Defeat Attacks on Labor, Minorities

The link between protectionism and anti-black and anti-immigrant racism was underlined by the recent KKK provocation in Jasper, Texas after the depraved lynching of James Byrd Jr. Trying to appeal to backward white workers,

For Open Political Debate in the Workers Movement!

Protest Rifondazione Comunista Gangsterism!

We publish below a translation of an open letter to members of the reformist Rifondazione Comunista issued by our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia.

MILANO, 28 June—Yesterday evening, a Rifondazione Comunista goon squad of twelve men brutally attacked three comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia, one of them a woman, outside RC's national *Liberazione* festa. The three comrades had just started selling the LTd'I newspaper, *Spartaco*, on a public sidewalk ***outside*** the festa when goons wearing RC badges attacked them yelling, "You have to get out of here!" The goons grabbed the female LTd'I comrade by the throat and arms, slapped another comrade and tried to push and shove our three comrades down the street in order to beat them up, out of sight of witnesses. The leader of the attack screamed at our woman comrade repeatedly, "I will kill you," "I will break your legs," "I can get you, even away from this festa."

Energetically, the LTd'I comrades verbally protested, drawing a crowd of onlookers who seemed shocked by such violence against a woman. Only this and the protest of two youth, whose only "weapons" were the Trotskyist newspapers in their hands, made the goon squad back off.

RC and its "left" tails are particularly uncomfortable because we tell the truth—and that is also the reason they use physical violence against us. Headlines in the last two issues of *Spartaco*, "For New October Revolutions" and "Smash the Austerity, Racism and Imperialism of the Ulivo/RC Government," particularly enraged them.

RC has now fully supported the Ulivo government for over two years. This Ulivo/RC bourgeois coalition has made deep cuts in pensions, health care and public school funding, while increasing funds for private Catholic schools. With the full support of RC, the government recently approved a measure to set up concentration camps and deport thousands of immigrants. RC also fully supported the infamous, anti-South Treu Agreement which imposes a lower wage scale in the South, institutes the "subcontracting" of workers and provides for more "flexible" working conditions, not covered by union contract. RC head, Fausto Bertinotti, hails the Pope of counterrevolution and states "The Church is our real ally." This imperialist government has also sent Italian troops to Albania for the first time since Mussolini, while whitewashing and covering up for the sadistic Italian military torturers in Somalia. Meanwhile, even official government statistics show a dramatic increase in poverty and in deaths from industrial "accidents" (industrial murder) which now average more than three a day.

The Ulivo/RC government coalition sends its police to attack striking workers at Fiat Pomigliano, unemployed workers in Naples and elsewhere, and anybody else who opposes their policies of "blood and tears." It is therefore not surprising that, while RC sends its goons to physically attack Trotskyist communists, it welcomes with open arms the government's infamous labor minister, Tiziano Treu, the social policy minister, Livia Turco, and a member of the Vatican-linked PPI (representing the health minister) giving them a platform at the *Liberazione* festa for their reactionary politics.

We of the LTd'I/ICL advocate the most open debate possible in the workers movement. We underline the fact that the increase in Stalinist violence by RC goes hand in hand with its role in the Ulivo/RC bourgeois governing coalition which has been managing Italian capitalism for over two years. RC carries out its criminal Stalinist attacks today for the same reason that the Stalinists carried out their anti-Trotskyist violence in the 1930s. They seek to eliminate revolutionary opposition to their criminal role in building the popular front, a coalition between workers and bourgeois parties which subordinates the working-class organizations to the bourgeoisie, repressing revolutionary struggle. The policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy led to the destruction of the October Revolution. Those same policies, pursued by RC in Italy today, are leading to defeat for the working class and the oppressed, not least women.

RC and Giovani Comunisti youth members: Stand up for your right to read whatever you want and talk to whomever you want. Don't let RC bureaucrats censor you or treat you like the PPI, RC's coalition partner, treats "heretics" against the church. We note that inevitably the seriousness of RC's attacks against us is proportional to the threat that we represent to them. There are many RC members or recent RC members who are deeply disgusted by the politics of RC. An example of this are the two letters of resignation from RC and applications for membership into the LTd'I of two ex-RC youth in Trani and Palermo, printed in *Spartaco* No. 52, April 1998. These youth show the way forward for the many others in RC who are very open to our politics of intransigent opposition to class collaboration and our genuine revolutionary propaganda. We turn to those in RC and GC who are disgusted by their party's management of Italian capitalism's austerity, "blood and tears" policies. We will not be silenced, but will seek to stop Stalinist thuggery through protest and exposure and by fighting to forge the genuine Bolshevik, Leninist-Trotskyist world party of socialist revolution. RC is no place for a communist. Break with the politics of class collaboration! Join the LTd'I/ICL!

Italy...

(continued from page 4)

spokesmen also promotes the illusion that the problem is with the particularly rightist character of the Prodi government—that a "more left-wing" bourgeois popular-front regime could serve the interests of the proletariat. In reality, ***any*** popular-front government is bourgeois and will be anti-worker, anti-woman and anti-immigrant.

Break with Popular-Front Politics! Build a Leninist Party!

The workers movement must be *completely* independent from the bourgeois state and has to be conscious of the fact that every gain won under capitalism remains partial and reversible in the absence of the complete revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie. This complete class independence and revolutionary consciousness can only be obtained through hard ***political*** struggle against the traitorous leaders of the workers movement, waged by a party armed with the program of Lenin and Trotsky and with the aim of splitting the working-class base of the reformist parties from the pro-capitalist leadership.

In recent years, militant syndicalism has re-emerged as a reaction to the betrayals of the PCI leadership and its descendants in the PDS and RC. The syndicalist program ties the workers to the losing perspective of "purely economic" struggle at the point of production, necessarily abandoning them to the policy of the popular front which it cannot combat and thus in the end embraces. For example, at a June 6 demonstration in Milan by the rank-and-file unions, which included the SLAI COBAS, the demonstration organizers didn't even consider a slight extension of the march route in order to link up with immigrants in the Meda district. The immigrants were protesting an attack by Northern League racists two days earlier which had left five immigrants injured.

In contrast, LTd'I comrades selling *Spartaco* at the two demonstrations stressed the vital need for workers' struggles to go beyond narrow economic demands and actively take up the defense of the most oppressed sectors of the population, particularly immigrants and women. The workers movement must champion democratic demands like "full citizenship rights for all immigrants," "stop deportations," "equal pay for equal work" and "free abortion on demand for all women, including minorities and immigrants." This is what's needed to overcome the bourgeoisie's attempts to sow divisions within the working class and society as a whole.

The Lega Trotskista d'Italia and the International Communist League are fighting to build a party that is able to link the defense of the immediate interests of the working class and defense of all the oppressed to the struggle for the proletarian seizure of state power.■

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one of these Klan vermin declared that corporations "should not be allowed to just shut their doors here, putting Americans out of a job" and railed that all immigration should be halted "until there are enough jobs to support our working force in America" (*New York Times*, 27 June).

The KKK has a long, bloody history of strikebreaking and terrorizing integrated union organizing efforts, serving to help keep the South an "open shop" preserve. Yet when the Klan marched last month in Ann Arbor, Michigan—less than an hour's drive from Detroit and Flint auto plants—the UAW leadership did not lift a finger to mobilize the multiracial union ranks to stop them. The Spartacist League calls for labor/minority mobilizations to stop Klan/Nazi terror. Many UAW members and local officials have joined with us in united-front mobilizations against the racist terrorists, from Detroit in 1979 to Springfield, Illinois in 1994.

The cause of labor can only go forward by championing the rights of blacks, immigrants and all the oppressed. Domestic and foreign auto makers have flocked to the "open shop" American South, paying barely a third of what unionized workers make. Yet any drive to unionize the South requires a head-on struggle against KKK racist terror. The last, feeble attempt to organize the South—a 1940s campaign obscenely called "Operation Dixie"—was wrecked by the labor bureaucracy's own racism, anti-Communism and their subordination to the Democrats, the party of slavery and Jim Crow segregation.

It is because of such treachery by the union misleaders that millions of workers throughout the U.S. make poverty-level wages or have been forced into slave-labor "workfare." Abetted by their labor lieutenants, the capitalist rulers have been free to wield the ax against social programs like welfare, public education, hospitals and schools, leading to the further deterioration of the predominantly black and Hispanic inner cities. Along with the collapse of the Soviet Union, these are key factors in the years-long bull market on Wall Street, as the bourgeoisie finds little in the way of resistance to its wage-gouging and union-busting.

It is necessary to mobilize the unions in struggle to oppose the rampant attacks on welfare, affirmative action and immigrant rights. Labor must demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants and fight for union control over hiring and training programs to combat discrimination against women and minority workers. Against speedup and unemployment, the unions must fight for jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no cut in pay.

The mobilization of the proletariat in pursuit of its own class interests requires a political struggle to break workers from the Democratic Party. The New Directions "opposition" in the UAW, which is hailed by the social-democratic Labor Notes outfit and other reformists, is no alternative to the Yokich leadership. In fact, New Directions supported Yokich in his bid for the union presidency and shares his pro-capitalist politics. New Directions carefully avoids any mention of the Democratic Party in its 1995 platform, while occasionally boosting the sham "Labor Party" of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers chief Tony Mazzocchi, whose only purpose is to steer workers fed up with Clinton back into the Democratic Party fold.

What is needed is a ***revolutionary leadership*** of the working class. UAW members must reappropriate the militant tactics—from plant occupations to solidarity strikes—which built the union. But even the most militant trade unionism cannot in itself prevent the inherent tendency of capitalism to immiserate the proletariat. Whether through mass unemployment or shifting production to low-wage, non-union areas, as long as the bourgeoisie holds power, it will find means to extract profits out of the hides of the workers.

The road to the emancipation of labor—and women, blacks and all the oppressed—lies in the struggle for socialist revolution to expropriate the capitalist class. The Spartacist League fights to forge a multiracial workers party to lead this struggle. As we wrote in "Unchain Labor's Power!":

> "When those who labor rule, the tremendous wealth of this society will be used to provide a decent life for the working people, the poor, blacks, immigrants, the young, the aged. The fight for black freedom will be realized in the overthrow of the rule of American capital. When the workers have the industrial wealth that is now being squeezed out of the working class for the profits of the bosses, we will begin to build a planned socialist economy on an international scale."■

WORKERS VANGUARD

"America First" Protectionism Is Poison to Class Struggle

Flint Strikes Shut Down GM

JUNE 29—Strikes by nearly 10,000 United Auto Workers (UAW) members at two General Motors plants in Flint, Michigan have forced the auto giant to virtually shut down production throughout the U.S., Canada and Mexico. What began as a localized walkout against the Flint Metal Center stamping plant on June 5, expanding six days later with a strike at the Flint East Delphi facility, has turned into the most crippling labor action against GM since a two-month national strike in 1970.

In its drive to isolate and defeat this strike, the company has threatened to cut off health insurance to over 160,000 laid-off workers and has moved to deprive them of unemployment benefits. But the strike remains solid—and solidly supported by auto workers around the country. As Local 651 members walked out of the Delphi plant on June 11, they were greeted by hundreds of GM and other workers from throughout the midwest chanting "UAW! UAW!" Such scenes have certainly unnerved the capitalist rulers, who thought union militancy was a thing of the past.

WV Photo

UAW Local 659 members picket Flint GM plant. Strike has won broad support from auto workers and other trade unionists throughout the country.

The impact of last year's victorious strike by Teamsters against UPS is evident. The UPS strike broke the pattern of crushing defeats for labor over the past two decades, which were ushered in by the destruction of the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981 and highlighted by the betrayal of UAW battles in the Illinois "war zone" against Caterpillar. The issues animating the GM strike go to the core of the attacks on labor over the past two decades: the intensification of exploitation through speedup and layoffs; the "outsourcing" of union jobs to low-wage, non-union plants; massive overtime forced on aging workers.

Many of the strikers have stressed that they are fighting not only to defend their own jobs and working conditions, but to ensure that there will be decent-paying jobs for their kids. The devastation of Detroit, the black proletarian center which once was the "Motor City," typifies the deindustrialization of the Midwest which has particularly ravaged the black population. Thrown out of the labor market altogether, wide layers of the ghetto poor are now being forced into union-busting, slave-labor "workfare" schemes.

When management provocatively removed stamping dies from the Metal Center plant over the Memorial Day weekend, outraged workers feared that the plant would soon be closed down. GM moved the dies to its operations in Canada, but this strikebreaking plan was foiled when the Canadian Auto Workers union refused to touch them. This is a concrete example of the sort of international solidarity action that is needed to fight the far-flung GM empire. But far from seeking to unite auto workers here with those at GM plants internationally—particularly in Mexico, where company operations have expanded enormously in recent years—the UAW bureaucracy peddles the poison of "America first" protectionism. In the name of "saving American jobs," the pro-capitalist UAW tops seek to line up workers in the U.S. behind the "national interests" of the American ruling class and ***against*** workers abroad.

As we wrote in "Unchain Labor's Power!" (*WV* No. 673, 5 September 1997) following the UPS strike:

> "Translating the widespread sentiment of victory in the UPS strike into an aroused and struggling labor movement—mobilized in defense of its own class interests and the interests of blacks, immigrants and all those at the bottom of this society—is at bottom a political question.... The fundamental starting point must be the understanding that this society is divided between two hostile classes: workers who are forced to sell their labor power in order to survive and the property-owning capitalist class to whom their labor power is sold. The interests of these two classes are irreconcilably counterposed."

Class Collaboration: Recipe for Defeat

In the last four years alone there have been 17 local strikes against GM, as auto workers wage a guerrilla war against the flight of jobs to non-union plants and against increasingly grueling conditions. These strikes have demonstrated the determination of GM workers and the continuing power of the UAW to hit at the strategic core of American industry. But these have essentially been rearguard actions. Since the late 1970s, the UAW bureaucracy has presided over a nearly ***50 percent*** decline in union membership. Massive layoffs and speedup have taken their toll on the GM workforce: the average age of workers at the Flint Metal Center is 48!

Solid as the current strikes are, the union leadership's actions persistently undermine them. Strikers on the Delphi

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Free Mumia! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Racist Cops Escalate Campaign for Jamal's Execution

In a sinister escalation of the campaign led by the Fraternal Order of Police calling for the execution of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, a full back page of the "Week in Review" section of the national edition of the *New York Times* (14 June) was taken up with an "advertisement" screaming for Jamal's death. The ad, which purported to review the "facts" of Jamal's case, followed a recent two-part "news" story on San Francisco's KGO-TV which similarly repeated out of whole cloth the lies of the cops and prosecutors who railroaded Jamal to death row in 1982 for a murder they knew he didn't commit (see "Free Mumia Now! ABC-TV Smear Job: Brief for the Prosecution," *WV* No. 691, 22 May).

The howls emanating from this chorus of death are in anticipation of a ruling by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, due at any time, on Jamal's appeal of his conviction and death sentence. Republican governor Tom Ridge has already vowed to sign a new death warrant should the court turn down the appeal.

While Jamal's lawyers pull every possible legal lever to win his freedom, the whole history of the system of American capitalist repression, not least Jamal's own case, shows that not one whit of justice can be expected from the bourgeois courts. It took an outpouring of protest and publicity the world over to win a stay of execution for Mumia in 1995. Today what is urgently needed is the mobilization of the social power of the multiracial working class to demand: Freedom ***now*** for Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!

Below we reprint a June 17 letter to the *New York Times* by Leonard Weinglass, lead attorney for Mumia Abu-Jamal, which the *Times* has not printed.

* * *

In a startling, and even disgraceful, effort to hasten and insure the execution of an innocent man whose substantial legal claims that he never received a fair

WV Photo

Mumia Abu-Jamal

trial are just now being reviewed by the highest court of Pennsylvania, a previously unknown group speaking for the Fraternal Order of Police, and apparently headed by a slain police officer's widow, took out a full-page, unsigned ad on the most prestigious page of the Sunday *New*

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 694

31 July 1998

Binding Arbitration: Strikebreaking Trap

Capitalist Rulers Rattled by GM Strike

For International Labor Solidarity, Not Chauvinist Protectionism!

JULY 28—As we go to press, a tentative agreement has been announced in the Flint, Michigan United Auto Workers (UAW) strike against General Motors. Workers will be voting on the proposed settlement beginning tomorrow. For seven weeks, 9,200 UAW members have virtually shut down the largest corporation in the world, which alone accounts for 1 percent of America's entire economic output. Yet on July 16, the treacherous UAW misleaders agreed to submit the question of the "legality" of the strike to binding arbitration, placing the fate of this crucial class battle in the hands of the class enemy—the capitalist courts.

GM, backed by Wall Street and all the agencies of the capitalist government, has long wanted to take the ax to a workforce that one bourgeois press agency called "the last bastion of the closed shop in America." Amid the intensified imperialist competition that has followed the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union in 1991-92, American bosses seek to restore the spectacular profit rates of capitalism's freebooting, non-union days. Standing in their way is the legacy of the 1937 Flint sit-down strikes, which more than six decades ago ignited an explosion of labor organizing that created the UAW and other mass industrial unions.

The current Flint strike has been both solid and popular, particularly with other auto workers who, like the strikers, have been worked half to death through speedup and forced overtime but who also labor in fear that their jobs will disappear tomorrow. As Flint workers walked the picket lines, GM parts workers in Indianapolis and Dayton also voted to strike, as did UAW members at the GM-Toyota NUMMI assembly plant in Fremont, California, whose contract expires on July 31. But most significant of all was the 96 percent strike authorization vote on July 19 at the Saturn assembly plant in Spring Hill, Tennessee.

Saturn was the only GM assembly plant in the U.S. to continue production during the Flint strike. Just four months before, workers had voted to maintain the Saturn contract, which has been lauded as a model of union-management "cooperation" by supposedly giving workers a say in production procedures. But management threats to slash jobs by vastly expanding the number of parts made outside the plant spurred workers

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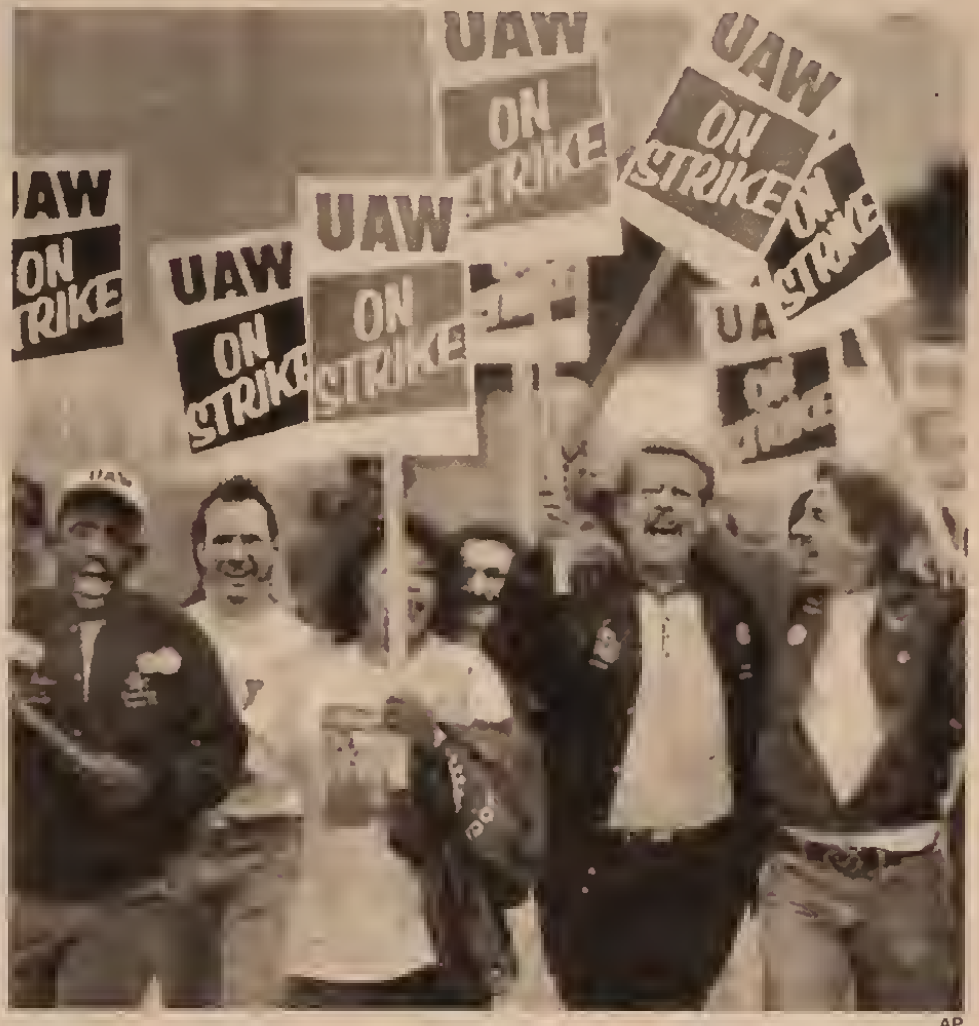

AP

Flint UAW Local 659 members walk off the job, June 5, beginning strike action which led to almost complete shutdown of GM factories in North America.

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Death Row Speedup Targets Minorities

On July 13, the state of Florida agreed to give $500,000 each to Freddie Pitts and Wilbert Lee to settle a wrongful conviction claim. The two black men were sentenced to die by an all-white jury for the killing of two white gas station attendants in 1963. Pitts and Lee were tried a second time after a white man confessed to the murders—and again convicted by an all-white jury. After nine years on death row, they were finally pardoned in 1975. And it was not until 35 years after their frame-up that they won some token compensation for the racist horror to which they had been subjected.

What is unusual about this case is simply that Freddie Pitts and Wilbert Lee lived to see their vindication. As a new study by the Death Penalty Information Center documents—certainly not for the first time—the death penalty is racist to the core. It is legal lynching, pure and simple. Blacks make up 42 percent of the country's nearly 3,400 death row inmates, well over three times their proportion of the population. And the states of the old Southern slavocracy account for an overwhelming percentage of those executed.

The focus of *The Death Penalty in Black and White: Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Decides* is far removed geographically from the Florida backwoods where Pitts and Lee had their near-fatal encounter with lynch law "justice." It is Philadelphia, Pennsylvania—not Philadelphia, Mississippi—which has become known as "the capital of capital punishment." Home to only 14 percent of Pennsylvania's population, Philadelphia accounts for the bulk of the state's death row inmates—and *83 percent* of them are black. In the period examined by the study, 1983-93, black defendants in Philadelphia were sentenced to death nearly *four times* more often than whites. In the years since, blacks received eight of the ten death sentences handed down in 1994, ten of ten in 1995, three of four in 1996.

Notably, the study omits *the* Philadelphia case which has come to exemplify the racist death penalty in this country: the frame-up of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. In the 16 years since he was falsely convicted for the December 1981 killing of a Philadelphia policeman, Mumia's fight for freedom has become the focus of opposition to the death penalty. The pro-death forces made this clear in their own chilling way

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Philly TWU Tops Scuttle SEPTA Strike

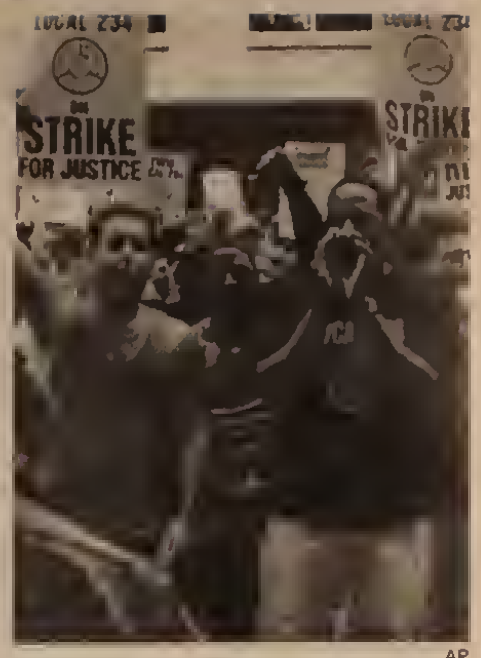
JULY 26—Manning picket lines for 40 days without strike benefits, 5,500 members of Philadelphia's Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 234 held strong against a full-scale union-busting offensive by the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA), only to be sold down the Delaware River by the union leadership. Although the strike was solid, shutting down public transit in the city, on July 10 the union tops reached an agreement that was like Christmas in July for the SEPTA bosses. Despite the "victory" claims of Local 234 president Steve Brookens, the union leadership largely capitulated to SEPTA, agreeing to solidify the union-busting two-tier system already in existence and give up union control over a whole range of work rules. Under the agreement, new workers are to be hired at 60 percent of the top rate and can only reach top pay after four years. As the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (14 July) smugly noted:

> "SEPTA got much of what it demanded back in March in terms of work rules, workers' comp reform, health-care savings, attendance and disciplinary policy, and a near-zero-tolerance drug and alcohol policy."

Saddled by a leadership which was incapable of leading this fight to victory, on July 24 union members voted 3 to 1 to accept the contract, *even though key contract terms have yet to be agreed upon*. Brookens & Co. never wanted this fight to begin with, and all along looked to the racist, anti-labor government to effect a "fair" settlement. Throughout the strike, union leaders announced they would call it off if SEPTA agreed to binding arbitration. Brookens got what he asked for, and on July 11 the picket lines came down. Key issues such as the hiring of part-time workers will be submitted to arbitration, i.e., placed in the hands of agents of the capitalist state charged with forcing through anti-union settlements. So beholden are the union misleaders to the bosses' government that the union doesn't even know what the terms submitted to arbitration will be, only that its members will be bound hand and foot.

Against this sell-out policy, we called for a class-struggle fight to win the strike, including extending the strike by picketing regional rail and bus lines which transport suburbanites to their office jobs in Center City. It also would have meant mobilizing the city's black and Hispanic poor, who are ready allies of labor in this city of grinding poverty, vicious segregation and brutal cop terror. To do so would have required defying the anti-union court injunctions and the notoriously racist Philly cops who were mobilized to enforce them.

But this is just what the TWU tops would not do, because they are thoroughly tied to the capitalist system and its anti-labor laws. Giving new meaning to the term "toothless leadership," Brookens boasted to the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (19 July) about his ploy of sitting at the negotiating table in a union T-shirt (leaving his $500 suits at home) and appearing on TV with his teeth missing in order to win "sympathy." While denouncing Democratic mayor and union-buster Ed Rendell, TWU officials preached reliance on "good" local Democrats and the Clinton administration. This was made clear through the role of "friend of labor" Democratic Congressman Robert Brady, whom the *Inquirer* (12 July) called the "pivotal intermediary" in reaching the rotten agreement.



AP

Philadelphia TWU rally. Strike shut down city transit for nearly six weeks before sellout by union tops.

As we wrote in *WV* No. 693 (3 July):

> "There must be a political fight inside the labor movement against its misleaders, whose strategy of reliance on capitalist politicians and the capitalist courts is a sure road to defeat. To mobilize labor's social power, not only in its own interests but on behalf of all those oppressed, requires the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party committed to ending racist capitalist rule through socialist revolution." ●

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Anti-Colonial Struggle and Socialist Revolution

Championing the emancipation of peoples subjugated under the yoke of imperialism is critical in developing revolutionary socialist consciousness among workers in the U.S. and other capitalist powers. Writing on the eve of World War II, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky underlined the crucial importance of forging a revolutionary international party to link the struggles of the oppressed colonial and semicolonial masses to the fight for socialist revolution, particularly in the imperialist centers. Pointing to the role of pro-capitalist labor "leaders" like the AFL's William Green and John L. Lewis of the CIO, Trotsky stressed that in the U.S. such a party can only be built through sharp political struggle against the chauvinist trade-union bureaucracy.

A year sooner or later, the question will be presented in a very acute form: Who is master on this continent? The imperialists of the United States or the working masses who people all the nations of America?

This question, by its very essence, can only be resolved by an open conflict of forces, that is to say by revolution, or more exactly, a series of revolutions. In those struggles against imperialism will participate, on the one hand, the American proletariat, in the interests of its own defense; and on the other hand, the Latin American peoples, who are struggling for their emancipation, and who *precisely for that reason* will support the struggle of the American proletariat.

It can be clearly deduced from what has been said that we far from recommend to the Latin American people that they passively await the revolution in the United States or that the North American workers fold their arms until the Latin American peoples' moment of victory arrives. He who waits passively gets nothing. It is necessary to continue the struggle without interruption, to extend and deepen it, in harmony with the actually existing historical conditions. But at the same time, one must comprehend the reciprocal relation between the two principal currents of the contemporary struggle against imperialism. By merging at a certain stage, definite triumph can be assured.

Naturally, this doesn't mean to say that Lewis and Green will become outstanding advocates of the Socialist Federation of the American continent. No, they will remain in the camp of imperialism until the very end. It also will not mean that the *whole* proletariat will learn to see that in the liberation of the Latin American peoples lies its own emancipation. Nor will the entire Latin American people comprehend that a community of interests exists between them and the American working class. But the very fact that a parallel struggle goes on will signify that an objective alliance exists between them; perhaps not a formal alliance, but, indeed, a very active one. The sooner the American proletarian *vanguard* in North, Central, and South America understands the necessity for a closer revolutionary collaboration in the struggle against the common enemy, the more tangible and fruitful that alliance will be. To clarify, illustrate, and organize that struggle—herein lies one of the most important tasks of the Fourth International.

—Leon Trotsky, "Ignorance Is Not a Revolutionary Instrument" (30 January 1939)

Drop All Charges Against Ann Arbor Anti-Klan Protesters!

The following protest letter was sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to Washtenaw County, Michigan prosecutor Brian Mackie on July 28. The PDC has sent a contribution of $200 for the legal defense of the anti-Klan protesters and encourages WV *readers to send contributions earmarked "Anti-Klan Defendants" to United for Equality and Affirmative Action, P.O. Box 24462, Kensington Station, Detroit, MI 48224.*

The Partisan Defense Committee condemns the arrests and sinister witchhunt of participants in an anti-KKK protest on May 9, organized by the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC) and Anti-Racist Action. Many of them face up to ten years in prison for the "crime" of protesting racist genocide. We demand that all charges against the anti-Klan protesters be dropped!

Two months after some 500 outraged demonstrators turned out to protest the KKK on May 9, your office has unleashed a chilling dragnet, attempting to round up all those targeted from photos and videotapes of the demonstration. More ominous is your threat to post the pictures on the city's Web page and print them in law enforcement journals, a setup for random cop harassment and worse.

The State of Michigan has been carrying out a crusade against those who protest race terror. Being the first state to end welfare, Michigan has simultaneously devoted tremendous resources to protect those who wish to murder the black population as they are driven further into immiseration. The horrifying lynching of James Byrd in Jasper, Texas illustrates the Klan's program for blacks.

Part and parcel of the state's campaign against those who "step out of line" is their determination to exact revenge on all who dare to protest the fascist scum. We recall how Ann Arbor's racist city cops rioted against anti-Klan demonstrators in 1996.

Among those facing frame-up charges today are NWROC leaders Shanta Driver and Jessica Curtin. This blatant political witchhunt is clearly aimed at squelching the right to protest racist genocide. Hands off NWROC and Anti-Racist Action!

Sincerely,
Cheri Mitchell, for the
Partisan Defense Committee

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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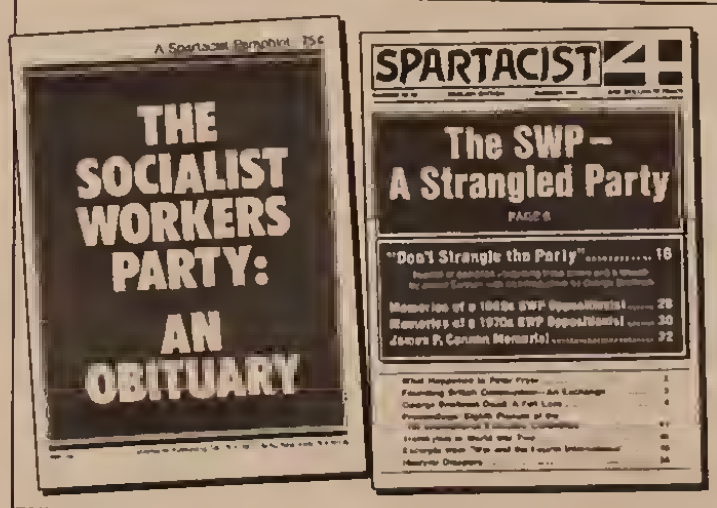
The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth International).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is July 28.

No. 694 **31 July 1998**



Spartacist pamphlet, 1984
$.75 (24 pages)

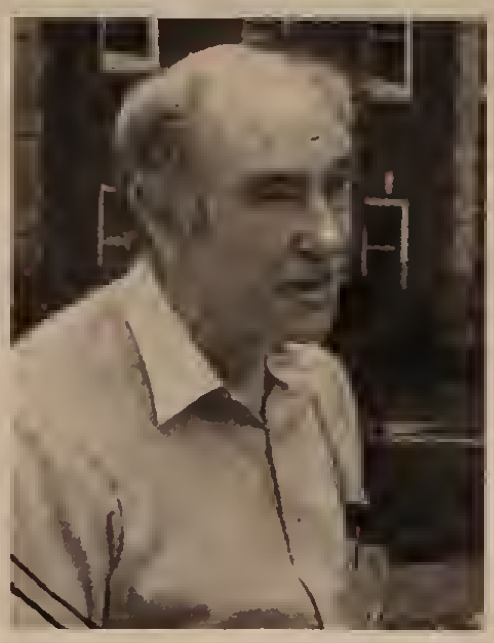
Spartacist (English-Edition), No. 38-39 Summer 1986
$1 (56 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Pub. Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

In Memory of Frank Lovell

Frank Lovell, a leading trade unionist of the revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of the late 1930s, '40s and '50s, died of a heart attack in New York on May 1. He was 84 years old. A member of the SWP at its founding in 1938, longtime member of the party's National Committee and leader of its Detroit branch in the 1950s, Frank remained active in the SWP after it abandoned a revolutionary perspective in the early 1960s. Frank and his wife of many years, Sarah, were among the veteran party members expelled by the Jack Barnes leadership in 1983 after Barnes renounced Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, bringing the SWP's theoretical views into consonance with its (by then) thoroughly reformist practice.

At the time of his death, Frank was an active member of the editorial board of the *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* (*BIDOM*), the journal which he initiated for the "Fourth Internationalist Tendency" after his expulsion from the SWP. *BIDOM* continues the political orientation of the SWP of the 1970s, combining a nostalgic claim to Trotskyist heritage with uncritical enthusing for Fidel Castro, support to black nationalism, and an abject tailing of "progressive" labor fakers like Ron Carey of the Teamsters. Throughout Lovell's trade-union work, in the SWP and afterward in *BIDOM*, he defended a strategy of blocs and maneuvers with elements of the trade-union bureaucracy as more effective than the Spartacist League's programmatic intransigence, which he considered "sectarian."



1913-1998

WV Photo

Frank provided periodic assistance to archival projects of the Prometheus Research Library (PRL), library and archive of the Central Committee of the SL/U.S. We publish below a letter of condolence sent by the PRL's archivist to Frank's family, comrades and friends. Accompanying the letter is a historical document from the PRL collection pertaining to Frank's history as a revolutionist: a 1938 letter by then-SWP leader Max Shachtman asking Frank to move to New York City. Lovell had joined the Workers Party (as the Trotskyists were then called) in 1935 in California; shortly afterward, he began to sail as a member of the Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP). He was among the first of the younger party members sent into the union movement during the working-class upsurge that built the industrial unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The Trotskyists concentrated their maritime forces in the SUP and the Marine Firemen's union on the West Coast and, on the East Coast in their affiliate, the Seafarers' International Union—all non-CIO unions which engaged in often bitter struggle with the CIO-affiliated National Maritime Union (NMU). Centered on the Eastern seaboard, the NMU was founded in 1937 and had a membership which was heavily black and influenced by the Stalinist Communist Party (CP).

Shachtman's letter asks Lovell to lead the party's fledgling work in the NMU, noting that the Trotskyist paper, then called the *Socialist Appeal*, was covering the internal situation in the union but that the Political Committee (PC) was unhappy with the personnel in the fraction. Frank did spend substantial time in New York in 1938-39, as he recounted in his memoir of SWP leader James P. Cannon (see *James P. Cannon As We Knew Him*, Pathfinder Press [1976]). But Trotskyist work in the NMU did not then get off the ground. Lovell himself remained a member of the SUP, returning to California by 1940.

The SWP's bloc with the SUP leadership led by Harry Lundberg, a militant syndicalist but virulent racist and anti-Communist, undercut the Trotskyists' ability to appeal to the Stalinist-influenced workers in the NMU, as Dick Fraser, another veteran of the SWP's maritime work, later detailed in "A Letter to American Trotskyists: Too Little, Too Late" (originally published in *Revolutionary Age* in 1974, reprinted in "In Memoriam: Richard S. Fraser—An Appreciation and Selection of His Work," *Prometheus Research Series* No. 3 [August 1990]). The intense battle between the Trotskyists and Stalinists for influence in the maritime unions was reflected in a 1946-47 exchange of pamphlets—the SWP replied to Herb Tank's *Communists on the Waterfront* with Art Preis's *Stalinists on the Waterfront*. Tank, a particularly vicious Stalinist hack, wrote *Inside Job! The Story of Trotskyite Intrigue in the Labor Movement* around the same time.

Frank Lovell's cothinkers in the *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* are planning a September 20 memorial meeting at New York University's Tamiment Library.

* * *

8 June 1998

To the family, friends and comrades of Frank Lovell,

I share your sorrow at Frank's passing. He was a warm man, a good-hearted man who stood out among the remaining veterans of the American Trotskyist movement of the 1930s-1950s in the value he put on documenting the history of American communism. Despite the wide political gulf that separates the Spartacist League from the veteran SWPers expelled by Jack Barnes in the early 1980s, Frank never let sectarian political concerns stand in the way of archival collaboration. He was always ready to answer an historical question or lend me some assistance in my work for the Prometheus Research Library. I will miss his resonant voice and his direct participant's knowledge of the history of the revolutionary Socialist Workers Party.

I first got to know Frank when we began working with George Breitman in 1984, compiling the material that became our book, *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism, Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-28*. Frank brought George to the library on one occasion, and was present at a few of our working meetings. After George's death, when we put aside work on the book for a period in order to concentrate on our *Prometheus Research Series*, Frank was not happy. Every time I saw him at a political event in the city he would demand, "Where's that Cannon book? Why aren't you working on it?" He was overjoyed when I told him we had resumed work on the project in the early 1990s. He provided biographical details for some of the early American Trotskyists listed in the book glossary. In his review of the book for *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, Frank noted (with a predictable peevish nod to our considerable political differences), "The editors have produced a thoroughly professional work and deserve to be congratulated and forgiven their political lapses."

I had some sharp political fights with Frank, but he always remained ready to exchange information and the occasional political document. After I moved to California most of our contact was by phone, but I would visit him when in New York. He was always willing to plumb his memory banks when we had questions; occasionally the PRL could reciprocate when Frank called for a fact or date. He identified for us a number of the party names used in SWP Political Committee minutes of the 1950s; most recently he assisted when I had a few factual questions for the *Workers Vanguard* obituary for Myra Tanner Weiss. He was careful to underline to me that he had had big political disagreements with Myra too.

I found in the PRL collection the attached letter from Max Shachtman to Frank, written 2 August 1938, on the eve of the founding of the Socialist Workers Party. The letter urgently requests that Frank come to New York to take charge of the party's fraction in the National Maritime Union. I sent a copy of this letter to Frank in 1996, and thought you might appreciate seeing a copy now. It was as a leader of Trotskyist work in the maritime unions that Frank won his spurs as a leader of the SWP. In the collection of the Prometheus Research Library you can find Frank's book *Maritime: A Historical Sketch, A Workers' Program*, published in 1943 under the name of Frederick J. Lang and dedicated to the party seamen who lost their lives in WW II (some of them on the deadly Murmansk run, attempting to carry Trotskyist propaganda to the workers of Stalin's Russia). Frank's contributions to the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party will be built upon by future generations of revolutionary Trotskyists.

Fratemally,
Emily Turnbull
For the Prometheus Research Library

* * *

August 2, 1938

Los Angeles, Califomia
Dear Frank,

I don't know just what your plans are at the present time, but I consider it of urgent importance that you orient immediately to coming to New York to establish a base here.

I will not go into great detail at the present moment on the general situation in the union on the east coast, you have probably read about it in the press, and will read even more in the current issue of the Appeal. Suffice it to say that the Stalinists have never been so hard pressed in the NMU as at the present time.

The danger at the present time is not so much the Stalinists as the weakness and confusion of the generally inchoate rank and file movement which has, no doubt, some excellent elements and, as you probably know, some very reactionary elements. If ever the indispensability of clear headed Bolshevik leadership in a union fight stood out, it is now in the NMU fight.

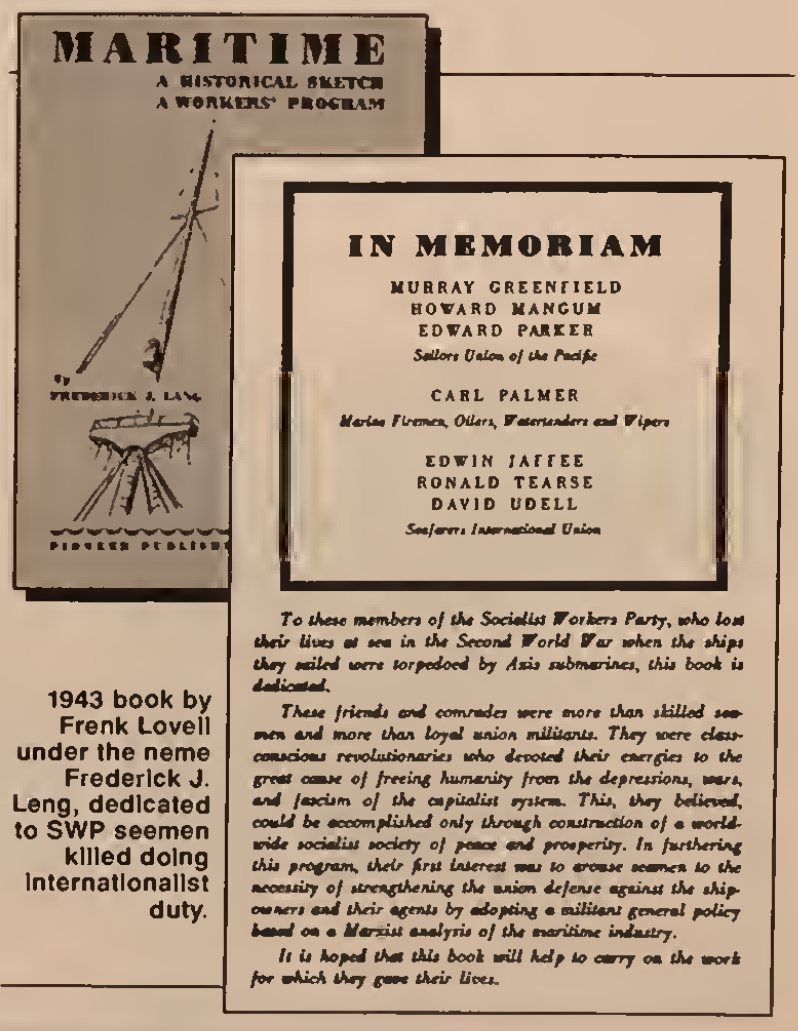
Unfortunately, the fraction in New York is rather weak and doesn't have experienced comrades at its head, and that is precisely what I am very much worried about. The situation is somewhat aggravated by the presence of Comrades DeLong and Potter who, with all their good qualities combine what I fear are such bad qualities as effectively nullify any contribution which thcy can make to our work. By, what seems to me, a bit of cliquc work, DeLong has been elected secretary of the fraction. The situation is not only unpleasant but may even dissipate all the great possibilities that we havc before us now on the east coast.

While the P.C. expressed itself against the replacement of O'Brien as temporary secretary by DeLong, it nevertheless decided not to over-rule the fraction in what appears to be a minor organizational question. However, we do not want the situation to rest on its present basis. It is therefore imperative, in my opinion, that you come here as quickly as possible to take hold and take a leading and decisive part in the maritime fraction and in the maritime work generally.

I do not write you at great length because I take it for granted that you will understand the importance of the situation and the necessity for your presence here at the earliest possible date.

With best personal wishes,

Fratemally,
Max Shachtman



1943 book by Frenk Lovell under the neme Frederick J. Leng, dedicated to SWP seemen killed doing Internationalist duty.

Japan Economic Crisis Shakes Imperialist Order

We conclude below the article begun in *WV* No. 693 (3 July). Since this article was written, elections to the upper house of the Japanese parliament in mid-July saw a massive protest vote against the long-ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). In the aftermath, Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto resigned and LDP barons are jockeying to determine his successor. The London *Economist* (18 July), house organ of international financiers, worries that the political disarray in Tokyo "makes it less likely that Japan's economy is going to recover quickly, and less likely that radical reforms will be attempted." What the *Economist* means by "radical reforms" are mass layoffs and the all-round intensification in the exploitation of labor.

Part Two

The big winners in the election were the bourgeois-liberal Democratic Party—which adopted a "pro-labor" posture by including among its candidates officials of the country's main trade-union federation, Rengo—and the reformist Communist Party (JCP). With 15 percent of the vote, the JCP emerged as the third largest party in the upper house after the LDP and the Democrats. With the working class facing falling real wages and the end of so-called "lifetime employment," the increased vote for the JCP was a clear expression of discontent over the current state of Japanese capitalism. But the ex-Stalinists turned social democrats of the JCP seek to demonstrate that they would be reliable political agents for Mitsui, Mitsubishi & Co. Thus the JCP's post-election statement denounced the LDP in nationalist terms as a "yes man for America" and offered to join any coalition that would work to overcome the LDP's majority in the lower house of parliament. The JCP's role in such a coalition would be to police the working class on behalf of Japanese capital.

The economic crisis has shaken Japanese working people out of political complacency. What is needed is a genuine communist party to fight for a workers government to expropriate the capitalist exploiters—the only road to a better future for the toiling masses in Japan and throughout East Asia.

* * *

Japanese capitalism, as it was reconstructed during and immediately after the American occupation, had a financial structure very different from the United States and also significantly different from Japan in the prewar era. Most important was the absolute predominance of banks in providing corporate finance and the corresponding insignificance of the stock and bond market.

The breakup of the *zaibatsu* which had controlled 70 percent of Japanese industrial output directly and over 90 percent indirectly was one of the supposed liberal reforms of the American occupation authorities. Family members and many top managers of the *zaibatsu* were barred from executive positions, and the key holding companies (*honsha*) around which they were organized dissolved, their stock holdings sold to the general public. However, *zaibatsu* dissolution turned out to be illusory, as the top managers of Mitsubishi, Mitsui, et al. continued to meet informally and semi-legally throughout the occupation period. More importantly, American "trust-busting" exempted the major banks whose role in the financial system was therefore greatly strengthened. Over the next few years, the *zaibatsu* would be reconstructed around their respective "main banks" under the new label of *keiritsu*.

Between the mid-1950s and late 1970s, bank loans accounted for 83 percent of long-term external finance of Japanese corporations, the issue of stocks and bonds only 17 percent. The comparable figures for U.S. corporations in the same period are 32 percent for bank loans and 68 percent through the issuance of new securities. Furthermore, the allocation of money-capital by the banks was governed by *keiritsu* loyalties, not simply profit maximization. Thus the Fuji Bank might lend at 5 percent interest to a Fuji family firm like Hitachi but refuse a loan to an unrelated firm willing to pay 7 percent. In turn, the Bank of Japan discriminated in how it rationed money among the *keiritsu* banks. Those *keiritsu* with better connections to central bank bureaucrats got more money. This system, which was later adopted by East Asian "tigers" like South Korea and Indonesia, is now described and denounced as "crony capitalism."

The financial glue binding together the firms of a given *keiritsu* was the mutual holding of each other's corporate stock. Until the late 1980s, such share cross-holdings amounted to 70 percent of the total value of the Tokyo stock exchange. These financial arrangements rendered impossible either hostile corporate takeovers or successful stockholder revolts against the incumbent management.

The *keiritsu*/main bank system underlay both Japan's past success and its present economic distress. The top management of the big industrial corporations have had sufficient freedom of action and access to money-capital via their main banks to expand production and marketing at rates of profits which would have been unacceptably low to American, British or German stockholders. Even after profit rates declined sharply in the late 1970s, Japanese corporations continued to borrow huge sums to finance investment projects on which the returns were marginal or even negative. Hence Japanese banks are now saddled with hundreds of billions of dollars of "non-performing" loans.

A key institution of *keiritsu* capitalism in its "golden age" was the tight control exercised by the Ministry of Finance over foreign exchange transactions, which was not substantially relaxed until 1980. This proved to be a highly effective mechanism for protecting industries favored by the government against foreign imports. Foreign exchange restrictions also prevented the export of money-capital from Japan, compelling Japanese bankers to finance Japanese firms only. Such policies led Western journalists to speak of "Japan, Inc."—a term first coined by a Japanese businessman. But the notion that Japanese bankers, industrialists and government officials functioned like an efficient hierarchy of a single large corporation was superficial and impressionistic, as the speculative mania of the bubble economy was to show.

Kyodo

Depositors making a run on Osaka bank. Economic crisis has caused widespread insecurity among Japanese working people.

End of the Japanese "Economic Miracle"

During the 1960s and '70s both Western and Japanese bourgeois ideologues regarded Japanese capitalism as unique, and uniquely successful. But by the end of that period, the average rate of profit in Japan had declined from 23 percent to 15 percent. Why? Conditions of relatively full employment pushed up wage rates. Additionally, during the 1970s the Japanese economy was hit with the oil *shokku*, the tenfold increase in the price of petroleum manipulated by the American-dominated Seven Sisters cartel and its main client, the Saudi monarchy. Japanese exports were also facing rising trade barriers in North America and West Europe, as Washington strong-armed Tokyo into accepting "voluntary export restraints" first on steel and then autos. However, the most fundamental factor was that analyzed by Marx in *Capital*: ***the tendency of the rate of profit to fall***, resulting from the fact that the rapid accumulation of capital stock (e.g., new machinery, advanced technology) is not offset by a corresponding increase in surplus value, i.e., profit.

Keiritsu capitalism responded to falling rates of profit in Japan by shifting manufacturing operations abroad, aiming to secure lower labor costs in Southeast Asia or to get under import barriers in the U.S. Direct Japanese investment in East Asia rose from $400 million a year in the early 1970s to $2.7 billion a year in the late 1980s. And in the decade following 1980, Japanese banks increased their share of international lending from 4 percent to 40 percent! In short, an increasing portion of the surplus value appropriated by Japanese capital was being generated outside Japan.

This development could not but have a profound effect on the internal structure and dynamics of Japanese capitalism. As Japan became a major exporter of capital, the *keiritsu* bosses no longer benefited from government control over foreign exchange transactions. Matsushita Electric and Sony did not want Finance Ministry bureaucrats interfering with their investment strategies in Southeast Asia. The Sumitomo Bank and Nomura Securities did not want these bureaucrats obstructing their maneuvers on Wall

U.S. Escalates Japan-Bashing—The Main Enemy Is at Home!

Davis/Time

Homeless living in Tokyo train station. Looming mass unemployment threatens to condemn more Japanese to desperate poverty.

Street and in the City of London. And if Sumitomo and Nomura were going to operate on a large scale in New York, London and Frankfurt, Morgan Stanley and the Deutsche Bank demanded that they be allowed to operate freely in Tokyo. Grudgingly and gradually, the Japanese government acceded to these demands. Following the relaxation of foreign exchange controls in 1980 Japanese financial markets became increasingly freewheeling, not to say anarchic.

Again, the impetus for major changes in the Japanese economy came from Wall Street and Washington. In the 1980s, the U.S. federal debt mushroomed as the Reagan administration undertook a massive war buildup against the Soviet Union. The "strong dollar" had been killing American manufacturing exports while generating huge balance-of-trade deficits, especially with Japan. In the 1985 Plaza Agreement, the Reagan gang pressured Tokyo into almost doubling the price of the yen in terms of the dollar. The following year Japan suffered the "high yen recession," as it was called, marked by a fall in industrial production.

Hoping to reduce the cost of production and thereby offset the higher exchange rate of the yen in world markets, the Bank of Japan slashed its discount rate—the interest charged member banks—to encourage large-scale borrowing and investment in new technologies. However, in the "deregulated" Japanese capital markets of the 1980s the government's ultra-cheap money policy set off and fueled one of the great speculative manias in the history of capitalism. No longer centrally dependent on their main banks, big industrial corporations issued a mass of new stocks and bonds. The banks started lending to small businessmen and other individuals, who used these low-interest funds to speculate in stocks and real estate.

By the late 1980s, everyone and his uncle were playing the Tokyo stock market. The biggest individual player was

Reuters

Gerry del Rosario

Above: Protest by Japanese nurses, 1993, during collapse of "bubble economy." Below: September 1997 hospital workers rally in Philippine capital of Manila. Asian economic crisis has deepened worker unrest in region.

Financial Times

Japanese soldiers sent to Cambodia in 1992 UN "peacekeeping" mission, as Tokyo reasserts its military presence in Southeast Asia.

former bar girl Nui Onoue, known as the "Dark Lady of Osaka." Owning only two restaurants in that city's red-light district, she nonetheless managed to borrow *$1.7 billion* from the elite Industrial Bank of Japan: "To further her image as a stock market guru Onoue would hold midnight rites at one of the restaurants with the apparent aim of seeking financial advice from the divinities" (Christopher Wood, *The Bubble Economy*).

The stock market boom was comparable to those in other countries at other times. But what happened to the price of land was out of this world. At one point, the officially assessed value of metropolitan Tokyo real estate exceeded that of the United States and Canada combined. While absurd on the face of it, such hyperinflated land values had a big effect in the real world. Land was the main collateral for hundreds of billions of dollars in bank loans used by Japanese businessmen to buy everything from U.S. Treasury bills to Hawaii hotels and golf courses and factories in Thailand.

When the central bank moved to cool the speculative fever by raising interest rates in 1989, the entire financial house of cards collapsed. Land prices nose-dived by 70 percent, wiping out much of the banking system's capital. The country entered its worst recession in four decades, industrial production falling more than 10 percent in 1992-93. And it was not just an accident that the end of the Japanese "economic miracle" ushered in by the Korean War coincided with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union.

The bubble economy did not simply entail the inflation of corporate stock and real estate prices. There was also a real boom in capital spending encouraged by soaring share prices and rock-bottom interest rates. The *keiritsu* bosses believed that they could sell whatever they produced in foreign markets at a rate of profit which would at least cover their greatly expanded debt service. In the late 1980s, Toyota, Nissan and Honda spent $4 billion to build four of the most technologically efficient auto assembly plants in the world; a few years later, not one was operating at full capacity. Japan's industrial capacity had reached the point where its maximum output could be sold only by reducing prices so much that it would wipe out any profit as well as bankrupt Japan's major competitors. And U.S. imperialism was now pushing a much tougher line on trade.

Japanese industrial firms were thus saddled with productive capacity which they could not utilize profitably, financed by loans which they could not repay. Meanwhile, Japan's bankers sought salvation in their still booming East Asian neighbors, as outstanding loans to Hong Kong tycoons, the South Korean *chaebol* conglomerates, Indonesia's Suharto clan and the like ballooned from $40 billion in 1994 to at least $265 billion last year. These loans also served as a form of export subsidy, as East Asia displaced North America as Japan's main foreign market for manufactured goods.

To protect its enormous economic stake in the region, Japanese imperialism has been reasserting its military presence. During the Cold War, the Japanese ruling class acceded to American military dominance while pursuing its own interests and ambitions primarily through economic means. But in the post-Soviet world, the defense and furtherance of Japanese imperialism's economic interests requires its own military power. Thus is the road being paved to an inter-imperialist World War III, one which would be fought with nuclear weapons from the outset.

Japanese Workers Under the Gun

The present-day image of Japan as an ultra-modern, gadget-laden society has obscured the country's relative backwardness in the period following World War II. In 1947, 51 percent of the economically active population was engaged in agriculture and only 28 percent in manufacturing, mining and transport. During the 1950s, Japanese industrialists were able to draw millions of poor peasant youth from the countryside to work in the new or expanded factories. Wage rates thus remained at Asian levels. As late as 1960 the average manufacturing wage in Japan was *15 percent below* that in the Philippines, a country whose industrial production and overall economic productivity was a small fraction of Japan's.

After the surplus rural population was absorbed in the 1960s, wages increased appreciably but still lagged behind increases in productivity. A major factor here was the proliferation of company unions, particularly after the leftist-led unions were broken by the American occupation authorities and Japanese capitalists in the late 1940s and early '50s. Indeed, Japan is the only advanced capitalist country in which company unionism predominates in the core industrial sector. Independent unions tied to the Socialist Party (now the Social Democratic Party) continued to exist in the public sector, for example, among workers in the state-owned (now privatized) railway system. In the private sector, however, such unions were subverted largely through the promise of "lifetime employment"—permanent job security and wage increases based on seniority.

In the 1960s and '70s, when the profits of corporate Japan were booming, workers in large corporations could look forward to steady increases in income over the course of their lives. Now most people think "lifetime employment" is a thing of the past. Average wage increases granted during this year's annual "spring offensive" of contract negotiations were the lowest ever, amounting to a *drop* in real wages for the first time in four years. Official unemployment figures have climbed to new records from one month to the next, with the actual unemployment level much higher even than the 4.1 percent rate released for April. Among those aged 15 to 24, unemployment tops 9 percent. The desperation masked by these cold statistics is reflected in a report in the *Asahi Evening News* (12 June) that half of the more than 24,400 people who committed suicide last year were unemployed. In an article headlined "Jobless Rate Sparks Anger, Fear," one computer engineer told the *Japan Times* (30 May): "Japan as a country is fast losing the loyalty of its people by throwing them to the dogs."

The system of "lifetime employment" has nothing to do with the mythology that Japan's ruling elite embraces patriarchal attitudes inherited from the country's relatively recent feudal past. Japanese industrialists have historically been just as willing as their Western counterparts to lay off workers during economic downturns. In any case, "lifetime employment" benefits probably no more than a quarter of the industrial labor force—permanent workers in the big corporations, who are

continued on page 9

Kyodo

Bloody police attack on Tokyo May Day demonstration, 1952. U.S.-backed "red purge" laid the basis for docile company unionism in Japanese industry.

GM Strike...

(continued from page 1)

to look to the very strike weapon that the "innovative" work rules there were designed to prevent. Fearing that Saturn's institutionalized "labor peace" was about to be shattered, UAW vice president Richard Shoemaker announced a day after the strike vote that there would be no walkout for at least 30 days.

Binding Arbitration: A Deadly Trap for Labor

A real fight for jobs—the most basic right of the working class—leads directly to challenging the entire capitalist system which is based on the exploitation of labor and in which the inherent drive for profit will always be realized through trying to drive down wages, increase productivity and cut back the workforce through layoffs. The main obstacle to waging such a fight is the "Solidarity House" bureaucracy which preaches the lie of a "partnership" between labor and capital. The UAW International's ready agreement to binding arbitration stems from their view that the agencies of the capitalist class enemy—the government, the courts, the cops—are potential "allies" of labor.

Far from being "neutral," binding arbitration is a crucial weapon of the exploiters, devised to weaken and demobilize the power of labor. Its whole purpose is to *stop* strikes from happening or to end them. In the case of Flint, a ruling favorable to the company could have resulted not only in liquidating the Flint strike but also outlawing the local strikes that the union has relied on for several years to resist GM's frenzy of job cuts. It might also have meant more than $1 billion in punitive damages against the union. Any labor leadership worthy of the name would be prepared to ***rip up*** any such strikebreaking order. But such class-struggle methods are the last thing the UAW tops have in mind. In fact, the UAW bureaucracy clearly used the threat of a negative arbitration ruling as a club against the strikers, to get them to accept whatever deal they got from GM.

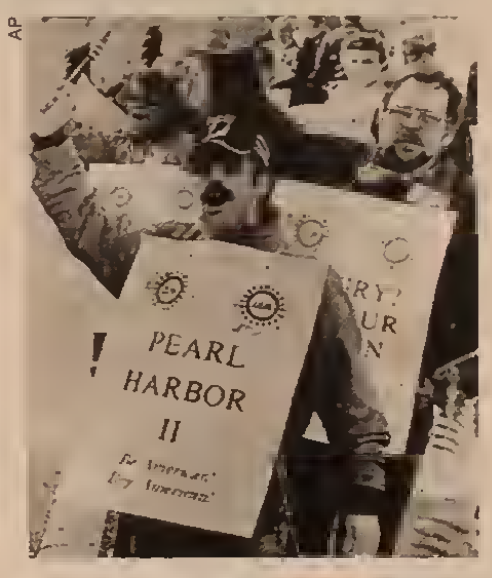
Wayne State University

1937 auto sit-down strikers defy anti-union injunction. Labor upsurge of 1930s gave rise to UAW and other CIO industrial unions.

Arbitration—which was instituted to gut the very purpose of unions, i.e., the defense of the workers against the bosses—has become the heart and soul of the labor bureaucracy's pro-capitalist legalism. This class collaborationism, which ties the interests of labor to their exploiters, has long been rooted in the allegiance of the trade-union bureaucrats to the Democratic Party, which they falsely portray as a "lesser evil." A key prop of this alliance is the labor tops' chauvinist protectionism, binding unions to support for American corporations against their rivals overseas. Labor's ties to the Democrats—which no less than the Republicans is a capitalist party—have retarded American workers' understanding of their class interests and lie behind the string of defeats suffered by the unions.

Urgently needed today are the class-struggle methods that built the UAW in the 1930s: defiance of anti-union injunctions, sit-down strikes, refusal to handle struck products, mass picket lines that no one dares cross. But such weapons will only be wielded by a leadership which recognizes that the interests of workers and bosses are ***irreconcilably counterposed***, which instead of embracing the "national interests" of the U.S. ruling class calls for joint labor action across national boundaries. What is needed is a class-struggle leadership of labor—a multiracial revolutionary workers party—built through sharp political struggle against the class-collaborationist labor bureaucracy.

Almeida/NY Times



AP

Left: AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney with Vice President Al Gore at 1996 Democratic convention. Right: GM workers rally in New Jersey. Pro-capitalist union tops embrace anti-labor Democratic Party, foment chauvinist protectionism.

"In Bed with GM"

The effect of last summer's solid UPS strike—which reversed a 17-year string of major defeats for organized labor and encouraged workers across the country to consider that strikes *can* be won—can be seen in the GM strike and other recent outbreaks of labor struggle, from the Philadelphia transit strike to the 40,000-strong protest by New York construction workers against non-union labor. As columnist Juan Gonzalez noted in a New York *Daily News* (2 July) piece titled "Labor Movement Reborn, and Strong":

> "A growing number of workers are fed up with having their jobs downsized, cut back, contracted out, shipped overseas or otherwise redefined almost always for less pay.
>
> "They are tired of hearing news reports about the greatest economic boom and lowest unemployment in decades, when the fact is a third of American workers have been reduced to part timers, many with no health insurance.
>
> "They are fed up enough to fight back, and the low unemployment rate has made them secure enough to stand up to their bosses."

Flint has become a flash point in the struggle for decent jobs. America's low unemployment statistics mask a decades-long deterioration of living standards by a glut of part-time employment that doesn't provide a stitch of medical coverage or even pay enough to cover child-care. In the past 20 years, Flint has lost a third of its population as the number of union workers at GM plummeted from 77,000 to a mere 33,000—and the hemorrhage continues. With the Buick City complex in Flint already slated to close in 1999, many strikers have wondered whether they will still have jobs in a couple of years, whatever the outcome of the current strike.

Preceding the latest showdown have been half a dozen local GM strikes since the 1996 national contract was signed. While these were essentially rearguard struggles, they nevertheless gave evidence of the increased leverage of workers at parts plants due to the "just in time" production system, which is premised on there being no strikes. A key reason that the GM strike has shaken Wall Street is that it is precisely in such times of low unemployment when strike waves and widespread union organizing campaigns have broken out. It was in response to the demands of Wall Street investors to reach "a finality to these ridiculous annual strikes" (*Detroit News*, 5 July) that GM sued the UAW, setting up the arbitration proceedings.

GM's appetite to crush the union has been whetted by the gamut of concessions the UAW has given companies like Ford, where the average vehicle assembly time is now under 23 hours compared to over 30 hours at GM. And the American capitalists are all too aware of UAW president Stephen Yokich's abject surrender of the Caterpillar strike in 1995 after a bloody 18-month battle in the heart of the Illinois "war zone," which was a signal defeat for the UAW and all of labor.

Even as the Flint strike bled GM, the UAW tops sapped the union's power, encouraging Delphi strikers to take turns ***crossing their own picket lines*** so that GM could make enough parts to honor its contracts with Harley-Davidson and other companies. "They're sleeping in bed with GM, Inc.," said one Delphi striker. "GM's still making money." When the company two days ago returned dies they had stealthily removed from the Flint Metal Fabrication plant in late May, sparking the walkout there, the UAW tops directed strikers to cross the picket lines to set up the dies so that GM wouldn't lose a minute of production once the strike was settled! Further demoralizing strikers, the UAW's $725 million strike fund dribbled out a paltry $150 per week to the strikers. Several pickets told *WV* they didn't know what the UAW needed to do, they just knew it had to be different from what Yokich & Co. had in mind.

Encouraged by such treachery, GM stiffened its resolve to go for the kill. While the strike cost the company more than $2 billion, GM still has more than $9 billion cash in its war chest. Prior to the settlement, GM threatened to reopen at least ten assembly plants by October, replacing strike-bound production with parts purchased from non-union suppliers. Buckling to this pressure, the UAW tops have reportedly promised as part of the settlement that there will be no strike at the Dayton parts plant.

Unions and Reds

The treacherous legalism and class collaborationism of the UAW tops stands in stark contrast to the hard-fought class battles that built the union. Virtually every Flint and Detroit auto worker learned about the great sit-down strike of 1937 when they were children. In February of that year, Judge Paul V. Gadola, the father of the judge presiding over the current Flint strike, declared the sitdown a violation of GM's sacred property rights and set a deadline for the evacuation of the two Fisher Body plants occupied by the strikers. The workers immediately wired the Michigan governor that they intended to stay in the plants even in the face of police, sheriffs and militia. On the day of the deadline, thousands of unionists from throughout the region flooded the streets around the plants, preventing the sheriff from enforcing the eviction order. The strikers refused to budge even when the National Guard took over the city a few days later. That's when GM caved in and recognized the union.

At the height of the sitdown, the governor appealed to John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers president and head of the Congress of Industrial Organizations

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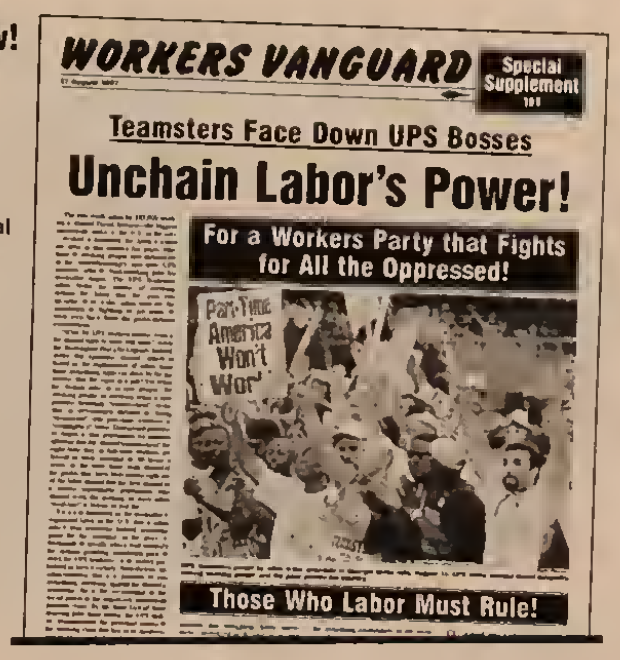
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(CIO), to intervene to end the strike. Lewis answered, "I did not ask these men to sit-down." "This was the literal truth," wrote Art Preis in *Labor's Giant Step* (1964):

> "The GM strike was an uprising of the rank and file. Its leadership was mainly local young workers with radical social and political views. A short while later most of them...became more and more adapted to capitalist politics and class collaboration. But for that one brief period of the historic GM sit-down, they were still close enough to the militant ranks, still sufficiently imbued with socialist ideas and the traditions of the old IWW [Industrial Workers of the World] and socialist fighters, to rise with the masses."

Socialist militants—reds—played a leading role in many of the decisive battles that forged the CIO. Many of them, like Flint sitdown leader Robert Travis, supported the Stalinist Communist Party (CP). But while such organizers stood out as union activists compared to the conservative, racist AFL craft union officialdom which openly recognized the capitalists' "right" to make profits, the CP was a bulwark of the CIO's alliance with Democratic president Franklin D. Roosevelt through which the CIO bureaucracy congealed. It would further solidify under Democratic Party stalwart Walter Reuther through the purge of Communists and other militants as the anti-Soviet Cold War unfolded. Since then, the UAW and AFL-CIO tops have acted as loyal guard dogs for the American capitalists, hailing their predatory imperialist wars, helping

Pegged Production Standards: "This is hell!"

The centerpiece of the attempts by the capitalist press to portray the Flint strikers as overpaid loafers is the issue of "pegged production standards." GM claims its entire North American operation is being held hostage by selfish Metal Fabrication workers who go home after five or so hours of work but get paid for eight. This is a blatant campaign to blame Flint workers for the antiquated and decrepit conditions of a plant that Wall Street sees as an albatross around the company's neck.

One *WV* reader who recently retired from the Metal Fab plant told us that the issue really concerns only a couple of dozen workers in the cradle operation. Here, "pods" of up to ten workers dressed in stifling head-to-toe protective gear do the final welds on engine cradles. "This is hell," the retiree told us. "It looks like hell—and it is—to work in that cradle operation." Few high-seniority workers willingly stay in this sweltering, toxic and physically demanding department.

For decades, GM has relied on pegged production rates that set a standard number of engine cradles to be done in an eight-hour shift, holding out the possibility for workers to knock off early once the standard is met. This incentive "allows GM to get *higher* production" out of the workers, said the former Metal Fab worker. He added that it has imposed a form of self-discipline on employees, inducing them to work like slaves while taking unnecessary risks in handling the red-hot welding wires, which can inflict severe wounds. Essentially, he said, "it's piecework," except that the incentive is increased leisure time instead of higher pay.

As Karl Marx wrote in *Capital* (Volume I) in 1867: "Given piece-wage, it is naturally the personal interest of the labourer to strain his labour-power as intensely as possible; this enables the capitalist to raise more easily the normal degree of intensity of labour." The formation of mass industrial unions in the 1930s by and large drove piecework out of American industry, but it has survived in modified form here and there. The real crime in all this is that the misleaders of the UAW are complicit in the return to 19th-century modes of exploitation, through their acquiescence to the auto bosses' "productivity" schemes.

Archambault/U.S. News & World Report

GM workers in Matamoros, Mexico make poverty-level wages. UAW bureaucracy's "America First" tirades poison the struggle for internationalist labor solidarity.

smash Communist-led unions overseas and policing the unions at home. Thus the union bureaucracy has contributed mightily to the expansion of U.S. power abroad, enabling GM and other American corporations to savagely exploit workers in the colonial and semicolonial world.

The program of revolutionary Marxism was represented by the Trotskyists, who put forward a class-struggle perspective in leading a series of Teamsters strikes in Minneapolis in 1934 and 1936 that briefly put the city's streets under working-class control. Citywide general strikes in Minneapolis, San Francisco and Toledo in 1934 paved the way for the big CIO organizing drives of the late '30s. The victorious Minneapolis strikes in particular launched the recruitment campaign that transformed the International Brotherhood of Teamsters from an insular craft organization into a powerful industrial union.

Unlike the Stalinists in the late 1920s and early '30s and the Wobblies (IWW), who put forward the idea of building separate "red" unions, the presence of the Trotskyists in the existing unions—however reactionary they may have been—meant they were able to wage a class-struggle fight for leadership. The ability of a small group of revolutionaries to make such a major impact in the labor movement was based on two essential ideas drawn from the arsenal of Marxism. The first is that the class interests of workers and capitalists are fundamentally counterposed, that the proletariat can only defend its interests by maintaining complete independence from the political agents of the ruling class, first and foremost the Democratic Party. The second is that the state is not neutral in this class struggle but is a central executive body of the capitalist class, enforcing its rule through the courts, police, prisons and armed forces. Trotskyists, therefore, oppose all government intervention in the labor movement. As Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon wrote regarding the Minneapolis strikes:

> "The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups. They put no reliance whatever in Roosevelt's Labor Board; they weren't fooled by any idea that Roosevelt, the liberal 'friend of labor' president, was going to help the truck drivers in Minneapolis win a few cents more an hour....
> "Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity."
>
> —James P. Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944)

Yesterday, it was announced that former Teamsters president Ron Carey was expelled from the union for life by a "review board" which included the former head of the FBI and the CIA! Carey himself was installed as the union president through the intervention of the capitalist state. Here is the bitter fruit of looking to institutions and agencies of capital to serve labor's cause.

Lessons of PATCO

During the strike, Yokich & Co.'s sacrifice of the simplest measures of trade-union solidarity on the altar of class "partnership" was a source of widespread anger among Flint UAW members. Many were furious that work continued in plants like Saturn even after the workers overwhelmingly voted to strike. "The UAW has to call everyone out nationwide," one Metal Fab worker told *WV*. Over and over again, strikers referred to the lesson of the 1981 PATCO air traffic controllers strike, when the Machinists, led by social-democrat William Winpisinger, and other AFL-CIO unions sat by with folded arms while Republican president Reagan smashed the union and fired the entire workforce. This defeat paved the way for almost two decades of union-busting and intensified exploitation throughout the United States, continuing today under Democratic president Clinton.

At the time, *WV* called on the Machinists, Teamsters and other airline industry unions to *shut down the airports*. This basic act of labor solidarity would have found enthusiastic support among union ranks eager to deal Reagan a defeat. But only a labor leadership willing to confront the bosses' state would have been able to carry it out. It was the U.S. government that employed the air traffic controllers and declared their strike illegal. It was federal agents who dragged away strike leaders in shackles. U.S. military personnel manned the country's air traffic towers until a new workforce could be hired and trained. And this strikebreaking scenario was a bipartisan affair, initially worked out under Reagan's Democratic predecessor, Jimmy Carter.

The lessons of the PATCO strike fully apply to the battle against GM. At bottom, the question is one of the leadership of the labor movement. The sellouts at Solidarity House run to the bosses' courts and so-called "neutral" arbitrators because their role is to ensure a stable workforce for American capital, to guarantee that its workings will not be "upset" by class struggle. These bureaucrats are, in the words of early American socialist leader Daniel De Leon, the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class," whose purpose is to police the unions for the exploiters. The power of labor is inherent in its numbers, its organization and particularly the fact that it makes the wheels of profit turn. But to bring that power to bear in struggle against the capitalists' war on labor, the poor, blacks, immigrants requires a revolutionary leadership of the labor movement imbued with the understanding that for there to be any fundamental change, those who labor must rule.

American Chauvinism: Anti-Labor Tool

A key part of the union bureaucracy's work in disciplining the ranks of labor and squelching social struggle is its function as an ideological champion of U.S. imperialism, diverting the class anger of American workers into the chauvinist embrace of their own exploiters. The UAW misleaders in particular have long been purveyors of the social-democratic program of a tripartite alliance between the government (in its Democratic Party face), the bosses and labor. The effect of this class-collaborationist "American dream"—which is premised on strengthening U.S. imperialism against its rivals—is to erect a wall between the American proletariat and its class brothers and sisters abroad, while furthering the political subordination of the American working class to the bourgeoisie.

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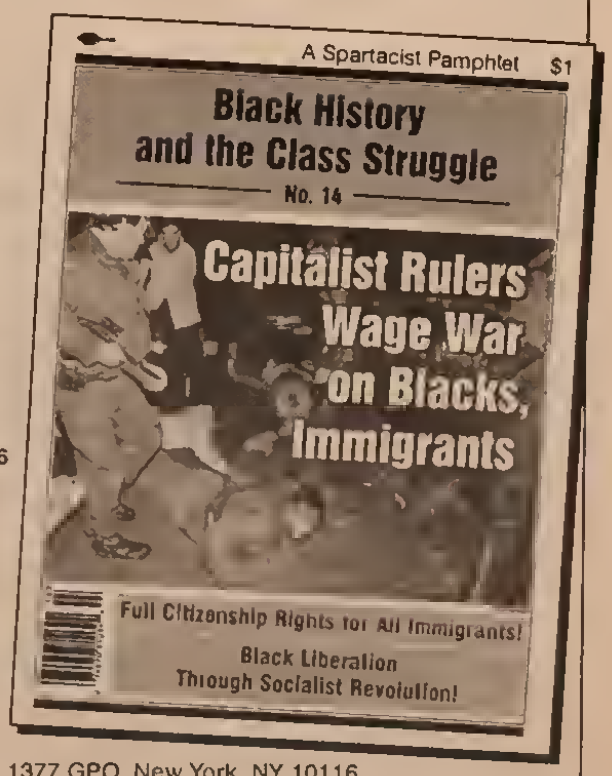

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GM Strike...

(continued from page 7)

UAW rallies in Flint on July 20 were used not to organize mass picketing or to spread the strike but to build support for Democrats like gubernatorial candidate Larry Owen, who railed about Mexican factories "taking jobs out of Michigan." Workers at a V-8 engine plant in Romulus, Michigan tried to block the use of non-GM parts at the plant when their stock of Delphi parts ran out, not because they were scab parts but because they were Japanese-made. In an address to the UAW convention in June, AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney argued that it was "wrong for corporations like GM to disinvest in communities like Flint by shipping American jobs overseas and selling American families down the river" (*Today's UAW*, 25 June).

It is not capitalist investment overseas—an inherent feature of imperialism that has been going on for as long as there has been an auto industry—that is the cause of the devastation of Flint, Detroit and other Rust Bowl cities. Scores of non-union auto parts plants have sprung up throughout the U.S., especially in the "right to work" South. UAW leaders don't complain about those because that would focus attention on their unwillingness to launch a struggle to unionize these facilities, which would require above all a break with the Democratic Party.

The UAW tops' racist campaign against Asian and Hispanic workers is also a dagger aimed at black workers in the U.S. Ever since the 1898 Spanish-American War—whereby the U.S. took over Spain's colonial empire, including Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, and emerged as a world imperialist power—national-chauvinist hatreds have inevitably been accompanied by anti-black racism. Black workers, historically the "last hired and first fired," for whom union-won seniority rights provided a partial shield against discrimination, have been hardest hit by the mass layoffs in auto. It's no accident that Ku Klux Klan and militia groups have been particularly active in regions where the outcry against Mexicans and Asians supposedly "stealing jobs" has been the most strident. The race-terrorist Klan is a dire threat to integrated industrial unions like the UAW, which must take the lead in mobilizing mass labor/black action to crush these vermin!

Solidarity House hypocritically intones that GM employees in Mexico are paid a pittance and face slave-labor conditions on the job. Such conditions are proliferating in the "free trade" factory zones which have been given a tremendous impetus by the NAFTA agreement, which we have called the U.S. "free trade" rape of Mexico. But Sweeney's AFL-CIO opposes NAFTA on the grounds of "America First" chauvinism, while Yokich calls for GM to invest "at home" and return Mexican workers to unemployed immiseration in the rural hellholes and urban slums. Foreign capital investment has created a powerful proletariat in countries like Mexico and Indonesia. A key to unlocking that power is the fight to organize these workers into unions pursuing class-struggle means to combat the hideous exploitation meted out by corporate giants like GM and Nike.

WV Photo

Outside Flint Metal Center, July 20, as UAW entered seventh week of GM strike.

Opposed to such a perspective, as part of their protectionist program the UAW tops call for labor to have a say in how and where GM invests its capital, either through contractual agreement or government legislation. What a pipe dream! The capitalists are hardly going to allow the workers to have a say in where they invest their profits. For workers to determine where the wealth that is generated by their labor will be deployed requires a fight for a workers government that will expropriate the bourgeoisie and, on the basis of an international planned economy, construct an egalitarian socialist society. When those who labor rule, the fruits of their labor will be applied to providing a decent life for working people, the poor, blacks, immigrants, the young and the aged.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Predictably, the bulk of the U.S. reformist left, who act as pressure groups on the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, has capitulated to the UAW leaders' pro-imperialist chauvinism. Particularly egregious have been the CP's *People's Weekly World* (*PWW*) and the fake-Trotskyist *Socialist Action*, which routinely retail the UAW chiefs' condemnations of GM's "America Last" strategy. Nowhere in its coverage of the UAW strike does *Socialist Action* (July 1998) even mention the word protectionism, much less condemn the UAW leaders' flag-waving chauvinism. Rather, they quote approvingly the UAW's Shoemaker as he rails that "GM's claim that they are committed to investing in their American operations is belied by their actions.... The end result is the same: America and communities like Flint come last in their strategy."

The *PWW* (27 June) even uncritically quoted one UAW official's repulsive anti-Japanese comment that GM "pulled a Pearl Harbor on us." This is not surprising, coming from an organization that expelled its Japanese American members during World War II and enthusiastically supported U.S. imperialism's A-bombing of Hiroshima in 1945. An article on the auto strikes by CP vice chairman Sam Webb in *PWW* (20 June) raises the protectionist call for "controls on outsourcing" while calling for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and for "public ownership of the auto industry under democratic control." Such calls for "public ownership" spread the illusion that this supposedly "democratic" capitalist system can be pressured to serve the interests of working people. In those cases where the capitalists do resort to such measures, it is normally to bail out money-losing concerns (chiefly through working people's tax money).

Similarly, the CP twists the crucial call for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay into a reformist scheme to solve unemployment under capitalism. This demand, raised in the 1938 Transitional Program drafted by Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky for the Fourth International, was aimed at raising workers' consciousness that the solution to their most pressing needs lay in the fight for socialist revolution. As Trotsky explained:

> "If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. 'Realizability' or 'unrealizability' is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery."

One fake-left outfit appearing in Flint, the "Socialist Equality Party" (SEP) of David North, claims to oppose the "economic nationalism and American chauvinism" of Solidarity House. But the SEP's posture as opponents of the UAW tops' sellout policies is a complete fraud. The Northites are opposed to the defense of the unions as a whole, which they have written off as not being any kind of working-class organizations. During the 1994-95 Caterpillar strike, this view led them to *defend scabbing* with the argument that "the large majority of the 4,000 union members who returned to work were not right-wing or anti-union. Most simply recognized the futility of the policies being pursued by the UAW" (*International Workers Bulletin*, 18 December 1995).

The struggle against the auto bosses cries out for the intervention of a multiracial revolutionary workers party committed not to reforming the capitalist profit system but to destroying it root and branch. Such a party can only be forged through breaking the sway over the workers of the trade-union bureaucracy—capitalism's political police in the labor movement. As opposed to the class collaborationism put forward by reformists and labor bureaucrats alike, the Spartacist League advances a Marxist program—for a socialist revolution to establish a planned economy based on production for human need.■

No. 53, Summer 1997, $1.50 (56 pages) **No. 54, Spring 1998, $2** (48 pages)

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Japan Crisis...

(continued from page 5)

overwhelmingly male and ethnic Japanese. Even these workers increasingly face transfer to subsidiary firms, resulting in loss of seniority and pay cuts.

Small subcontractors who service the big corporations do not offer their employees permanent job security. Yet such companies account for a majority of the total workforce; some *40,000 firms* exist primarily as parts suppliers for Toyota alone. Moreover, big and small firms alike hire large numbers of part-timers, predominantly women, who have no job security whatsoever. By the early 1990s, part-time women workers in the corporate sector accounted for 12 percent of the labor force. The large number of workers of Chinese or Korean descent have little in the way of job protection and face rampant discrimination, as do the low-caste Burakumin and indigenous ethnic minorities like the Ainu. The past decade has also seen an influx of low-paid immigrant workers from Southeast Asia, the Near East and Africa.

While the ruling class still fears that laying off workers en masse could lead to social unrest, since 1993 some sections of the bourgeoisie have argued for the outright elimination of "lifetime employment." The Diet is almost certain to pass a series of amendments to the 1947 Labor Law which would permit overtime without pay and raise the legal limit on forced overtime, allow for more non-union contract workers and cut holidays. Japan is already infamous for *karoshi* (death from overwork): at the Hiroshima Dentetsu railway firm, which has increased annual working hours by 700, five workers recently died as a result of overwork—either from ill health or suicide—in the space of seven months.

The impact of the escalating attacks on labor is seen in the fact that Rengo, largest of the country's three union federations, organized a May Day march through the streets of Tokyo, joined by some 100,000 workers, for the first time in seven years. The right-wing Social Democratic Party is on the verge of disintegration, particularly after its latest ill-fated foray into an LDP coalition government, with its electoral base largely turning to the JCP. But while the JCP-led Zenroren union federation has vowed to fight against the new labor laws "with all its energy," these reformists abjure the class struggle in favor of "building public opinion and collecting signatures against the government moves" (*Zenroren Newsletter*, February 1998). Reflecting the racist and chauvinist outlook of the ruling class, neither Zenroren nor the other two labor federations has fought to organize workers of Korean and Chinese descent or the super-exploited immigrant workers from Asia and Africa into common unions with Japanese workers.

As the Spartacist Group Japan stresses, mobilizing the unions to combat unemployment requires a fight to organize the unorganized, to break the ban on minority and immigrant workers in basic industry and to win full citizenship rights for all immigrants: "The fight for a shorter work week is literally a life and death question and is directly linked to breaking the racist 'Japanese only' employment system in major industry. Women, minority and immigrant laborers are a key ally in the fight for a shorter work week" (*Spartacist* [Japan] No. 12, May 1992).

Barred from leadership positions in industry, government and education, many women thought the "bubble economy" of the 1980s would bring real economic and social change. Women now make up over 40 percent of the workforce, but they earn only 63 percent of what their male coworkers make. And with the economy mired in one of the deepest recessions this century, many are being driven out of the workplace and back to the grinding drudgery of household slavery. In an article titled "Economic Recession Targets Women Workers" (*Spartacist* [Japan] No. 16, April 1994), the SGJ wrote:

> "Liberating women from family servitude and the myriad of feudal traditions tied to the continued existence of the *tenno* [emperor] system is a central task of a Japanese workers republic. We call for the integration of women into the industrial work force; for equal pay for equal work; for free, 24-hour child care centers; for free, safe birth control, including the pill and abortion."

For Workers Revolution!

In its whimpering against "capitalism without rules," the JCP expresses its commitment to maintaining the capitalist system, which is necessarily based on the exploitation of the working class at home and imperialist domination and expansion abroad. After breaking its ties to Moscow in the 1960s, the JCP openly supported the revanchist demand of Japanese imperialism for the return of the Kurile Islands which had been taken over by the Soviet Red Army at the end of World War II. Today, with *keiritsu* capitalism buffeted by the deepening economic crisis throughout East Asia, the Communist Party has gained a certain support and credibility as the main left opposition. But these one-time Stalinists turned social democrats will only utilize that enhanced support and credibility to betray the interests of the working class and all the oppressed.

It is necessary to forge an internationalist vanguard party based on the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky. The current economic crisis underscores the ties binding Japan with the rest of East Asia. From boycotts of imperialist arms shipments during the Vietnam War of the 1960s and '70s to recent protests in solidarity with the sacked dockers of Liverpool, England, Japanese workers have demonstrated a capacity for internationalist actions. At the same time, capitalist Japan is a deeply racist and chauvinist society. A revolutionary workers party can only be forged through uncompromising political struggle against the reformist misleaders of the labor movement, who push poisonous economic protectionism and nationalism.

The proletariat of Japan, objectively the most powerful in the region, must reach out to the worker and peasant masses throughout East Asia. In particular, this means breaking with the virulent anti-Korean chauvinism of the Japanese bourgeoisie and rallying around the call for unconditional military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state against capitalist attack and internal counterrevolution. This call applies with even greater force to Stalinist China. Capitalist restoration in China would be a tremendous blow not only to the workers and rural masses of that country but to the proletariat of South Korea and Japan. For its part, the Chinese proletariat must repudiate the Beijing bureaucracy's anti-Japanese nationalism, which today serves as a cover for closer ties to U.S. imperialism. The political revolution needed to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucrats driving toward capitalist counterrevolution must be rooted in proletarian internationalism.

Concrete solidarity actions by the Japanese working class can provide key material support to workers in Thailand, Indonesia and elsewhere who go on strike against Japanese and U.S. "multinationals." At the same time, the struggles of these relatively more combative sections of the Asian proletariat can be a powerful impetus to class struggle on the Japanese archipelago. The South Korean proletariat has a history of militant struggle against the *chaebol* bourgeoisie and its police state. More recently, the workers of Indonesia and Thailand have engaged in sharp combat against the starvation conditions which have meant fabulous profits for Japanese, German and U.S. industrialists and financiers and their local henchmen. And in the Philippines, a strike against Philippine Airlines (PAL) in early June led to a union-busting attack under the auspices of the U.S.-backed "democratic" regime there, as 600 striking pilots were fired after defying a back-to-work order. Now, after layoffs of 5,000 more PAL workers, a strike of ground crew workers is again crippling the airline.

The fight for a socialist Asia is today posed with stark urgency. A workers republic in Japan would serve as a motor force for the socialist development of the semicolonial peoples of the region and as a beacon for proletarian revolution in other imperialist countries. Only the proletariat, leading all oppressed sections of society—women, Burakumin, Koreans and other non-Japanese workers and their families—can put an end to exploitation by the Mitsubishis and Mitsuis. As the SGJ wrote in an article denouncing the resurgence of Japanese nationalism (*Spartacist* [Japan] No. 18, May 1997):

> "It is only the overthrow of this racist, arrogant bourgeoisie by the proletariat led by a revolutionary party that will avenge the unspeakable crimes against the *ianfu* ['comfort women'] and the countless other victims of Japanese imperialism."

To achieve this historic task, the working class must be broken from the reformist agents of the *keiritsu* capitalists and won to a revolutionary Marxist leadership. This is the perspective of the SGJ, as part of the fight to reforge a Trotskyist Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution.

The collapse of the East Asian economic boom, the resulting turmoil in world financial markets, the increasing tendencies toward protectionism and regional economic blocs prefigure a new interimperialist war for the division of markets and spheres of exploitation. Today, more than ever, the struggle for socialist revolution against a nuclear-armed capitalism is the struggle for the survival of civilization. ■

Ethan Hoffman

Hostesses bow to businessman at typical Tokyo reception, symbolizing gross male chauvinism and cult of corporate loyalty in Japan.

AP Photos

Left: Japan's Burakumin "untouchables" are confined to segregated, decrepit neighborhoods. Right: Former Korean "comfort women," forced to work in brothels for Japanese troops during World War II, protest in Seoul against visit of Japan's prime minister, 1992.

Spartacist Japan

January 1997: Yokohama waterfront workers demonstrate solidarity with victimized Liverpool dock workers. Spartacist Group Japan sign calls for international labor action in defense of Liverpool dockers.

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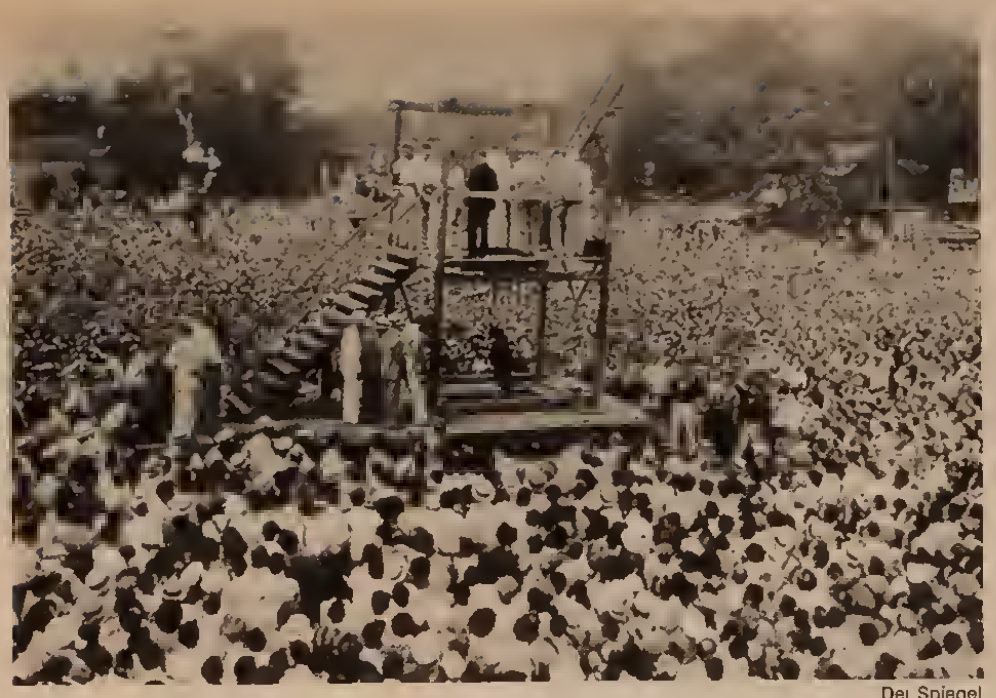

Del Spiegel

Gerald Davis

Death penalty is racist legal lynching. Left: 20,000 watch hanging of black man in Kentucky, 1936. Right: Huntsville, Texas death row. Texas machinery of death slaughtered 37 last year, half the national total of executions.

Death Row...

(continued from page 1)

barely a week after the new study was released, when the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) organized a full-page "advertisement" in the *New York Times* (14 June) screaming for Jamal's death (see "Racist Cops Escalate Campaign for Jamal's Execution," *WV* No. 693, 3 July).

The Death Penalty Information Center and other liberals seek to pressure Congress to pass a "Racial Justice Act" mandating that the death penalty somehow be applied in a "non-racial" manner in this profoundly racist country—an utterly utopian proposal. Those liberals, like Jesse Jackson, who oppose the death penalty proffer "alternatives" like life imprisonment without parole—a living death. Tailing the liberals, reformist "socialists" like the Workers World Party, the International Socialist Organization and Socialist Action have variously focused on demanding a "new trial" for Mumia or argue against the death penalty from the bourgeois standpoint of how much it costs or whether or not it is "effective" in "fighting crime."

As Marxists, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee oppose the death penalty in principle. We do not accord to the state the right to decide who shall live and who shall die. This barbaric legacy of medieval torture is today part and parcel of the machinery of repression wielded by the capitalist rulers against workers and minorities. That the U.S. remains one of the few industrialized capitalist countries to retain the death penalty is directly related to the black oppression which is a bedrock of American capitalism. The origins of capital punishment in the U.S. are rooted in the Southern slave system which was smashed by the Civil War. But the struggle for black equality was soon thereafter betrayed by the Northern capitalists, leading to a century of formal Jim Crow segregation in the South and the continuing subjugation of the black masses as an oppressed race-color caste.

To fulfill the promise of black freedom and smash the racist apparatus of capitalist injustice requires a proletarian revolution led by a multiracial Leninist vanguard party. This is the task to which the Spartacist League is committed. And it is this understanding which has informed the campaign waged for more than ten years by the SL and PDC to mobilize the social power of the integrated labor movement in united-front actions in Mumia's defense and for abolition of the racist death penalty.

No Justice in the Capitalist Courts

Mumia did not and *cannot* get a fair trial under this capitalist "justice" system. His 1982 "trial" was a travesty. The prosecution coerced "witnesses" to lie on the stand and withheld crucial evidence from the defense. Mumia was denied the right to defend himself and saddled with a court-appointed attorney who was allowed a total of $150 to interview witnesses and later admitted his own incompetency. Blacks were systematically excluded from the jury. The judge, Albert Sabo, was a member of the F.O.P. who has sentenced more men to die than any other sitting judge in the U.S. And when Mumia pursued his Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) appeal in 1995, it was presided over by the very same hanging judge, who rejected the appeal out of hand.

Der Spiegel

Miami cops round up black youth as part of racist "war on drugs."

On the eve of the filing of Mumia's 1995 PCRA petition, Republican governor Tom Ridge signed a warrant for Jamal's execution, which was stayed only as a result of a massive international campaign of protest and publicity. Ridge, who was elected in a campaign centered on speeding up the pace of executions, has already vowed to sign another warrant in the likely event that Jamal's PCRA petition is rejected by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, which may be imminent. Among the Supreme Court justices is Ronald Castille, who was the Philly D.A. at the time of Jamal's first appeal to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in 1985. The D.A. at the time of Mumia's trial, Ed Rendell, is now mayor. Current chief prosecutor Lynne Abraham, described as the "Deadliest D.A." in a *New York Times Magazine* (16 July 1995) profile, was the municipal judge who presided over Jamal's December 1981 arraignment.

During the 1995 hearing, Sabo ordered the arrest of one of Mumia's lawyers, PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, for daring to raise the issue of racial disparity now documented by the Death Penalty Information Center. Today, Abraham dismisses the new study with the laughable argument that the appeals process "is sufficient to make sure that our death penalties are handed down in a nondiscriminatory fashion" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 4 June). Denouncing University of Iowa law professor David Baldus, one of the authors of the study, Abraham sneered: "This is no more valid than his other studies, which have been discredited." This is an utter lie.

It was an earlier study by Baldus which showed that black defendants accused of killing whites in Georgia are sentenced to death far more frequently than those accused of killing blacks—and that whites charged with the murder of black people almost never receive a death sentence. That research was the basis for a 1987 appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court by Warren McCleskey, a black man convicted of killing a white police officer in Georgia. In its ruling on *McCleskey v. Kemp*, even the right-wing Rehnquist Supreme Court acknowledged the Baldus findings, only to decide these facts were "irrelevant"—i.e., that they were *all too relevant* to the workings of the capitalist "justice" system.

Exactly 130 years after the Supreme Court pronounced in the 1857 Dred Scott decision that black people "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect," Rehnquist & Co. examined overwhelming evidence of the racist application of the death penalty and proclaimed that this was an "inevitable part of our criminal justice system." The Court rejected McCleskey's claim because its premise "throws into serious question the principles that underlie our entire criminal justice system"—the most sacred "principle" of all being "the validity of capital punishment in our multiracial society."

From Lynch Law to "Legal" Lynching

That sanctified principle is embedded in the racist history of this country. In the colonial era, special "Negro courts" were set up for slaves who, in the words of a South Carolina statute, could expect to be tried "in the most summary and expeditious manner" and executed by means "most effectual to deter others from offending in the like manner" (Kenneth Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution* [1956]). The early Slave Codes defined the black slave as chattel—property—to be slaughtered with about the same "safeguards" as might befit a recalcitrant mule. Among the numerous "crimes" deemed capital

Der Spiegel

William Loren Katz Collection

1917 march in New York City protested national wave of lynchings by race-terrorist KKK.

offenses for slaves in every Southern state before the Civil War were rebellion and attempted rebellion. In Louisiana, death was mandated for a slave who struck his overseer or any member of the slaveowner's family, or for a third conviction for striking any white person—a precursor to the "three strikes and you're out" laws being imposed around the country today. And in the legal prohibition on slaves learning to read and write can be seen the motivation behind the current drive to forever silence an articulate spokesman for the oppressed like Mumia Abu-Jamal.

It took a bloody Civil War, in which 200,000 black troops helped turn the tide, to smash the slave system. That social revolution ushered in the most democratic period in American history, Radical Reconstruction. But the promise of black freedom was betrayed by the Northern capitalists, who were not about to take any action which would threaten the dominance of private property, North or South. Even minimal land redistribution was stopped and the large plantations maintained, with the former slaves becoming impoverished sharecroppers and tenant farmers. Following the defeat of Reconstruction, formalized by the Compromise of 1877, the black freedmen were again disenfranchised under Jim Crow laws steeped in the spirit, and at times the letter, of the old Slave Codes. In the 1896 *Plessy* case, the Supreme Court codified "separate but equal" segregation as the law of the land.

At the heart of Jim Crow was lynch law terror. With the withdrawal of the last Union troops in 1877, KKK terror stalked the South unchallenged. From the late 1800s on, some 5,000 or more people were killed by lynch mobs. An anti-lynching campaign initiated by black journalist Ida Wells did not even pretend to seek equal justice, but simply to get those blacks charged with crimes into a courtroom. To the extent this happened, "legal" lynchings largely supplanted the extra-legal ones. More than 1,600 people were executed during the 1930s alone. Between 1930 and 1967, black people accounted for more than two-thirds of all U.S. executions.

Terry/Gamma-Liaison

Struggle to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is central to fight to abolish the racist death penalty.

It was only as a result of social struggle—the civil rights movement and mass protest against the dirty, losing imperialist war in Vietnam—that the capitalist rulers felt compelled to put the death penalty on hold in 1967. Five years later, the Supreme Court ruled that the death penalty was "wanton and freakish" in its application and ordered the states to rewrite their laws. But by 1976, the protest marches had long since stopped, and the same Court now gave the executioners the green light to resume their barbaric deeds. We declared: "Stop Supreme Court Bloodbath of Blacks and Poor! Abolish the Death Penalty!" (*WV* No. 117, 9 July 1976).

With Rehnquist as head of the Supreme Court and a Republican majority in Congress, the liberals and black Democrats now place their hopes for "racial justice" in the Democratic Clinton White House. In fact, racist "law and order" was the centerpiece of Clinton's 1992 election campaign, which was marked by his personal supervision of the Arkansas execution of Rickey Ray Rector, a brain-damaged black man. Since taking office, Clinton has joined with the Republican Congress in pushing through one draconian "anti-crime" bill after another. The 1996 "Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act" vastly expanded the legal domain of capital punishment while gutting the right to federal *habeas corpus* appeals. In a recent column in the *Nation* (15 June), Alexander Cockburn wrote:

> "In the fifties 'law enforcement' was primarily the local police and the F.B.I. Today it has expanded into every government agency. The Army is being used domestically in drug enforcement and border control. Between 1990 and 1995 forty-five federal prisons were built, and at least five are under construction today. We have over 3,000 on death row, ever-expanding police powers, ever-diminishing civil liberties."

Two years ago, New York became the latest in a long line of states outside the Deep South to restore the death penalty, now on the books in 38 states. Last month, a New York City court meted out its first death sentence in over 30 years. Last year, 74 people were executed, the largest number since the 1930s. This year's roll call of death already includes the first woman executed since 1984—Karla Faye Tucker in Texas—in spite of a spectrum of opposition including the Pope and right-wing televangelist Pat Robertson. This was a statement, as we wrote at the time, "that the American ruling class will accept no constraints in implementing the ultimate weapon in its bloody arsenal of state repression" (*WV* No. 684, 13 February). Weeks later, Florida followed suit by executing Judy Buenoano.

As well, Paraguayan, Honduran and Mexican citizens who were convicted in violation of international law have been put to death. Among those executed in recent years were people whom even the courts acknowledged to be innocent of the charges for which they were strapped into an electric chair or slapped onto a gurney for lethal injection. In its bloodlust, the racist American ruling class is unimpressed and unimpeded by either the U.S. Constitution, the World Court or even the specter of "divine intervention."

Like the ideologues for the Southern slavocracy and Hitler's Nazis, hired "academics" churn out pseudoscientific tomes to portray the victims of state slaughter as less than human. When Illinois prepared for its first execution in 28 years in 1990, it hired Holocaust apologist Fred A. Leuchter to build the state's death machine. Graeme Newman, dean of criminal "justice" at the Albany campus of the State University of New York, proposes subjecting prisoners to "risky medical research" (*In These Times*, 19 August 1996). This idea has, of course, already been tried—not only in Dr. Mengele's torture chambers at Auschwitz but in the "medical" facilities at Pennsylvania's Holmesburg penitentiary, not to mention the infamous and inhuman Tuskegee "experiment" beginning in the 1940s.

Philadelphia Daily News | Philadelphia Tribune | Simon/SABA

Rogues gallery of death, from left: Albert Sabo gave out more death sentences than any other sitting judge in U.S. Philly D.A. Lynne Abraham seeks death penalty more than any other D.A. Democrat Clinton oversaw execution of brain-damaged black man during 1992 election campaign.

More than half of all death row inmates today are blacks, Hispanics or other minorities, sent there through a court system reminiscent of the colonial "Negro courts." Eddie Lee Ross, a black man sentenced to death in Georgia, was assigned an "attorney" who had been KKK Imperial Wizard for 50 years and, not surprisingly, fell asleep during the trial. The constitutional rights to legal representation and a jury of one's peers have always been a fiction for minorities and the poor, and are no less so today—as Jamal's 1982 trial and countless others since demonstrate. Racist jury-rigging is systemic, as shown last year when a videotape instructing Philadelphia prosecutors in the "art" of excluding black jurors came to the surface.

COINTELPRO: Capitalist State Terror

All this and more was evident in Jamal's case. But it was not just the "normal" racist workings of the capitalist state which put Mumia on death row. He was specifically targeted because of his lifetime of struggle against this system of oppression. In the 1960s, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover warned: "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." The FBI's COINTELPRO (Counter-Intelligence Program) vendetta left 38 Black Panther Party activists dead and hundreds more imprisoned. Sundiata Acoli, Mondo we Langa and Ed Poindexter are just a few of those who remain behind bars. Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) was only released last year after 27 years in California prisons for a crime the government knew all along he didn't commit.

As some one thousand pages of FBI files document, from the time Mumia emerged as a 15-year-old Panther spokesman in 1969, he was subjected to constant surveillance, harassment and frame-up attempts (see "Mumia Abu-Jamal: The COINTELPRO Files," *WV* No. 624, 2 June 1995). The feds and cops never found Jamal to be engaged in anything other than public speaking and writing. Yet he remained in the cross hairs of the FBI and Frank Rizzo's kill-crazy Philadelphia cops—who were then gunning down unarmed "suspects" at a pace seven times greater than New York City police—as he went on to become an award-winning journalist widely known as the "voice of the voiceless." When Jamal reported on the August 1978 cop siege of the MOVE organization's Powelton Village home and became a MOVE supporter himself, then-mayor Rizzo ranted, "They believe what you write, what you say. And it's got to stop." Three years later, the cops and FBI saw their chance to stop Jamal, when he was found with a near-fatal bullet in his chest at the scene of the shooting of police officer Daniel Faulkner.

The fate the ruling class has in mind for Jamal has been meted out to untold numbers of other fighters for the rights of labor and the oppressed: the 1887 Haymarket martyrs, IWW militant Joe Hill, anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti in the 1920s, Cold War witchhunt victims Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. In fact, the origins of the COINTELPRO terror operation wielded against the Panthers can be traced back to the "red scare" launched in the wake of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Thousands of labor radicals were imprisoned or deported in the Palmer Raids led by Hoover, who as a young Justice Department attorney cut his teeth in that anti-Communist witchhunt. And, as Theodore Kornweibel Jr. writes in his book, *Seeing Red* (1998): "One of its victims would be the African American population. Aggressive advocacy of a civil rights agenda and demands for fundamental changes in the racial status quo would be defined as Bolshevik-inspired."

In the hot summer of 1919, Hoover directed that "special attention should be given toward the Negro agitation which seems to be prevalent throughout the industrial centers of the country and every effort should be made to ascertain whether or not this agitation is due to the influence of the radical elements such as the IWW and Bolsheviks." The Military

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Death Row...

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Intelligence Division (MID) censured black newspapers like Socialist A. Philip Randolph's *Messenger* for its "vicious" attack on the KKK, which the MID claimed was "merely" trying to prevent "the encroachment of the negroes in those neighborhoods populated by white people." The *Chicago Defender* was condemned simply for promoting a day of prayer for victims of lynching.

Special attention was given to those like writer Claude McKay, who traveled to Moscow for meetings of the Communist International. The American political police feared that black Communists were returning with instructions from Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky to set up a "colored Soviet." Dispatches from the U.S. consulate in counterrevolutionary Latvia called attention to a speech by American Communist John Reed at the Comintern's Second Congress in 1920 focusing on the critical need for the young American Communist Party to champion the cause of the oppressed black population. Over the coming years, *every* perceived spokesman for black rights—from the "Back to Africa" Garveyites of the 1920s to Democratic Party liberals like Martin Luther King Jr. in the 1960s—was subjected to surveillance, harassment, provocation and outright terror.

At the pinnacle of the apparatus of state repression is the death penalty. This was made clear in the D.A.'s reply to Jamal's motion for a stay of execution in 1995: "The death penalty...is the highest exercise of the state's authority; and it should not lightly be disturbed." Yet despite its patently racist character, the death penalty is embraced by a slew of black Democrats and nationalists. Last year, Washington, D.C. mayor Marion Barry authored legislation calling for the death penalty for those convicted of killing policemen, firefighters and paramedics. And during his 1997 mayoral bid, New York's Al Sharpton, a former FBI fink whose demagogy is sometimes mistaken for radicalism, demanded the death penalty for a white man accused of killing a Hispanic cop. As for the anti-woman, anti-gay and anti-Semitic bigot Louis Farrakhan, his 1993 tract, *A Torchlight for America*, likewise demands the death penalty for those who "transgress the law."

Wilson/Newsweek

Museum of death at San Quentin puts model of gas chamber on display.

What unites these black bourgeois politicos is that they bow to the "authority" of the capitalist state. Thus, they are an obstacle to the fight for black freedom. Black oppression is intrinsic to American capitalism. Black people constitute a race-color caste, integrated into the economy while forcibly segregated at the bottom of this society. Against both the separatists who abet the bourgeoisie in fomenting divisions among the multiracial proletariat and the liberals who preach reliance on the racist Democrats, the Spartacist League fights for the perspective of ***revolutionary integrationism***. The historic struggle for black equality can only be realized through the full integration of blacks into an egalitarian socialist society. This requires a third American Revolution, a proletarian revolution which breaks the chains of wage slavery and finishes the tasks of the Civil War. As a strategic component of the American proletariat, black workers will play a key role in this socialist revolution and in the Trotskyist party needed to lead it to victory.

Leninist Party: Tribune of the People

Following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the imperialist rulers act like they can get away with anything. In the calculations of the American bourgeoisie, the ghetto masses who used to provide a reservoir of unskilled labor for the auto plants and steel mills—a "reserve army" of the unemployed to be tapped when the economy needed them—are now deemed to be a "surplus" population. The cold-blooded policy of starving black welfare mothers and their kids is augmented by a racist "war on crime" which snatches young men and women from the streets and throws them into prison hellholes. The "war on drugs" has subjected the ghettos and barrios to a virtual state of siege by the racist cops. And the ever more pervasive use of random drug-testing is designed to regiment and discipline the proletariat—a latter-day version of the blacklist aimed at victimizing labor militants.

Jails replace (non-existent) jobs, billy clubs are substituted for the blackboard. A couple of statistics sum it up. Over a million manufacturing jobs were lost in the U.S. in the 1980s, on top of the destruction of whole swaths of Midwest industry the decade before. Meanwhile, the prison population has tripled to more than 1.7 million. ***For every place lost on the assembly lines, one has been added in the prisons.***

The parties of capital, Democrats and Republicans, join in intensifying capitalist repression as they aim to contain the explosive pressures generated by the growing gap between a handful of filthy rich and those at the bottom. Politicians vie over who can be "tougher on crime," eliminating educational and recreational programs in the prisons and bringing back Jim Crow horrors like the chain gang. The spectre of Jim Crow is also evident in the burgeoning, majority black prison population: one in seven black men are today disenfranchised because of felony convictions, effectively stripped of citizenship rights guaranteed under the 14th Amendment.

As spending on prisons has skyrocketed to $30 billion a year—an almost eightfold increase over the past 20 years—and with it prison employment, this has created a powerful political lobby in its own right. Among the proliferation of firms specializing in private prisons is the Corrections Corporation of America, whose growth in stock value from $50 million in 1986 to $3.5 billion last year has placed it among the top five performers on the New York Stock Exchange. This has been accompanied by an enormous increase in "private security" strikebreaking outfits.

Simultaneously, the prisons have become repositories for slave labor rivaling the union-busting "workfare" schemes—and with the same purpose. Lockhart Technologies, Inc., a manufacturer of circuit boards, laid off 150 workers and replaced them with prisoners at its Texas "Renaissance and Work Facility." Speaking of his "captive work force," Lockhart executive Leonard Hill gloats: "They're here every day. Their cars don't break down, they're rarely ill, and they don't have family problems" (*In These Times*, 17 March 1997). And TWA used prison labor to break a 1986 flight attendants strike, putting its reservation clerks on the planes and using inmates to take calls. The airline is still using inmates at a juvenile facility in Ventura, California, paying $5 an hour instead of the $18 an hour unionized reservation clerks get.

Library of Congress

Black Union troops liberate North Carolina slaves during Civil War, 1865. Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C., November 1982.

Washington Post

Such facts alone underline the direct interest and need for the integrated labor movement to mobilize its social power against capitalist state repression and on behalf of all the oppressed and exploited. Instead, the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrats devote the bulk of their "organizing" efforts to bringing the armed guardians of capital—the cops and prison guards—into the labor movement, while increasingly acting as labor contractors for slave-labor "workfare" programs. Trampling on labor's hard-won gains, the AFL-CIO tops chain the trade unions to the capitalist Democrats and Republicans.

The mobilization of the proletariat in pursuit of its own class interests requires a political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor tops. The bourgeois state, with its cops and courts, is not some "neutral" agency which serves society as a whole but rather—as Friedrich Engels put it over a century ago—"an organization for the protection of the possessing class against the non-possessing class." We aim to win workers to this Marxist understanding as part of our effort to bring the social power of the labor movement into the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty.

Karl Marx captured a fundamental truth of American society when he wrote at the time of the Civil War: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." The color bar remains a fundamental dividing line in American society, key to obscuring the irreconcilable *class* conflict between capital and labor. The Spartacist League fights to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party, a Leninist tribune of the people. That is the key to sweeping away this system based on exploitation and oppression and putting a final halt to the grisly workings of capitalism's machinery of death—be they the guardians of death row or the cops who operate as "judge, jury and executioner" in gunning down minority youth on the streets.■

Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet exposes in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party.

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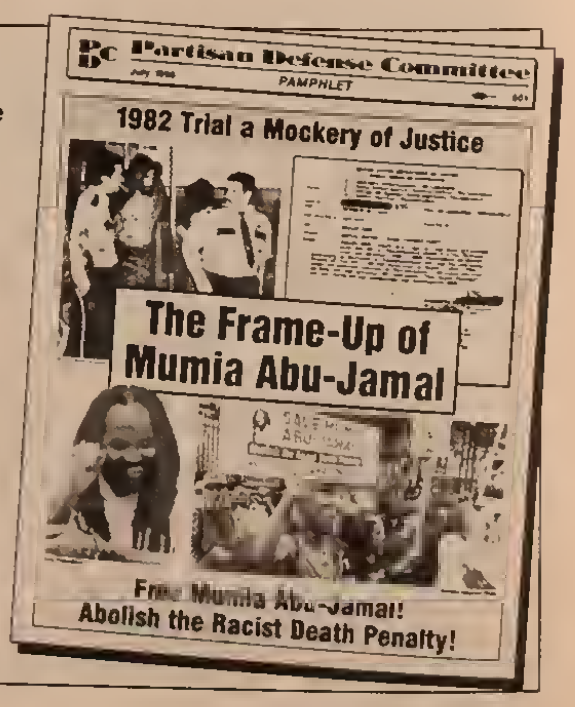

Construction...

(continued from page 16)

of building trades, is that the construction boom has provided full employment in the industry, emboldening workers. As early as 6 a.m., thousands of workers began to assemble at a construction site where the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA)—which runs the NYC transit system—was using a non-union contractor.

By 10 a.m., the police were calling for a "Level 4" mobilization—the highest—adding some one thousand riot cops to the 500 already deployed. A *WV* salesman captured the scene as the workers, after being dispersed from the early rally site, marched over to the MTA construction site.

> "Chants along the march route were: 'Here comes the union!' and 'Whose city? Our city!' They occupied the intersection at 54th and 9th. As riot-equipped cops moved in, debris, cans and plastic bottles started flying."

The cops never gained control over the protest. While three trade unionists were injured, so were 18 cops—many by macing each other. One worker was hospitalized after being brutally trampled by a police horse, while 38 demonstrators were arrested. The unions must demand: *Drop all the charges now!*

NYC mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who is used to having his way against his more powerless victims, like hot dog vendors and protesting taxi drivers, was clearly stung by the protest. Following the rally, Giuliani blustered, "Had the construction workers given the same advance warning that the taxi drivers gave, they'd have been dealt with in the same manner." Fat chance! The June 30 action was dramatic evidence of the capacity of the city's labor movement to wield its social power. Had the construction unions linked up with their brothers and sisters in the Transport Workers Union, who face their own attacks from the MTA, the whole city could have been shut down. This would be a powerful example of the kind of class-struggle fight needed to combat the devastating layoffs and cutbacks in all city services, from hospital and sanitation to schools and parks. But such a struggle is the last thing the pro-capitalist union tops want to see. In fact, the construction union leaders—surprised and frightened by the strength of their own unions' action—abjectly apologized to Giuliani and canceled plans for another rally.

Albans/Daily News

Collapsed elevator scaffolding at Times Square construction site. Workers saved dozens of lives by clearing pedestrians and cars as structure fell.

Organize the Unorganized!

The July 21 Times Square scaffolding collapse shows that even at union construction sites the labor tops have allowed safety and working conditions to be sacrificed to the capitalists' incessant drive to increase profits. The fight for union control over working conditions can only be effectively waged in combination with an aggressive, class-struggle campaign to organize the non-union sites, where brutally exploited workers, often desperate immigrants, slave for a fraction of union scale. While in New York City construction is still heavily unionized, nationally the unionized portion of the construction industry has plummeted from 87 percent right after World War II to 18 percent now. But the fight to organize the unorganized goes right up against the racist, anti-immigrant consciousness promoted by the capitalists and echoed by the job-trusting craft union tops.

Any serious labor struggle will also quickly run up against the capitalist state—the cops, courts, prisons—and its anti-labor laws. It is precisely because the proletariat has enormous social power that the ruling class tries to straitjacket the unions through a welter of legal restrictions—like the Taft-Hartley Act banning secondary strikes and other crucial labor weapons—and Justice Department takeovers. Today several large NYC construction unions are being run by government-imposed trustees, just as the Teamsters are. We say: *Government out of the unions!*

The construction workers gave a real show of union power on June 30. But while they certainly had no compunction in defending themselves against police attacks, they also revealed dangerous illusions in the very same cops, viewing cops as their "brothers in blue." This was seen when workers chanted, "Give the cops a raise!"—in between police charges!

Such illusions are fostered by the labor bureaucracy, which subordinates workers to the exploiters through support to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and preaches reliance on the racist, union-busting cops and courts. Key to successfully mobilizing workers against the racist exploiters is forging a new labor leadership, one imbued not with narrow *craft* consciousness, but with *class* consciousness. Such a leadership would be based on the understanding that the cops, courts and capitalist politicians are the enemies of the unions, and that labor's cause can only go forward by championing the rights of blacks, immigrants and all the oppressed.

The Times Square Disaster: A Worker's View

Injuries, maimings and deaths on the job are a direct product of the bosses' thirst for profit. As we wrote in "Industrial Murder in the North Sea" (*WV* No. 416, 21 November 1986) concerning a horrible accident on a British oil rig:

> "'Accidents will happen,' the bosses are saying in chorus. But *why* do they happen? The drive for profit that is intrinsic to capitalism involves systematic negligence and outright, wanton murder."

Today, with trade unions under attack the world over in the context of heightened interimperialist competition, attacks on jobs and working conditions are intensifying. For example, as a result of the degradation of working conditions in Italy, official statistics show that three people *every day* are now dying there in construction accidents.

In the U.S. as well, workers are increasingly stuck in life-threatening situations with little or no protection, particularly with the proliferation of non-union outfits. On July 10, at one such site in Manhattan's trendy Tribeca neighborhood, 32-year-old Ecuadoran immigrant Luis Gomez was buried alive when a backhoe pushed concrete and construction debris into a six-foot hole where he was working. His disappearance was not even noticed for hours; his body was excavated seven hours later. A government safety official reported that in the ten days after Gomez' death, three more workers were killed on the job in New York City.

After the horrendous Times Square accident, Giuliani remarked: "There's no question this could have been much worse if it were not [for] the grace of God." But it wasn't "god" that saved lives. As a construction worker at that site described to *WV*:

> "I had just gotten to my work location on the 38th floor when we heard a strange rumbling noise. We ran toward the edge of the building thinking someone was in trouble. We already had a tragic death on the material elevator several weeks ago. Suddenly everything started falling like dominoes. When I finally started going down, I found out everyone was able to get off the elevator in time. One worker was able to radio the elevator operators, and they rescued the guy running the elevator by pulling him off.
>
> "Workers on the street saved the day by stopping both pedestrian and car traffic. They pulled out truck drivers waiting to deliver material from their rigs. We heard that the media was calling it the 'miracle on 43rd Street.' It wasn't a miracle, it was working people putting their lives on the line."

The death this worker witnessed last month happened when a materials elevator crashed down on a carpenter. And in January, at the same spot, an arm of a crane six stories above the ground crashed into a glass building across the street.

Safety at work sites must be overseen and organized by the unions themselves, with the right to immediately shut down unsafe sites. We fight for the principle of industrial unionism instead of a myriad of craft unions, often so divided that they scab on each other's strikes. The notorious "two-gate system," in which workers in one craft work behind the picket lines of a different craft, must be smashed. All workers in the construction industry—skilled and unskilled alike—should be in one industrial union. We also call for an industry-wide hiring hall and union control of training, with special recruitment drives to bring minorities, women and others who have been historically discriminated against into the unions.

The bureaucracy of the skilled trades unions is notoriously racist and corrupt. In the 1930s, AFL construction union bureaucrats were among those most strongly opposed to the formation of industrial unions. And in the 1960s and '70s, the craft unions bureaucracy wholeheartedly supported the U.S. imperialist war in Vietnam. No better are the supposedly more "progressive" types like NYC 1199 hospital union chief Dennis Rivera and AFL-CIO head John Sweeney, who are every bit as beholden to the capitalist Democrats and the racist, anti-labor government. A class-struggle leadership for labor must be forged through a political struggle to oust the cravenly pro-capitalist union tops and build a multiracial revolutionary workers party fighting for a socialist world. Those who labor must rule!■

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Puerto Rico...

(continued from page 16)

> U.S. imperialism, and because only through breaking out of colonial subjugation will it be possible to move beyond the perennial question of Puerto Rico's 'status' to focus on the international *class* struggle. We also favor a socialist federation of the Caribbean, for the tiny island countries are so fragmented that they are economically unviable. But the question of independence and a regional federation are democratic questions, whose basic proposition is that the Puerto Rican population and the ethnically and linguistically diverse peoples of the region must decide their own fate. We are not in favor of *forcing* annexation, federation or even independence on anyone, least of all by racist U.S. imperialism."

The struggle for the liberation of Puerto Rico must be waged along the axis of *proletarian internationalism*, in which Puerto Rican workers, along with Dominicans, Haitians and others from the region, can be a living bridge to the class struggle of the proletariat on the American mainland. Not only do Puerto Ricans toil in branch plants of U.S. corporations on the island, but there are also 2.7 million Puerto Ricans on the mainland, particularly concentrated in the New York metropolitan area where they are represented in hospital, transit and other powerful unions. At the same time, the 1994 killing of Anthony Baez, a 29-year-old Puerto Rican, by NYC cop Francis X. Livoti highlights the intensified racist repression faced by blacks, Hispanics and immigrants in the U.S. What is needed above all is the forging of Trotskyist parties in Puerto Rico and the U.S. as part of a reforged Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution.

The International Communist League sent a bilingual team of comrades from the U.S. and Mexico to Puerto Rico for the general strike in order to introduce workers and students to our revolutionary program through the Leninist press of the SL/U.S. and the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM). We reprint below excerpts from comrade Miguel Acevedo's July 21 report on this work.

WV Photo

Teachers march in San Juan in protest against privatization of telephone company.

Reporter's Notebook

America's biggest colony is a distinct country. Only a small minority of the population speaks English, and certainly most of the proletariat doesn't. I got a sense, particularly from lefty professionals, that many of those who spoke English denied it. Once, when I tried to give someone our supplement on the UPS strike, "Unchain Labor's Power!" (printed in *WV* No. 673, 5 September 1997) after he had bought the GEM's *Espartaco*, he told me that he could read English but avoided it. One t-shirt I saw a lot of youth wearing had a Puerto Rican flag and read in Spanish: "I'm Puerto Rican and I speak Spanish. I know how to speak English, too." The first letters of the second sentence (*sé hablar inglés también*) were enlarged and highlighted to read "SHIT." The most interesting people we talked to were the ones who *wanted* WV and thirsted for news from off the island, from the big strike against General Motors in Flint, Michigan to the labor and student struggles in Indonesia.

The impression I got after intervening in different sectors of society for a week is that despite low votes for independence in referendums, the bulk of the population, particularly the working class, has strong nationalist sympathies and hardly thinks of itself as "American." However, they don't want to lose what rights U.S. citizenship gives them. There is much travel back and forth between the U.S. and Puerto Rico. A high proportion of the population is on welfare, but the Puerto Rican proletariat has social weight and crucial links to its multiracial class brothers and sisters in the big cities of the United States.

You might think that the flag is sort of a rendition of the U.S. flag and that the flag-waving has a tinge of U.S. patriotism. This isn't so in most cases. The Puerto Rican flag was fashioned after the Cuban flag, to symbolize the unity of their struggles. The blue field was originally much lighter, like the stripes in the Cuban flag. There were a few of these earlier flags at demonstrations. I saw a lot of t-shirts with the slogan: "My star doesn't fit in the American flag."

Background to the Strike

There has been much labor dissent against pro-statehood PNP Governor Rosselló's privatizations. There was a 24-hour general strike last October. The recent 48-hour general strike was organized by CAOS (truncated acronym for "Umbrella Committee of Labor, Civic, Cultural, Political and Religious Organizations") in opposition to the privatization and sale of the state-owned PRTC. CAOS includes some 60 unions representing about 300,000 workers. It also includes the Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño (PIP), the National Hostosian Congress (CNH—Hostos was a Puerto Rican independence leader from the turn of the century) and various "anti-privatization" committees. Even some legislators from the Partido Popular Democrático (PPD), which tried to privatize the PRTC while in power in 1990, have joined CAOS.

Union activity was focused on the PRTC's central offices at 1500 Ave. Roosevelt in the neighborhood of San Patricio on the west side of San Juan. There were pickets at the five entrances to the two-building complex. There were several clashes with cops herding scab managers in and out through the back entrance. Upper management was flown in and out in a helicopter. The unions found out where they boarded the helicopter and organized a picket there. The second biggest site was at Plaza Celulares in the barrio of Hato Rey, a few blocks from the University of Puerto Rico (UP). This is where the left and students mostly gathered. Clashes also occurred here at the back entrance when cops herded scabs in and out.

AP

June 18: Cops attack picketers outside San Juan headquarters of Puerto Rico Telephone Company.

The pickets were well organized. Each site was led by a "delegado" who communicated with others at the site with a radio and cell phone. Several unions—UTIER (Union of Industrial Workers in Electricity and Irrigation), UIA (sewer and aqueduct workers) and others—had solidarity 24- and 48-hour strikes in the two weeks leading up to the general strike. Different services were shut down each day; they were announced at 4:00 a.m. each morning at 1500 Roosevelt.

Workers organized by the Teamsters are also on strike against RIMCO, the sole distributor of Caterpillar parts in the Caribbean. A strike captain we talked to who had worked there for 30 years was making $8.90 an hour and was about to get a $240 per month pension. We passed out our UPS supplement, and the strike captain told us repeatedly, "You've walked a long way to give us an important message."

Strike Derailed into "Peaceful Work Stoppage"

Looking at each individual action, you got the sense that the unions really could have shut down the island and won their demands. But the *telefonistas* continue on strike and have reduced their demands to "no reprisals." They also insist on being able to fine about 150 union members who scabbed. From the beginning, there was disagreement among CAOS leaders as to the scope and length of the general strike. Some wanted an unlimited general strike until the sale was rescinded or there was a referendum on the sale. Others wanted unions to voluntarily decide whether or not and how long to participate in the strike.

The strike was called a *huelga*, but toward the end it was being called a *paro*. *Huelga* means: strike, picket lines, unlimited in duration until agreement is reached. A *paro* is more like a work stoppage with the duration set beforehand. The front page of *El Nuevo Día* on the second day of the strike summed up the shift to *paro*. It ran a full-page picture of a striker shaking hands with a cop under the headline "Peaceful *Paro*" with a caption reading, "Dialogue between police and strikers avoids major confrontations and ensures basic services." Many workers justified the limited nature of the strike, saying they feared losing public support.

From the outset, the union bureaucrats had no intention of mobilizing the proletariat in its class interests, but rather sacrificed class independence on the altar of bourgeois nationalism, and this crippled the strike. The working class is being prepared to take imperialist-dictated austerity through the agency of the domestic bourgeoisie and its allies. This is peddled as being better than direct imperialist exploitation. Workers' anxieties over the layoffs to come with privatization have been channeled into defense of a supposedly classless nation. This is the bourgeois-nationalist lie of *el pueblo unido*, which disappears the centrality of *los obreros* and the conflict between labor and capital the better to chain the exploited to their exploiters. This is done with the assistance of the Puerto Rican left and the union leadership. One of the most common slogans chanted was "Puerto Rico is not to be sold, Puerto Rico is to be defended!" I was often asked where I was from. I'd answer that I agreed with Marx that the workers don't have a country.

The Strike

The strike commenced with a concert organized by UP students at Plaza Celulares and a prayer at 1500 Roosevelt at midnight. Carrying a big wooden cross, dozens of members of the "Ecumenical Dialogue for National Reconciliation" marched from UP to Plaza Celulares. We left Plaza Celulares before the religious contingent arrived and went back to strike headquarters at 4:00 a.m. and sold several subscriptions to workers from all over the island.

Luis Muñoz Marín airport was a key

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site for the strike. Unions organized caravans that met at different sites at 5:00 a.m., drove to the airport, then slowed down and parked in the three lanes approaching it. Each caravan then set up a circling picket in every lane into the airport. A lot of UIA strikers carried heavy sticks and bats throughout the general strike. They were later joined hy a contingent of Teamsters. Chants were led by a group including two trumpet players and percussionists. One chant made a play on a traditional song, calling on Santa María to save us from Governor Rosselló. Another ealled for no violence on the picket lines. Cops showed up with tow trucks, the *Fuerzas de Choque* (Shock Forces) and mounted units to disperse the pickets and caravans by brute force. At one point, the FBI said it would take over the airport.

But after meeting with top cop Pedro Toledo, the union leaders took the pickets down. The same seene was played out at Puerto Rico's huge industrial park in Carolina, just east of San Juan. Here, too, the pickets were demobilized after talks with the cops. According to accounts in the *El Nuevo Día* (9 July), ten ships carrying 5,000 containers had to wait out the general strike off the coast of San Juan because of the participation of the longshoremen (Union Internacional de Estibadores). These dock workers can play a key role in class battles: an island economy, Puerto Rico imports 95 percent of what it consumes.

Each day of activity culminated in rallies at 1500 Roosevelt. Several unions were present, but there were always twice or three times as many Puerto Rican flags as there were union banners or symbols. PIP president Berrios addressed one rally. Lolita Lebrón, an *independentista* who gained fame for the 1954 machine gun attack on the U.S. Congress and whom we defended against the American government, also spoke. The erowd was silent during her speech and broke into applause when she finished. After a version of the "Star Spangled Banner" cleverly mocking U.S. cultural encroachments on Puerto Rico, the crowd sang to the tune of "Happy Birthday": "Let them leave here, let them leave here, when they turn 100 years old." (This refers to the 100th anniversary this year of the U.S. colonization of Puerto Rico.) Our sales and discussions were notably better at the strike pickets where proletarian centrality was palpable than at these rallies, where the working class was politically subsumed into just one more constituency of the nationalist movement.

The public transportation unions went out, so the buses didn't run. Other than all of this, you wouldn't have known there was a general strike going on in San Juan because mass pickets were demobilized and some essential serviees were kept running. The big shopping malls were closed, but smaller stores and cafes were open. For the most part, the lights stayed on and the water kept running. Other parts of Puerto Rieo were affected more than San Juan.

The mayor of Ponce, Rafael Cordero Santiago, was on the picket lines during the two days and authorized municipal employees to take the days off so they could participate in the protests. At one point, he led pickets on a six-mile march to a rally at City Hall. His speech was followed by chants from the crowd supporting his candidacy for governor. The rally was also addressed hy PPD president Anibal Acevedo Vila and two PPD legislators. There were big rallies in Mayagüez and Arecibo. The mayor of Mayagüez also gave municipal employees the two days off. While the left and union tops helped channel workers' outrage into parliamentary politics, in Mayagüez the Shock Forces stormed a pieket at 2:30 a.m. to run scabs through.

Governor Rosselló ignored the strike and spent the two days at the beach.

Our Intervention

We introduced ourselves to strikers as representatives of the ICL. We explained that we're fighting to build revolutionary parties all over the world that can lead working-class struggles to smash capitalism and take the wealth the workers have created to be put to good use for society through a socialist planned economy. We stressed that only the working class can lead the struggle for national liberation and that we want to build such a party here, one that would fight for the political independence of the working class.

San Juan Star

U.S. soldiers occupy Mayagüez in 1898 Spanish-American War, initiating a century of U.S. colonial subjugation of Puerto Rico.

Most workers responded enthusiastically. In contrast, almost every "leftist" I'd explain this to would look dismayed and arrogantly respond that people aren't ready for these ideas, they're not open to things from outside, "it's different here." We found contradictions to expose the dangers of bourgeois nationalism. For example, one prominent slogan was "What do we want 3 percent for if 100 percent is ours?" This referred to Rosselló's offer to sell the workers 3 percent in the privatization deal. I used this slogan to point out that indeed PRTC is "ours"—belonging to the working class that created it, not the category of Puerto Rican "people" which includes their would-be Puerto Rican exploiters.

Spartacist contingent at 1994 NYC demonstration calls for defense of Cuba against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack.

WV Photo

A crucial point of our discussions with workers and students was stressing that the police are the armed thugs of the capitalist state—they are not "neutral" and they do not belong in the workers movement. Entrances to all the PRTC and some Banco Popular buildings were guarded by cops with bullet-proof vests. The Shock Forces violently attacked pickets to move scabs in and out and often went into aetion without badges to prevent strikers from identifying them. *Fourteen thousand cops* were mobilized against the strikers. There were rumors that the cops were taking pictures of people not in the union and had orders to arrest "outside agitators." Students tried to prevent the state-owned TV station from doing interviews at a picket at the university beeause the managers are known for giving their videotapes to state authorities.

Despite all this objective evidence of the role of the police, there were massive illusions in "good cops" vs. "bad cops" which we argued against every day on the picket lines. A prominent sign at Plaza Celulares read, "Policeman, don't be a clubber, you're also a worker." A lot of people we pointed this out to agreed this was erap. Yet there was a lot of sentiment that the Shock Forces were the problem, but the regular cops were OK. We explained that the cops aren't workers, they don't produce anything, they are the attack dogs of the capitalist class to protect bourgeois property and bourgeois law and order.

Governor Rosselló was portrayed as a fascist, a traitor, even Satan. His name was often written using a swastika instead of the two "s"s. Posters of his picture and the words "Judas Iscariote" were everywhere. (This also points to the heavy influence of the church in Puerto Rico.) We pointed out that he was no traitor to the proletariat but a loyal servant of the capitalist class. A few sites had a poster with the words "Rosselló Dictador" and three pietures of him with a hammer and sickle, a swastika and the five-pointed star of the *estadistas* (pro-statehooders). We pointed out that the hammer and sickle is a communist symbol and that there has been a dangerous right-wing campaign in Europe equating fascism with communism. We used the article "*Black Book*: Anti-Communist Big Lie" (*WV* No. 692, 5 June) to explain the point. We were told that the *Populares* were producing and distributing this disgusting poster.

Racial Oppression and Dominicans in Puerto Rico

We wanted to do a sale in a working-class neighborhood, so we went to an area labeled "Barrio Obrero"—workers' neighborhood—on our map. This happened to be where a lot of Dominicans live. I sold an *Espartaco* to a hlack Dominican contractor who at first wouldn't buy it because we criticize Castro. But he heard us out and had probably never heard Trotskyist left-wing critics of Stalinism who fight to defend Cuba through international proletarian socialist revolution and workers political revolution against the Castroite bureaucracy. One older man who argued with the contractor against belief in god chimed in that *perestroika* in the Soviet Union was the worst thing that happened to humanity, that Gorbachev should have been shot, that we were all screwed after the collapse of the Berlin Wall.

Many Puerto Ricans have a stunning disdain for Dominicans, most of whom are black. One professor we sold a subscription to couldn't tell us what minorities there were in Puerto Rico. A dock worker union official I talked to didn't know about a dock workers strike going on in Santo Domingo. One self-described Communist used a disgusting slur against Dominicans, and we cut off the conversation. The assassination of a student leader in Santo Domingo during the strike should have had some resonance.

The Fake Left

The only place we saw most of the left sell their papers was at a demo ealled by the petty-bourgeois nationalist National Hostosian Congress protesting the transfer of the U.S. military Southern Command from Panama to Puerto Rico and the continued U.S. bombing tests on the small inhabited Puerto Rican island of Vieques. The International Socialist Organization (ISO) had its U.S. paper and a Spanish-language offprint. In the offprint they remark how impressive Marx and Engels' analysis of the class struggle is considering they didn't live to see the Russian Revolution in 1917, Spain '36, Hungary '56, "the struggles of '68," "the fall of the Iranian shah in 1979, or of Stalinism in 1989.... All these revolutions show the same characteristics; the gradual accumulation of anger, for a thousand different reasons, that at an unpredictable moment explodes like a wave that devastates everything in its path." It's not surprising that a group that can't tell the difference between proletarian revolution and Islamic reaction or capitalist counter-revolution and *tails* the most backward consciousness denies the role of a Leninist *vanguard*. Fortunately for the Puerto Rican workers, the ISO was not very forthcoming about distributing the Spanish offprint. I had to specifically ask for one when I saw it sticking out of an ISOer's pocket.

We also ran across the "Internationalist Group" (IG) in the form of its *líder máximo*, Jan Norden. We spotted him at Plaza Celulares reading *Claridad*, obsessively underlining. Eventually the IG appeared with an eight-page "leaflet" which Norden sold for 25 cents. It was peppered with out-of-context quotes from Trotsky's writings on France, where he argued for a general strike in a pre-revolutionary situation. The IG describes the strike in Puerto Rico as being organized by student, leftist, women's and community groups, leaving out the influence of the very visible bourgeois and religious organizations, which must be eombatted. The crucial factor of a revolutionary party to bring *revolutionary consciousness* to the proletariat is reduced to rah-rah militancy over strike tactics, calls for strike committees, etc. The IG is a walking example of the regression in political consciousness sinee counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. In denying that there has been any significant regression in consciousness, in "lending the economic struggle a political character" like the Economists Lenin polemieized against in *What Is To Be Done?*, Norden's IG capitulates to this lower level of consciousness, rendering the need for a genuine Leninist party to fight for proletarian power superfluous.

It is precisely to further the task of building a Leninist-Trotskyist international party that we intervened in the general strike, bringing a revolutionary program to the most advanced workers and students. We have real opportunities to build the party in Puerto Rico. Although this trip barely scratched the surface, we have acquired a hearing and a readership among workers in key unions and students. Furthering our presence in Puerto Rico is intrinsically linked to work in the industries in North America where Puerto Ricans are integrated into the proletariat.■

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated August 28.

WORKERS VANGUARD

For the Right of Independence for Puerto Rico!

General Strike Rocks Puerto Rico

On July 7 and 8, hundreds of thousands of Puerto Rican workers walked off the job in one of the biggest labor protests in that island nation's history. The two-day general strike was the culmination of a growing protest movement against the decision by the colonial regime of Governor Pedro Rosselló to sell the state-owned Puerto Rico Telephone Company (PRTC) to the U.S. telecommunications giant GTE. A strike since June 18 by the 6,400 PRTC workers against the privatization plan and threatened layoffs had already generated widespread support throughout the population and an outpouring of national indignation. Telephone workers are about to begin voting on whether to accept a settlement pushed by leaders of the Independent Telephone Workers Union (UIET).

Zayas/El Nuevo Dia

July 8: Thousands march in Ponce in support of striking telephone workers during two-day general strike.

The Rosselló administration hopes that its union-busting privatization drive will win favor in Washington for Puerto Rican statehood. The U.S. Senate is presently considering a bill, passed by the House of Representatives by one vote earlier this year, calling for a binding referendum on Puerto Rico's status: independence, statehood or the present thinly disguised colonial status deceptively termed "free associated state" in Spanish and "commonwealth" in English. The *New York Times* (24 July) noted how the Puerto Rican governor emphasizes his "conservative bent" as he campaigns in favor of statehood: "Imagine a place, Gov. Pedro J. Rosselló and his lobbyists say, that opposes abortion, hands out vouchers so children can attend parochial schools, has sliced capital gains taxes, allows school pupils five minutes for prayer, and is busy privatizing many of its major industries." The referendum bill is opposed in Washington by a coalition of "English-only" yahoos and Republicans who fear that statehood would favor the Democrats.

In fact, none of the "solutions" being mooted by the American bourgeoisie would represent a gain for the Puerto Rican people. Under the present commonwealth arrangement, Puerto Ricans are oppressed second-class citizens who cannot vote in presidential elections and are not represented in Congress, but who have been drafted in disproportionate numbers in every imperialist war since World War I. Statehood—direct annexation to the U.S.—would serve to aggravate racist nativist hostility toward Puerto Ricans and accelerate the tendency of English to replace Spanish on the island, ultimately threatening to submerge the national identity of the Puerto Rican people. And any formal "independence" achieved through a U.S.-sponsored referendum or Congressional proclamation—as opposed to a revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism—could only be a cover for neocolonial U.S. domination.

The pro-statehood campaign of Rosselló's New Progressive Party (PNP) includes support for the *expansion* of the U.S. military presence in Puerto Rico, already Washington's main military installation in the Caribbean. Military bases, including the massive Roosevelt Roads naval base (37,000 acres), occupy fully 12 percent of the island's territory. In the past, Puerto Rico has served as the launching pad for U.S. imperialist attacks against Cuba (1961), the Dominican Republic (1965), Grenada (1983) and Central America. We say: ***U.S. military out af the Caribbean! Far unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against imperialism and internal caunterrevalution!***

While there is deep resentment among Puerto Ricans over their colonial oppression, most are contradicted and loath to relinquish the benefits of U.S. citizenship—such as the right to work on the mainland—and fear that independence would mean falling into the crushing immiseration typical of capitalist Caribbean states such as the Dominican Republic. Certainly, an independent *capitalist* Puerto Rico would no doubt mean exactly that, as it would continue to suffer under the boot of American imperialism. The only road to breaking imperialist subjugation and eliminating poverty is through proletarian revolution, not only in Puerto Rico but throughout the Caribbean and above all in North America.

As we wrote in *WV* No. 588 (19 November 1993) following a referendum in Puerto Rico where the vast majority voted for either maintaining commonwealth status or for statehood:

> "As revolutionary internationalists, we defend Puerto Rico's right to self-determination and support struggles for independence. We advocate independence in order to strike a blow against

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As Greedy Bosses Push Deadly Speedup and Union Busting

Construction Workers Rally Shuts Down Midtown

New York City

On June 30, some 40,000 construction workers charged from a protest rally and surged through the streets of Midtown Manhattan, chanting "Union! Union!" and locking up traffic for hours. Furious over the increasing use of non-union contractors at building sites, the workers closed over 200 unionized job sites—in effect, a one-day city-wide construction strike. This impressive show of labor power provoked fear and alarm among yuppies and the city's bourgeois rulers, expressed in raving tabloid headlines like "Mob Rule in Midtown" (*New York Post*, 2 July).

Three weeks later, Midtown was again paralyzed—this time with "the strange quiet of Belfast or Beirut after a bombing" (*New York Times*, 22 July)—after a 20-story chunk of steel scaffolding along with beams, glass and debris rained down from a 48-story Times Square building project, toppling a giant crane. Eighty-five-year-old Thereza Feliconio was killed when a steel section crashed through the roof of her twelfth-floor apartment across the street.

The link between these events is the massive building boom in New York City, with construction and engineering firms in a frenzy to increase their already bloated profits through expanding the use of non-union labor and ramming through deadly speedup even at unionized sites. One reason for the massive turnout at the June 30 protest, which encompassed the whole gamut

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Sotomayor/NY Times

June 30: Construction workers mass outside Metropolitan Transportation Authority headquarters protesting use of non-union labor.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 695 28 August 1998

Government Snoops Snoop on the Government

Anti-Sex Witchhunt and the White House

The words cynicism and hypocrisy barely begin to capture the dimensions of the feigned outrage and moralistic fingerwagging by politicians and pundits after Bill Clinton finally 'fessed up to having had an "inappropriate relationship" with "that woman," former White House intern Monica Lewinsky. It all brought to mind the corrupt Vichy cop in *Casablanca* who was "shocked, shocked" that Rick's Place was a gambling den as he pocketed his winnings.

Having colluded in the axing of welfare for millions of destitute women and children, in the terror-bombing of defenseless people around the world and in all the other sordid "affairs of state," Clinton's own former aides and advisers have now leapt to the fore to express their "profound disappointment" at the supposedly sordid goings-on in the Oval Office. Former White House spin doctor Dick Morris, who was dumped by the chief executive after it came out he'd been with a prostitute, castigated Clinton for not being sufficiently "contrite" in his televised mea culpa speech.

But "outside the Beltway," Clinton's plea that even the president is entitled to a private life played well. One opinion poll after another has shown that the population at large is fed up with Kenneth Starr's grand jury inquisition and has gone beyond apathy to a healthy disgust with the whole prurient business. Does anyone really care what DNA tests of the stained blue dress reveal? Or what, if any, "signal" Clinton was trying to send by wearing a

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Imperialist Butcher Clinton Strikes Afghanistan, Sudan

Down With U.S. Terror Bombing!

AP photos

Protesters in Khartoum carry pictures of those killed in U.S. cruise missile attack on Sudanese pharmaceutical factory.

The U.S. missile attacks on Sudan and Afghanistan on August 20 were a calculated display of imperialist bloodthirstiness and barbarity. Some 75 cruise missiles slammed into a supposed "terrorist training camp" in Afghanistan and a pharmaceutical plant on the outskirts of the Sudanese capital of Khartoum, killing dozens of people. The two countries singled out for attack are among the most impoverished in the world, both ravaged by years of civil war. Sudan, which is ludicrously charged by the U.S. with having a "military-industrial complex," is beset by one of the worst famines in recent history.

The administration claimed the attacks were aimed at taking out a shadowy "international terrorist network" led by Saudi Islamic fundamentalist Osama bin Laden, which supposedly organized the bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania earlier in the month. In fact, U.S. imperialism is the main force for reactionary terror throughout the world, from the Phoenix mass assassination program during the Vietnam War to the murderous campaigns carried out by the CIA's Nicaraguan contras and Cuban *gusanos* to the repeated missile strikes against the Iraqi people. What is behind the U.S. terror bombing of Afghanistan and Sudan, as we wrote at the time of another war buildup against Iraq earlier this year, is "the drive by U.S. imperialism to assert its 'right' to ride roughshod over the colonial and semicolonial peoples of the world and to demonstrate to its imperialist rivals that the massive American arsenal of destruction continues to make it top dog" (*WV* No. 685, 27 February).

Dumping the usual talk of "consultation" with its "allies," Washington went out of its way to stress that the bombings were a unilateral action. Indeed, while most Western capitals soon fell into line, initial international support for the U.S. attacks was limited to Blair's Britain and Netanyahu's Israel. It was not lost on imperialist rivals like Germany and Japan that the same 75 American cruise missiles, aimed at nuclear power plants in those countries, would render large areas uninhabitable for centuries.

White House spokesmen talked of "irrefutable" evidence that the targeted sites were involved in the bombing of the U.S. embassy and that the Khartoum plant was producing ingredients for a deadly nerve gas to be used in further attacks, claims which were subsequently also promoted by Republican Congressional leaders. None of this "evidence"

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Down With Giuliani's Racist Ban on Reactionary "Million Youth March"

In a calculated racist provocation, New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani has denied the organizers of the "Million Youth March" a permit to march in Harlem on September 5. Giuliani raves that he is not going to allow "a hatemonger to take over our city in any substantial respect." The central figure of the proposed "Million Youth March," Khalid Muhammad, *is* a vicious demagogue whose anti-Semitic ravings fuel a climate of bigotry and reaction. But New York City has already been taken over by a racist hatemonger—Mayor Giuliani—who has at his command an army of cops and a considerable arsenal of repression.

Underlining Giuliani's racist assault on the city's ghetto masses is the latest police atrocity on the streets of Bedford-Stuyvesant, as two plainclothes cops fired 17 bullets at 16-year-old Michael Jones. The cops claimed that they mistook his water pistol for an assault rifle! Now the youth, lying near death in the hospital, has been charged with "menacing."

Riding into office on a bonapartist mobilization by NYC cops demanding more police power, Giuliani's "law and order" administration is synonymous with rampaging cop terror and gratuitous cruelty against the poor, blacks and immigrants. The homeless have been swept from the streets; the disabled and afflicted have been forced into slave-labor workfare programs; open admissions programs benefitting working-class and minority students at City University (CUNY) campuses have been axed; and now Giuliani is moving to cut off methadone treatment for heroin addicts. On the streets, the racist cops serve as the enforcers of a climate of fear, intimidation and terror.

Barring the "Million Youth March" from the streets of Harlem is the latest in a series of wholesale attacks on such basic democratic rights as freedom of speech and assembly. In the past few months alone, Giuliani has unleashed thousands of cops to stop a protest by overwhelmingly immigrant cab drivers, tried to ban food vendors from Manhattan streets, ordered the arrest of demonstrators protesting the abolition of remedial education programs at CUNY, and implemented new arrest procedures which effectively amount to preventive detention (see "Giuliani's NYC: 'Quality of Life' Police State," *WV* No. 692, 5 June). The workers movement and all defenders of civil liberties must oppose Giuliani's ban on the "Million Youth March"!

While we defend the right of the "Million Youth March" to march down Harlem's Malcolm X Boulevard, we emphatically warn that Khalid Muhammad is a poisonous messenger of racial hatred. When it comes to fomenting race war, Muhammad is a fitting analogue to the racist Republican mayor. In response to Giuliani's ban, Muhammad threatened to "shut down the City, starting with Eastern Parkway in Crown Heights" and warned of "a direct confrontation with the Jews of that area." Crown Heights has a long history of communal violence between its black and Orthodox Jewish residents, fueled by Zionists and black nationalists. This exploded in 1991 when a Hasidic driver callously ran over and killed a seven-year-old black child, leading to clashes in which a Jewish religious student was stabbed to death. Diverting the justified outrage of black youth against conditions of horrendous oppression into racist bigotry against Jews, Asians and others, Muhammad stokes the flames of right-wing reaction whose first targets will be black people.

The "Million Youth March" is an attempt to replay Louis Farrakhan's 1995 "Million Man March," whose calls for black "atonement" blamed the dispossessed ghetto masses for their oppression. Despite his posturing as an opponent of the racist ruling establishment, Farrakhan's reactionary mobilization was applauded by the U.S. rulers—Republicans and Democrats. A former leading lieutenant of the Nation of Islam (NOI), Muhammad was expelled from the NOI as his overly flagrant anti-Semitism got in the way of Farrakhan's continued bid for bourgeois respectability. Yet for all his "in your face" rhetoric against Giuliani, Muhammad pledged that his march "is not 40,000 white union workers beating up New York city cops."

Unlike immigrant cab drivers, student protesters and street vendors who have been viciously attacked by Giuliani, the recent protest by 40,000 construction workers was a demonstration of the social power of labor to face down the capitalist rulers and their cops. Petty-bourgeois nationalists like Muhammad and Farrakhan sneer with contempt for the multiracial proletariat. But the racist, job-trusting labor bureaucrats likewise serve the bourgeoisie in trying to head off *class* consciousness which could mobilize the proletariat across racial lines in defense of the ghetto and barrio poor. As we wrote in "Farrakhan Is Bad News for Black People" (*WV* No. 600, 13 May 1994):

> "The fight against racial oppression is *key* to workers revolution in the U.S. The labor movement is the one powerful racially integrated force in this society. Their strategic position in the labor movement makes it possible for black workers to lead in bringing down the entire racist, capitalist system through united class struggle. Black women, whom the nationalists seek to keep 'in their place' as producers of babies, belong in the forefront of the fight for black freedom. Black and white and Latino and Asian revolutionaries, armed with a communist program and organized in a multiracial communist vanguard party which acts as the tribune of the people, can lead a fight on behalf of all the oppressed and exploited for workers revolution, to smash imperialist domination throughout the Americas, Africa and the world." ■

The Labor Bureaucracy and the Capitalist State

TROTSKY

LENIN

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy serves as lieutenants of the capitalist class inside the labor movement, subordinating the workers organizations to the class enemy through support to the bourgeois parties, the Democrats and Republicans, and the bourgeois state. In an unfinished 1940 article, found after his assassination by an agent of Stalin, Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky stressed that a key component in the fight for revolutionary leadership of the trade unions was the call for their complete independence from the capitalist state.

There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade union organizations throughout the world: it is their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power. This process is equally characteristic of the neutral, the social-democratic, the Communist, and "anarchist" trade unions. This fact alone shows that the tendency towards "growing together" is intrinsic not in this or that doctrine as such but derives from social conditions common for all unions.

Monopoly capitalism does not rest on competition and free private initiative but on centralized command. The capitalist cliques at the head of mighty trusts, syndicates, banking consortiums, etc., view economic life from the very same heights as does state power; and they require at every step the collaboration of the latter. In their turn the trade unions in the most important branches of industry find themselves deprived of the possibility of profiting by the competition among the different enterprises. They have to confront a centralized capitalist adversary, intimately bound up with state power. Hence flows the need of the trade unions—insofar as they remain on reformist positions, i.e., on positions of adapting themselves to private property—to adapt themselves to the capitalist state and to contend for its cooperation. In the eyes of the bureaucracy of the trade union movement, the chief task lies in "freeing" the state from the embrace of capitalism, in weakening its dependence on trusts, in pulling it over to their side. This position is in complete harmony with the social position of the labor aristocracy and the labor bureaucracy, who fight for a crumb in the share of superprofits of imperialist capitalism. The labor bureaucrats do their level best in words and deeds to demonstrate to the "democratic" state how reliable and indispensable they are in peacetime and especially in time of war. By transforming the trade unions into organs of the state, fascism invents nothing new; it merely draws to their ultimate conclusion the tendencies inherent in imperialism....

It is necessary to adapt ourselves to the concrete conditions existing in the trade unions of every given country in order to mobilize the masses, not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against the totalitarian regime within the trade unions themselves and against the leaders enforcing this regime. The primary slogan for this struggle is: *complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state*. This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy.

—Leon Trotsky, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Jacob Zorn

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jane Patterson

EDITORIAL BOARD: Ray Bishop (managing editor), Bruce André, Helene Brosius, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tlac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is August 25.

No. 695 **28 August 1998**

Victimized for Supporting Puerto Rico Independence Demo

Defend New York City Bus Driver Eben Lugo!

While on his regular route on July 25, New York City bus operator Eben Lugo noticed a demonstration for Puerto Rican independence outside the United Nations. Lugo, who is Puerto Rican, tooted his horn in solidarity. In Giuliani's police-state NYC, that was enough for Lugo to find himself surrounded by cops, threatened with arrest and harassed by the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) bosses. "They acted like I tried to shoot the president," Lugo recalled.

NY1 News

Eben Lugo

Lugo's bus was stopped and boarded by three cops, including a police captain, who ordered the passengers off. The cops ran a check on Lugo, accused him of trying "to incite a riot" and called his supervisor. Lugo was cited for illegal use of his horn, for which he now faces a fine of up to $300. Then an MTA bus superintendent arrived at the scene, wrote Lugo up and ordered him to undergo drug and alcohol tests. Gil Rodriguez, vice president of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 said, "I've been with Transit for 32 years and never heard of anything like this."

Lugo's co-workers have expressed support for him, as have many other

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In Defense of Dick Fraser

Sex and Lies Pre-Videotape

In an article titled "Clara Fraser: Protesting Too Much—Personalism as a 'Political' Program" (*WV* No. 559, 18 September 1992), we wrote, "Even from beyond the grave, Dick Fraser haunts the FSP [Freedom Socialist Party], which obsessively continues to try to destroy him." At the time, FSP *ïder maxima*, Clara Fraser, who made her 1967 divorce from Dick Fraser the FSP's *raison d'être*, was still among the living. (Dick Fraser had died in 1988.)

Clara passed on to the great "Rebel Girl" Sorority in the sky in February of this year, but the FSP's slanderous campaign against Dick did not die with her. We publish below a statement by Dick's longtime collaborator and an FSP founder, Frank Krasnowsky, which demolishes the multiple lies about the Fraser divorce contained in *Revolution She Wrote*, a collection of Clara Fraser's writings posthumously published by the FSP.

Dick Fraser was a veteran of the revolutionary Trotskyist movement in the period from the 1930s to the 1950s in the United States, and he developed the program of revolutionary integration, which sees the struggle for black liberation in the U.S. as central and integral to the struggle for socialist revolution. Dick was a theoretical mentor of the Revolutionary Tendency (RT), precursor of the Spartacist League, which fought the degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the early 1960s, struggling among other things for an active Trotskyist intervention into the civil rights movement.

But Dick's own political trajectory at the time was not a revolutionary one. In the SWP, Dick and Clara had been associated with the group led by Murry and Myra Tanner Weiss, which by the late 1950s was on the right wing of the party. The Seattle-based SWP opposition, which Dick and Clara led, adapted opportunistically to the student-based New Left and became proponents of sectoralism, gutting the program of socialist revolution of its proletarian centrality by insisting that each oppressed "sector" (e.g., women, blacks, gays) must organize its own struggle separately. After the Frasers and their cothinkers left the SWP in 1966, they founded the FSP, for which polyvanguardism eventually became the *sine qua non* of its existence.

However, the Fraserites had left the SWP in opposition to the craven social-patriotism of the party's Vietnam antiwar work, encapsulated in the SWP slogan, "Bring Our Boys Home, Now." SWP majority hack Asher Harer, sent to Seattle in 1966, publicly denounced the branch for advocating a program of "driving the G.I.'s into the China Sea" and for its solidarity with the Vietnamese forces fighting U.S. imperialism. Dick was animated throughout his life by hard opposition to U.S. imperialism, but the same cannot be said for Clara. In 1985, her FSP followed its "people of color" solidarity rhetoric to its reactionary conclusion, supporting the CIA-backed Miskito Indians in Nicaragua against the radical petty-bourgeois Sandinista government!

Frank Krasnowsky recounts in his letter how he and Dick, along with other founding FSP cadre, split from Clara's increasingly bureaucratic FSP in 1967, establishing Freedom Socialist Publications, which published the journal *Revolutionary Age*. Clara and friends founded Radical Women, a feminist organization still associated with the FSP, as the codification of their "socialist feminist" perspeetive. Dick, Frank Krasnowsky and the other editors of *Revolutionary Age* moved in the direction of Maoism. In 1977, Clara's FSP attempted to broker a "regroupment" among disaffected ex-SWPers including Murry and Myra Weiss, forming the short-lived "Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party," mentioned in Krasnowsky's letter.

Dick Fraser had been a co-reporter on the struggle for black rights at the founding conference of the Spartacist League in 1966, but his growing support to the Stalinist leadership of Mao's China separated him from us for many years. His political activity was also sharply curtailed after he was diagnosed with cancer, against which he fought an agonizing battle. Dick began to collaborate with us again in the early 1980s when we initiated local organizations for labor/black defense, aiming to draw wider circles of black workers and youth around the party. Outraged by U.S. imperialism's brutal bombing of Libya in 1986, Dick joined the SL at the end of his life. We organized a memorial meeting for him in Los Angeles after his death. Those interested in learning more about Dick Fraser are referred to "In Memoriam: Richard S. Fraser—An Appreciation and Selection of His Work" (*Prometheus Research Series* No. 3 [August 1990]).

In the statement below, Krasnowsky mentions the crazed fascistic cult leader, Lyndon LaRouche. LaRouche started his political career as a leftist and member of the SWP, passing subsequently through Tim Wohlforth's American Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, and more briefly through the Spartacist League. Subsequently, LaRouche founded the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), which moved rapidly to the right in the mid-1970s when it began a demented campaign of physical attacks on the Communist Party. In 1977, the Spartacist League characterized LaRouche's NCLC as "a willfully provocative anti-working-class counterrevolutionary organization without significant internal contradictions."

WV Photo

Frank Krasnowsky at 1989 memorial meeting for Dick Fraser.

Slander as Revolutionary Politics

Methods of the Clara Fraser Cult

by Frank Krasnowsky

Statement by Frank Krasnowsky, first organizer of the Freedom Socialist Party, collaborator on all the organization's founding documents, editor of Freedom Socialist Publications' magazine Revolutionary Age, *former organizer and/or educational director of the Seattle Branch of the SWP, delegate to all SWP national conventions from 1946 to 1966, and local officer of USWA in Seattle—on and off—for 30 years.*

A new book of articles by and about Clara Fraser, *Revolution She Wrote*, repeats and enlarges upon her perverse slander of Richard Fraser, who, she asserts, sued her for custody of their child on the grounds of "adultery" and "neglecting family responsibilities for political work." Presenting such charges against one's wife in a bourgeois court is absolutely unacceptable to socialists and sincere feminists, and *Dick never made them* as anyone willing to look at the trial record of the custody case could learn for themselves. Since the charges were never made, Clara never had to answer them in court, yet her response to these supposed accusations is the centerpiece of the creation myth of the Fraser Cult. They have been repeated by Radical Women/FSP for thirty years, effectively smearing Dick's name among socialists, feminists and the Trotskyist left.

This slander, repeated in several of Clara's articles, is now extended to include all the comrades who, together with her, founded and developed the program of the Freedom Socialist Party, through Adrienne Weller's biography of Clara which is the book's coda. She accomplishes this by setting the court case back several months so that instead of taking place, as it did, *after* the FSP split, it takes place *before* and becomes the cause of the split. Thus, the members who left the organization to escape Clara's bureaucratic control, are transformed from Dick Fraser's political co-thinkers into collaborators in his abuse of Clara and in his legal case. Weller's crimped imagination creates a meeting where "Clara asked the membership to pass a resolution that Fraser drop his courtroom smears or be expelled." According to her: "The motion passed.... The minority...stormed out."

Illogic piles on illogic! According to this sycophant, courtroom smears that were never made were the basis for an organizational split that took place months before they weren't made! One needs more than Clara's lecture on dialectics to explain how Dick Fraser could be expelled for failing to "drop his courtroom smears" before he (allegedly) made them. Those who "stormed out" had been close comrades of Clara's for years, and I can attest that ***nobody who was a member of the orgonization would have endorsed the court allegotions ottributed to Dick Fraser under ony circumstonces.***

The book contains nothing on the actual origins of the FSP, and Weller may not be aware that those who left took with them the majority of the organization. This majority maintained an organization based on the FSP program, established *Freedom Socialist Publications*, and for more than five years published the magazine *Revolutionary Age* and issued several political pamphlets. One of our first tasks was to try and put to rest the political issues raised by the personal rift between Clara and Dick, which, while they had not yet come to court, had seriously affected the functioning of the FSP and what national reputation it enjoyed. To this end, with the directive of our organization and with Dick's approval, I scanned the affidavit he was to present to the court in his own defense against Clara's legal proceeding against him. He and Clara and I had been almost family for many years, so I was familiar with their marital problems and knew his obsession with keeping custody of his son. I avoided taking sides in the dispute but I wanted to be sure that his statement was an honest presentation of his opinion and would not politically embarrass the FSP. The charges Clara claims he made were not in the affidavit. While Dick was convinced that she had neglected their son, ***nowhere did he blame this neglect on party work. There were no charges of adultery.***

At Dick's request, I went with him to his attorney to file the final draft. She insisted that Dick could not possibly win the case without a charge of adultery, and notwithstanding his obsession with retaining custody of Jonny, he adamantly refused, abetted by me, to include the charge.

Clara never forgave me for interfering and forcing her to manufacture her slanderous recreation of the court case. Every cult needs a creation myth. The

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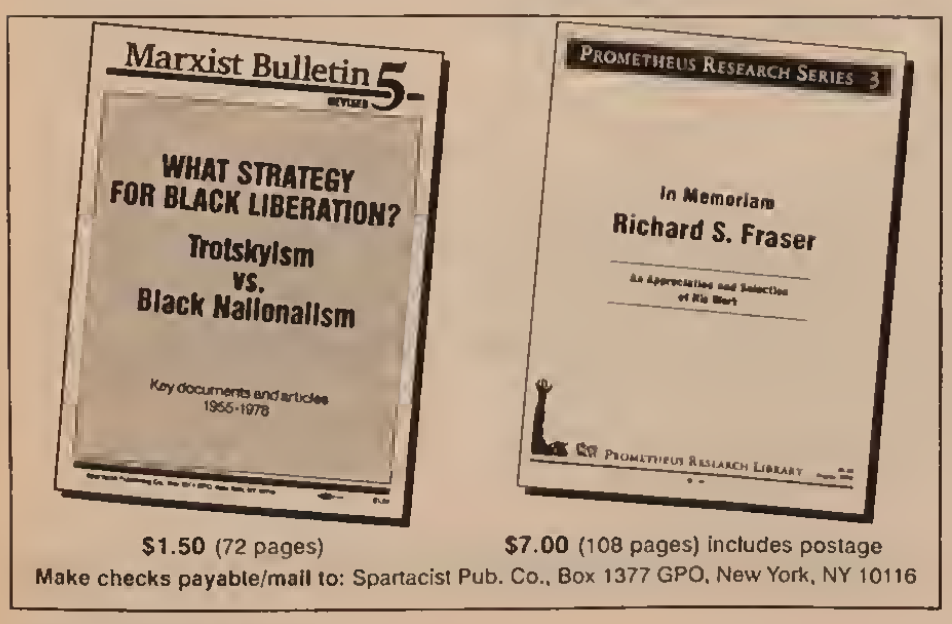

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"Workplace Violence" Witchhunt Targets Unions, Minorities

Carl Cephas, a black member of AFSCME Local 2477, has worked for 16 years at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. This spring, Cephas was suspended from his job on orders of the personnel director, supposedly because he was in danger of "going postal." The evidence? Cephas had, according to a June 1 report on National Public Radio, joked to a friend, "I'll get you Alligator Girl," paraphrasing a line from a Lon Chaney monster movie. Two anonymous co-workers overheard the conversation and filed a complaint. Cephas' desk was searched, turning up a humorous novel, *Going Postal*, and a "true crime series trading card." That was "evidence" enough for management to brand Cephas a homicidal maniac and threaten to take his job away.

Carl Cephas is among the many workers who have been ensnared in the nightmarish machinery of "workplace violence" programs, which have nothing to do with on-the-job safety and everything to do with union-busting. In recent years, scenes of armed security guards escorting laid-off workers away from their former jobs have become common. The intent of such intimidating measures was clear in the case of Kathy Saumier, a worker at Landis Plastics in Syracuse, New York. Saumier, who has since been reinstated, was fired from her job on charges of "sexual harassment" because she was leading a campaign to organize the plant for the United Steel Workers.

Capitalist propaganda aside, attacks by disgruntled employees are *not* the main source of injury or death in the very unsafe American workplace. A new report in *Business Week* (17 August) ranks

Okoniewski/NY Times

Kathy Saumier, fired for union organizing on bogus charge of "sexual harassment," subsequently won her job back.

the U.S. near the bottom among major industrialized countries in the incidence of "workplace violence." Meanwhile, as the recent rash of deadly construction accidents in New York City underscores, thousands of workers are killed or maimed every year in "industrial accidents"—victims of capitalist speedup and union-busting.

The notorious incidents which have given rise to the term "going postal" are themselves testament to the speedup and forced overtime imposed by the postal bosses, who seek to gut civil service job security by deliberately harassing workers in order to drive them to quit or to provoke a hostile response for which they can be fired. As one postal worker noted in a letter to *Workers Vanguard* some years ago: "In the absence of strike action and with our union bureaucrats selling us out in every conceivable way, the intense pressure and exploitation have driven some postal workers to desperate and crazy acts. What we really need is some hard class struggle" ("The Post Office Drives You Crazy," *WV* No. 542, 10 January 1992).

As speedup, layoffs and shrinking wages and benefits squeeze more profits out of the working class, the capitalists are pushing to return to the days when unions were banned as criminal conspiracies. This is exemplified by the use of the 1970 RICO (Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) Act, supposedly enacted to go after "organized crime," as the weapon of choice to bust unions like the Teamsters through blatant government intervention and takeover. Such "conspiracy" laws have also been used to break strikes and victimize picket-line militants on bogus charges like "kidnapping" scabs. The anti-union drive has intensified in the blowback from the Teamsters strike against UPS last summer, which took Wall Street by surprise, demonstrating the potential power of integrated class struggle.

Typical of this reaction was a series of articles in the *Wall Street Journal* last fall vituperating against "union coercion" and "picket-line violence." The bourgeoisie's manufactured hysteria about an "epidemic" of "workplace violence" serves to promote one of the most threatening new weapons of the capitalist employers against militants, minority workers and the very foundations of union organization. Anyone tagged as "potentially violent" can be stripped of rights and treated as a criminal. The programs typically bypass union contract protections against arbitrary company discipline, gutting minimal union grievance procedures. This constitutes a grave attack on the unions' very purpose: the defense of the workers against the bosses.

Arbitrary firings based solely on management's interpretation of someone's off-the-cuff comment hand the bosses a tool against union militants and "undesirables" like minorities and immigrants. Added to this is the sinister attempt to recruit workers to inform on each other in the name of "preventing violence." The result is a mechanism to purge the unions reminiscent of the McCarthyite witchhunt of the 1950s, substituting a trumped-up fear of violence for the red-scare anti-communism of the anti-Soviet Cold War.

War on Labor, War on Blacks

The past two decades in particular have been marked by violent capitalist class war against the American proletariat: outright union-busting, slashing of wages and benefits like medical care, "two tier" wage systems, replacing full-time jobs with low-paying, part-time jobs with no benefits, "outsourcing" to non-union shops. Private strikebreaking outfits are a major growth industry, as corporations spend billions of dollars to prevent unionization and to bust existing unions. On top of this are the billions in government expenditure on more cops and prisons to bolster the power of the bourgeois state, as the escalating exploitation of labor is accompanied by a political offensive against the exploited and oppressed. Racist terror, anti-woman bigotry and the generalized assault on the right to privacy are all necessary corollaries to the capitalist offensive.

Today, the "workplace violence" bogey is used to augment Clinton's arsenal of police-state repression. It's cut from the same cloth as the drug witchhunt cranked up in the 1980s and early 1990s, routinely used to victimize labor militants and minorities with notoriously inaccurate drug tests. In the false name of "safety," the 1991 Omnibus Transportation Employee Testing Act, for instance, increased the number of random drug and alcohol tests in that industry tenfold. As we wrote several years ago: "The 'war on drugs,' which has served as a pretext for massive cop occupations and racist assaults in the black ghettos and Hispanic barrios, is also a *war on labor*, targeting some of the most unionized, and heavily minority, workers" (*WV* No. 611, 25 November 1994). Just as the "war on drugs" was used to criminalize an entire generation of black youth, giving the U.S. the highest rate of incarceration in the world, the new "workplace violence" witchhunt criminalizes pro-labor, anti-employer behavior, attitudes and thoughts.

Notably, the *Wall Street Journal* (10 February 1997) includes among "employees most likely to engage in lethal acts of revenge" those who "file one grievance after another," challenge a superior who fires them or belong to "anti-government" groups. Other "incriminating" signs are "multiple gun ownership" or telling "inappropriate" jokes! A document on "Combating Workplace Violence" put out by the Private Sector Liaison Committee of the International Association of Chiefs of Police lays it all out: "Layoffs, increased workload, having to do more with less, and other unpopular changes in the work environment have been associated with increased risk for violence." This committee includes executives from Boeing, AT&T, IBM, Ford, J.C. Penney, American Airlines and Pinkerton. These strikebreakers directly enlist the racist thugs in uniform, the capitalist police, in enforcing on-the-job repression.

Unionized black workers are special targets. The wealthy handful who rule this country seek to foment racial divisions within the working class and whip up racist hatred with the stereotype of "violence-prone" black youth. This not only means racist discrimination on the job, but sets black youth up for murderous police assaults. U.S. capitalist rule rests on the oppression of the black population, which historically served as a "reserve army of labor," integrated into the capitalist economy at the bottom while socially segregated as an oppressed race-color caste. Always "last hired, first fired," with the decline of basic industry the ghetto masses are now considered a "surplus population" by the racist rulers. The chauvinist campaign against immigrants has likewise made Latinos and Asians targets for widespread harassment and victimization.

Jim West

Riot cops use pepper gas against Decatur, Illinois strikers, July 1994. While "workplace violence" witchhunt targets union militants, the capitalist rulers unleash cop violence to repress workers struggles.

The Frame-Up of Randy Kim

Two recent cases in the San Francisco Bay Area show the "workplace violence" witchhunt in action. Randy Kim worked as a district auto mechanic at the East Bay Municipal Utility District (EBMUD), which provides water and sewage services. A joke by Kim became the pretext for his suspension from the job, a chilling police raid on his home and outlandish charges of "terrorist threats." Following a pro forma management "hearing" on July 21, Kim was summarily fired just two years short of retirement. Three weeks later, on August 13, he was subjected to a court hearing on criminal charges. Much of this account is based on an interview

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with Kim by a *WV* reporter following a preliminary court hearing and on discussions with union members outside the courtroom.

Kim's 23 years on the job were an incentive for the bosses to ax him in favor of newer workers who are paid less. Moreover, Kim is a steward and former vice president of AFSCME Local 444 whose long history of union militancy has put him in the bull's-eye of a company vendetta. Just a few weeks prior to his suspension, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration had cited the company for several violations after Kim had called in the agency over dangerous working conditions. In 1989, he exposed evidence of corrupt financial dealings on the part of several managers, resulting in the forced transfer of some. An attempt to fire Kim at that time failed, but he has since faced systematic company harassment, including threats on the job and assignment to dangerous tasks despite his documented medical disabilities.

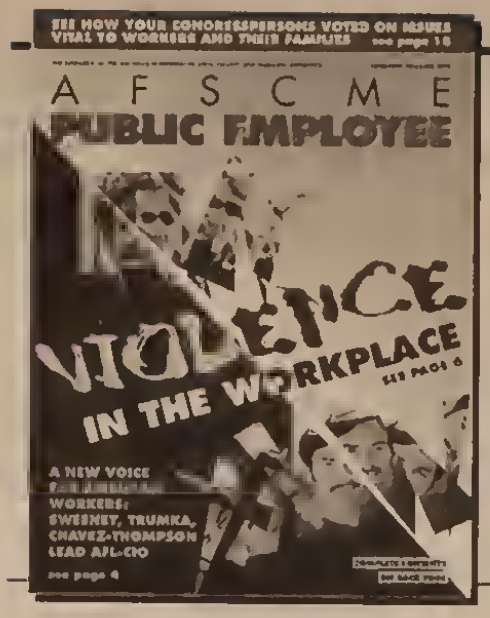
Kim told *WV* that two supervisors—both former cops—suspended him on April 9, the day after he jokingly remarked about what he might do, *if* he were going to die of cancer tomorrow, to the bosses who have harassed him for years. He had been finked on by a co-worker who is a good friend of one of the bosses. To reinforce the effort to fire him, the company then called police to frame him up on criminal charges under Penal Code 422, California's "Terrorist Threats" law.

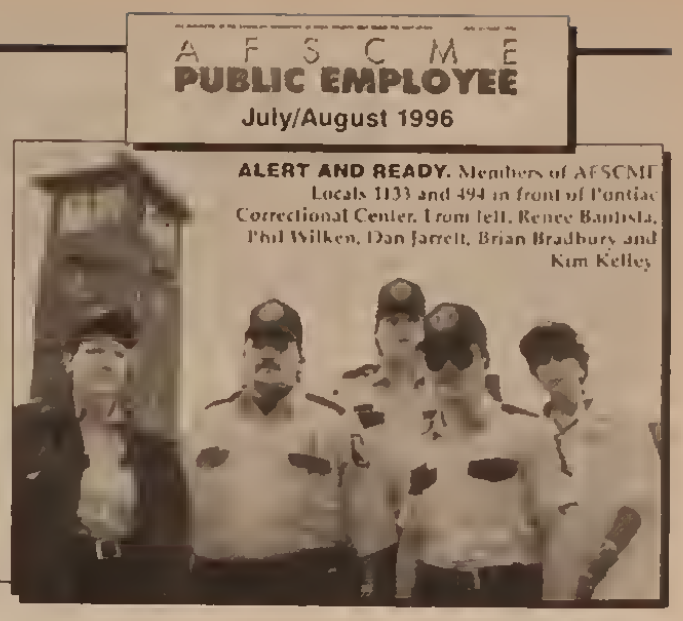
The next evening, 12 cops were waiting for Kim at his home; they handcuffed him in front of his 12-year-old son and his son's friend, and accused him of having an Uzi and a .50-calibre machine gun—neither of which he owned. This false information was intended to put Kim at risk of being killed by the cops. The cops took Kim's guns, all legally acquired, including valuable collector's items, and left. Three weeks later, two trumped-up charges based on his gun ownership—carrying a concealed weapon and carrying a concealed weapon in a public place—were tacked onto the original "terrorist threat" frame-up charge.

Behind this blatant frame-up lies virulent racism as well as union-busting. Kim is of Korean and Japanese descent. One of the managers who has it in for Kim displays a bumper sticker on his truck, "Friends don't let friends buy Jap trucks." This poisonous protectionism is a direct continuation of the murderous "yellow peril" chauvinism which led to the concentration-camp internment of Japanese Americans in California during World War II. The union has filed grievances against this same manager for calling black workers "n-----s."

Many of Kim's union brothers and sisters were outraged over his frame-up and rallied to his defense, correctly seeing the attack as a threat to all union members. Co-workers, friends and neighbors wrote 200 letters in Kim's defense. An article in defense of Kim in the Local 444 newsletter *Mainline* (July 1998) reported that almost 300 union members had signed a petition demanding Kim's reinstatement and the dropping of all charges. Both locals passed motions making the same demands, as well as donating money for legal expenses.

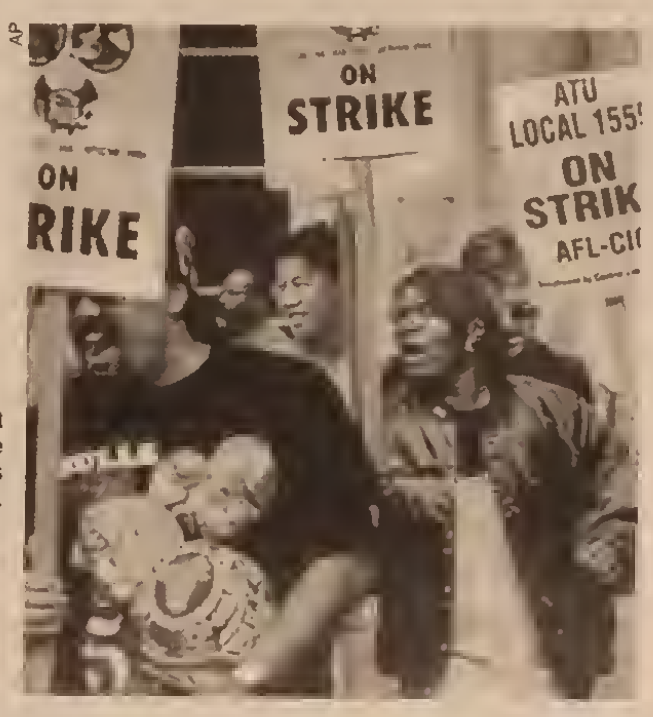
In a strong show of solidarity, an integrated contingent of 35 co-workers from AFSCME Local 444 and Local 2019—including the Local 444 president and several officers and executive board members of both locals—packed the courtroom at a preliminary July 17 hearing. Heated discussions took place outside the court following the hearing. While some unionists voiced illusions in the legal system and binding arbitration, others warned that this vicious frame-up was a grave threat to the whole union and argued for strike action to stop management from firing Kim. Workers have never won anything through reliance on the bosses' courts and laws, whose purpose is not justice but defense of the interests of the capitalist rulers. A number of workers have also expressed illusions in the EBMUD Board of Directors, which is nothing but an agency of the capitalists.





ALERT AND READY. Members of AFSCME Locals 1133 and 494 in front of Pontiac Correctional Center. From left, Renee Batista, Phil Wilken, Dan Jarrett, Brian Bradbury and Kim Kelley.

AFSCME tops support union-busting "workplace violence" campaign while organizing racist cops and prison guards. Cops out of the unions!



Bay Area transit workers on the picket lines in 1997.

from the process which victimized Kim. So docile are these union misleaders that the president and chief steward willingly allowed themselves to be scanned by metal detectors on the way into the July 21 "hearing" (held at the offices of a private investigative firm) which resulted in Kim's firing, thus contributing to management's campaign to paint Kim and his union supporters as violent criminals.

Having lost his job, Kim still faced criminal charges. At the August 13 court hearing, Kim accepted a deal by the District Attorney to drop the "terrorist threat" charge (which they would have had a hard time making stick) in exchange for pleading "no contest" to the minor weapons charge. Kim was sentenced to 30 days of community service and three years' probation. The probation terms—reinforced by a series of restraining orders from the company—ban Kim from setting foot on EBMUD property or having any contact with the supervisors who had brought the charges. Despite the "terrorist threat" charges being dropped, Kim remains fired and has been legally banned from his former place of work for three years without having been convicted of anything!

The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a contribution to Randy Kim's ongoing legal defense fund, and *Workers Vanguard* urges our readers to do likewise. They may be sent to: Randy K. Kim Solidarity Fund, c/o Alan A. Dressler, Attorney-at-law, 633 Battery Street, Suite 635, San Francisco, CA 94111.

Harassment Targets Bay Area Transit Workers

As happened to Randy Kim, a black Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) train operator was also recently set up, fired and hit with additional criminal charges. Last March, a *WV* reporter attended the criminal trial of Tracy Wade, a member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1555 who was charged with assault in a frame-up by a racist, anti-union passenger in October 1996. The trial took place amid a stepped-up campaign of harassment against BART workers in the aftermath of last September's strike, when management had whipped up a racist, anti-union frenzy among the yuppies who commute to San Francisco's financial district. Inspired by the UPS Teamsters strike, train operators and maintenance workers had shut down the BART system for six days. This solid strike was gutted in a backroom deal engineered by Labor Council bureaucrats working hand in glove with Democratic Party politicians like San Francisco mayor Willie Brown (see "Union Tops Scuttle Fight for Equal Pay for Equal Work," *WV* No. 674, 19 September 1997).

The 1996 incident occurred when Wade was in the cab of his train at a station in the upscale, mostly white suburb of Concord. A white woman passenger, a legal assistant for a law firm specializing in anti-union litigation, banged on the door and tried to force her way into the cab, where passengers are not permitted. She lyingly claimed the operator was drunk and smoking pot and filed a police complaint accusing Wade of physically attacking her and slamming the cab door on her hand. Though the interviewing cops could find no injury, a half hour later Wade was pulled off the train and tested for drugs. Despite testing negative, he was suspended. At a subsequent court hearing, he was arrested and jailed for five days. Then he was fired as the result of a kangaroo court company hearing.

In the criminal trial, another train operator who had witnessed the incident testified, helping to destroy the prosecution's case, which involved numerous flagrant inconsistencies in the passenger's story. Wade was acquitted of all charges—by an all-white jury, no less! Yet the next month a "neutral" arbitrator handed down an outrageous decision upholding Wade's firing, dismissing the testimony of the eyewitness explicitly because she was a union member!

Under Local 1555's contract, a victimized member's only recourse after a company disciplinary hearing is to go to binding arbitration, which must be approved in each case by a vote of a membership meeting; the union members are then individually assessed for the cost. BART workers told *WV* that following the arbitrator's decision, Local 1555 membership meetings passed a motion demanding Wade's reinstatement. But, as in Kim's case, union officials weren't about to do a thing until forced to by the members. Even then, they refused to mobilize union action, instead promoting "binding arbitration" as the answer. But the arbitrator's racist decision—an attack on the whole union—makes it clear that there is no such thing as "neutral" arbitration between workers and capitalists, whose interests are *counterposed*. With the union tops' refusal to mobilize the union in defense of Wade, the BART bosses

continued on page 11

AP

Murder at the workplace: 25 workers, mostly black women, were killed in fire at Hamlet, North Carolina poultry plant in 1991 because management kept exits locked.

Don Hughes, 1933-1998

Don Hughes, a longtime friend of the Spartacist League/Britain and the International Communist League, died in his home in Cwmcarn, South Wales on August 15. He was 65 years old.

Don was among a number of National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) militants who drew close to our party in the course of the yearlong 1984-85 British miners strike. Our comrades first met Don when he visited London during the summer of 1984, several months into the strike, to speak at support meetings and raise funds for the NUM. Because he was a powerful and effective orator, Don was always in demand as a speaker. But what set Don apart from the many other NUM militants who became eloquent exponents of the union's cause during the strike was his uncompromising hatred for capitalism and his refusal to kow-tow to the labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie.

Don was one of a group of militants which was the core of the strike at Celynen South colliery and had brought the pit out in the face of initial opposition. It was these workers, and not the official leadership of the local NUM lodge, who were the real strike leadership. Though already over 50 years of age, Don took an active part in the flying pickets which were a hallmark of the strike. The summer we met him, he was badly battered by the cops while taking part in a mass picket at the Orgreave coking facility in Yorkshire, where tens of thousands of mounted cops had finally dispersed the picketers after a huge pitched battle.

Don had a powerful sense of the class line. A comrade who visited him in July 1984 recalled his impression at the time that "Don embodies some of the finer traditions of the South Wales mining proletariat." Don explained his hatred of scabs by pointing to a tradition that was passed down over many, many generations in the South Wales coalfields. At a November 1984 SL/B public meeting in London, he recalled the instance of someone from a nearby mining village who had scabbed on the 1926 miners strike: "That man died with no one at his funeral, and he was a man of 84. We remember in South Wales over a very long period."

In the course of the strike, the SL/B newspaper *Workers Hammer* attained a fairly sizeable readership in the coalfields because of our straightforward defense of the strike and our exposure of the scab-herding of the Labour Party and trade-union misleaders. While many strikers detested the backstabbing Neil Kinnock, then the leader of the Labour Party, most of them thought the Labour Party could be reformed. Labourism was and is deeply ingrained in even the more militant sections of the British proletariat. But Don had long ago seen through these charlatans.

WV Photo

Don Hughes spoke at 1985 SL/U.S. gathering, presented miner's lantern to our party.

When Don was still a teenager, the postwar Attlee Labour government broke its promise that the National Health Service would provide free medical care and imposed fees. From that time on, Don said, he always recognized that the Labour and Conservative parties pursued the same fundamental end, the maintenance of the capitalist system, based on exploitation of the working class. When Kinnock made a cameo appearance at Celynen South the day before the strike ended, having devoted his efforts to violence-baiting the miners for defending their picket lines, that was the one and only time Don ever turned down picket duty.

Don was a revolutionary syndicalist of the old school. In the period prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, his outlook was not at all uncommon in Europe among subjectively revolutionary workers, who were driven to syndicalism by disgust with the parliamentary reformism of the social-democratic parties. After the strike was over, we sought to persuade Don to run in an election against Kinnock, who represented Don's parliamentary constituency. But Don maintained a principle against participating in parliamentary elections, and he would not budge from this. Nonetheless, when the SL/B published a supplement for the 1987 general elections which asserted "No vote to Judas Kinnock" and called for the forging of a Bolshevik party, Don distributed 700 copies by going door to door in six mining villages.

Don would always insist that he was "only a trade unionist" and that he left "politics" to others. But although Don never accepted the idea of a Leninist vanguard party, he was anything but a narrow trade unionist. He enthusiastically accepted an invitation to attend a gathering of the SL/U.S. in the summer of 1985, where he gave a powerful account of the strike and took part in a discussion of the history of British syndicalism and communism. He spoke at meetings organized by gay and lesbian rights organizations and had a passionate hatred of racism and fascism. Despite his meager income, only a few months before he died Don proudly made a substantial contribution to the campaign to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. He was a self-educated proletarian militant who maintained an active interest in political and social issues, and could always be counted on to make a perceptive contribution in any discussion, whether on the imperialist war in Vietnam or any other international or historical question. Don loved to argue about politics, and never tired of a good "chin wag" with a bottle of whiskey to share when comrades visited.

Following the defeat of the strike, Conservative prime minister Margaret Thatcher vindictively decimated the coal fields, completing the industrial devastation of South Wales, which had once been a center of coal mining and steel-making. When Don's pit was shut down, it was the last time he worked. After 38 years in the mines, like many other coal miners, Don suffered from severe respiratory diseases, which plagued him until his death. We extend our condolences to Don's many family and friends. This socialist and militant fighter will be sorely missed.

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The Red Cross and the Church—Partners in Crime

The AIDS Epidemic in Mexico

The following article is translated and abridged from the "Mujer y Revolución" (Women and Revolution) pages in Espartaco *(No. 11, Spring/Summer 1998), published by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League.*

ESPARTACO

At a February press conference during the Sixth World Conference on Disease in Mexico City, in the guise of protecting public health, an important health official retailed the lie that the principal cause of the spread of AIDS is not unprotected sex but...condoms! The official asserted: "I feel that the more the use of condoms is promoted as a possibility for preventing infection, the more infections there will be." He then ranted that "we have many other needs and if ten thousand people die of AIDS while a million have respiratory or digestive illnesses, I think that it is much more important to help the million people than the ten thousand" (*La Jornada*, 7 February). Lying that condoms fail 40 percent of the time, he also blamed the media and the National Council for the Prevention and Control of AIDS (Conasida)—

Rick Gerharter/Impact Visuals

Protest by AIDS activists in Mexico City, 1993.

an official institution for AIDS prevention—for the spread of the disease.

Who said this? The Pro Vida (Pro Life) —i.e., pro-AIDS—bigots or the Catholic church? No, it was José Barroso Chávez, the president of the Mexican Red Cross, an international health organization which supposedly helps the sick! It is a recognized fact that condoms remain the most effective protection against the sexual transmission of AIDS, if they are used correctly and *in every instance of sexual contact*. Given that the Red Cross isn't ignorant of this, Barroso's ravings are part of a criminal campaign of hysteria and prejudice promoted even as many deadly misconceptions remain prevalent, like the notion that it is possible to prevent AIDS by bathing before and after sex or that AIDS can be detected from one's external appearance ([Mexico City] *News*, 4 February).

While some groups around the country denounced Barroso's grotesque remarks and demanded his resignation, all but two members of the board of directors of the Mexican Red Cross voted full confidence in their leader. Notably, while declaring its opposition to discrimination, the International Red Cross has said nothing about Barroso, claiming that it cannot interfere with the Mexican organization because the groups are "autonomous and responsible for their own governing bodies" (*La Jornada*, 18 February). Thus, the Red

Cambio 16

Impoverished slum dwellers in Mexico. As rate of infection skyrockets, AIDS has increasingly become disease of poverty.

Cross is sentencing millions of people around the world to death.

Even before Barroso's reactionary remarks, the Mexican Red Cross systematically discriminated against AIDS patients. In the Baja California town of La Paz, the Red Cross was accused of medical negligence and discrimination against poor patients for refusing treatment even when lives were at risk. Even though its services are supposedly free, there is the case of Casimiro Méndez, who wasn't treated because he had no money, or that of Justino Rosas Vargas, who was negligently discharged without treatment even though he was known to be suffering from a brain trauma—a life-threatening condition (*La Jornada*, 17 March).

Barroso's backward remarks came in the midst of a xenophobic campaign in Chiapas and other areas. Thus, Pro Vida president Jorge Serrano Limón appealed to the Mexican government to expel Rainer Rosenbaum of the United Nations Population Council because his work promotes birth control and his "vile" declarations in favor of abortion "damage" public health and violate the human rights of Mexican couples (*La Jornada*, 9 March)! Such charges are truly grotesque given that *illegal* abortions are the third or fourth greatest cause of death among women in Mexico.

In Mexico, dangerous displays of superstition and "morality" from the Catholic church are common. Archbishop Javier Lozano Barragán rants against condoms as a "giant farce," basing himself on a study solicited by the "impartial" Vatican. Though about as "scientific" as exorcism, this study was also cited by Barroso. Barragán also denounces a back room deal between the government and "the big latex-producing laboratories...in order to maintain their profits worldwide." Such charges really take some chutzpah coming from the institution of the medieval Inquisition, that bastion of "faith" which perversely tortured and killed millions of innocent people in order to enrich itself. The church thus became the largest landowner in Mexico and parts of Europe! In the eyes of the church, AIDS is a gift from god to rid the world of sinners, gays and "wayward" women.

The "holy" union between the Red Cross and the reactionary Catholic church is nothing new. In the name of anti-Communism, both organizations actively assisted the Nazis during and after World War II. The International Red Cross issued fake passports to Nazis (many even in their real names!) in order to find them refuge in Latin America. The Catholic church, with its vile anti-Semitic poison, refused to help Jewish refugees escape the ovens of the Holocaust.

Despite Barroso's deadly lies, the HIV virus cannot "pass through the pores of a condom." Rather it is transmitted through semen or other secretions when condoms are not used during sex, through intravenous drug use, blood transfusions, or from a pregnant woman to the fetus. Not all those infected with HIV develop AIDS, which kills by attacking the body's immune system. Many patients die of opportunistic infections like pneumonia and other complications. While there is presently no cure, the spread of AIDS could be dramatically reduced through public education on condom use, through sterile needles for drug users, through drugs which would reduce the transmission of AIDS by pregnant and lactating women to their babies, and through systematic screening of blood for transfusions.

As the rate of infection rises steeply, AIDS has become a disease of poverty. In wealthy countries, the disease spreads most rapidly among the poor, and 90 percent of all cases are now found in underdeveloped countries, with Mexico ranking eleventh in the world and third in the hemisphere in the per capita rate of infection, after Brazil and the United States. Mexico City, one of the largest cities in the world, already accounts for a quarter of all AIDS cases in the country, and one in 70 city inhabitants are expected to be infected by the year 2000. Yet it still has not established a prevention program! As in many other underdeveloped countries, the obstacles to reducing the spread of AIDS in Mexico are diverse: a church ban on contraceptives, lack of education on prevention, women's oppression and anti-gay bigotry, contaminated blood banks, rampant poverty, prostitution and illiteracy.

In Mexico City, 44 percent of AIDS cases are to be found among youths between the ages 15 and 29. As a result of poverty, the moralist dictates of the Catholic church and bourgeois reaction, 73 percent of sexually active youth do not use any type of contraception! The infection is spreading like wildfire especially among women and the rural population, where access to health care is totally inadequate and some 48 percent of the indigenous population is illiterate.

Because AIDS is largely sexually transmitted, this question intersects ingrained prejudices in bourgeois society which have been manipulated from the start in the service of obscene fanaticism and repression. Bourgeois politicians, the church and official and private institutions such as the Red Cross reinforce the belief that sex outside marriage is dangerous and immoral in order to shore up the institution of the family, the main source of women's oppression. Since homosexuality is perceived as a threat to the patriarchal family, especially in a Catholic country like Mexico, gays are brutally oppressed and even murdered. Even though AIDS is transmitted largely through heterosexual relations, it is still portrayed as a gay disease. AIDS patients are targets of systematic bigotry, thrown out of their jobs and homes, rejected by their families and subjected to discriminatory treatment in hospitals.

The worldwide AIDS pandemic is a crime of the bourgeoisie internationally, as scientific research and vital public health services, education and prevention are abandoned because of the dictates of the profit system and its social props—the family and organized religion. Medicine for profit means that the poor die while the rich can get treatment, even if this requires taking a plane to New York or Paris. In the 1980s, blood banks in France, Germany, Canada, Japan and the U.S. knowingly sold HIV-infected blood for years, infecting thousands because blood screening was "too expensive"! And while mothers with AIDS have been used as guinea pigs in studies in the Dominican Republic, Thailand and many African countries, to this day only four countries (France, Great Britain, the U.S. and Cuba) carry out research to develop preventive vaccines against the virus. The miserable conditions of poverty produced by capitalism are the perfect breeding ground for infectious diseases such as AIDS, cholera and tuberculosis. Only an internationally planned socialist economy can wipe out poverty and promote universal public health. For billions of dollars for an international program of AIDS research!

The Grupo Espartaquista de México fights for massive public education, free distribution of condoms, decriminalization of drugs, free health care, free and anonymous AIDS testing, free abortion and contraception, full democratic rights for homosexuals and against discrimination in the treatment of AIDS patients. For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For socialist revolution throughout the Americas!■

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No. 29
August 1998

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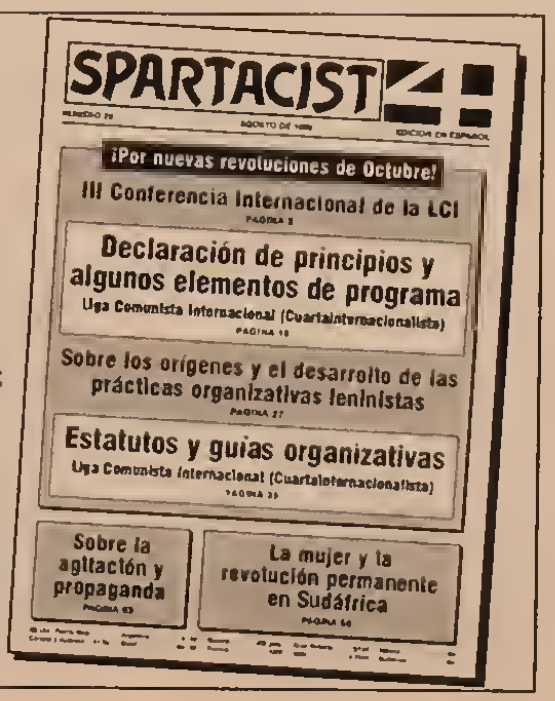

Young Spartacus

Eco-Radicalism and Bourgeois Politics

AP photos

Ecology activists protest logging of redwood forests; Vice President Al Gore preaches for environmental "reform." Environmentalist movement encompasses both Green "radicals" and key sections of capitalist ruling class.

For International Socialist Planning, Not Capitalist Plunder!

Part One

We publish below the first half of an edited presentation by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour tracing the development of the environmentalist movement, which is currently a focus of attention particularly among campus youth. As materialists, Marxists approach ecology, and all such issues, on the basis of scientific knowledge. Thus, the following talk was supplemented by a presentation by comrade Carl Lewis outlining the scientific and technological considerations involved in various environmental questions like global warming.

The two presentations were delivered at the third annual "Youth Maintenance and Educational Work-In," which brings together young members of the SL and the Spartacus Youth Clubs for training in manual skills combined with educational presentations on the history and program of the Marxist movement. This annual event is motivated by the understanding, as we wrote in "Maintenance and the Communist Movement" (WV No. 605, 2 September 1994) that "if you cannot, in an educated way, work with your hands, you are ineffectual."

As a rule, political parties, groups, movements and prominent individuals can be located, and often locate themselves, along a left-right spectrum. However, the environmentalist movement in the U.S. seems to defy obvious placement along a left-right axis. Depending on how one selects the evidence, it can be demonstrated that the environmentalist movement is a radically leftist opposition to capitalism or, alternatively, a current in the very mainstream of American bourgeois politics.

One of the prominent figures in the movement is Barry Commoner, who considers himself a socialist, occasionally cites Marx for authority and advocates global economic planning. Self-styled "eco-Marxists" put out a journal called *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*. At farm workers rallies in California, one will see contingents from the Green Party. Kirkpatrick Sale, author of the only good history of the New Left SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), maintained some years ago that the American radical left was just as strong as it had been in the 1960s, only now it was embodied in the environmentalist movement.

This view is mirrored by the movement's right-wing opponents. A former Republican governor of Washington described environmentalism as "anti-business, anti-established institutions and, above all, anti-capitalism." Shortly after Ronald Reagan became president in 1981, a conference of the right-wing Young Americans for Freedom chanted, "Nuke the whales" to express their intense hostility to the Greens, whom they viewed as far more significant opponents on the campuses than the reds.

Yet one can present other evidence to paint a totally different picture. Among the many corporate contributors to the Audubon Society, a mainstream environmentalist organization, are Chevron, General Electric, IBM, DuPont and J. P. Morgan. There is a large government bureaucracy which administers the multitude of laws and regulations "protecting" the environment. Reagan's successor, George Bush, whom no one would accuse of being anti-capitalist, dubbed himself "the environmental president." And shortly before his election as vice president in 1992, Democrat Al Gore published a book titled *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit*.

How does one explain a movement which encompasses both self-described anarchists and Marxists and the vice president of the most powerful imperialist country in the world? People in the environmentalist movement would answer that it has two wings: a moderate or reformist wing represented by organizations like the Audubon Society and a radical wing—the people in it call themselves "deep ecologists"—represented by "Earth First!" Chevron and J. P. Morgan are not going to contribute tens of thousands of dollars to Earth First!

As Marxists—dialectical materialists—we stand in fundamental political opposition to both wings of the environmentalist movement. Capitalist governments will never sacrifice the profits of large corporations and banks to "protect the environment," no matter how piously they pay lip service to it. And the economic primitivism preached by the Green radicals is both reactionary and utopian. Control over major ecological problems such as air and water pollution can be achieved only within the framework of an *internationally planned, socialist economy*. This in turn requires *workers revolutions* to take the factories, transport systems, oil fields, mines and other means of production from the privately owned and profit-maximizing corporations and banks which now dominate the world economy.

The Two Faces of Bourgeois Ideology

A major factor underlying the ideological confusion generated by the environmentalist movement is that Green radicals identify capitalism *as such* with what can be called consumerism and a

Der Spiegel | Mainstream

Where 18th century British economist Adam Smith (left) argued that technology would lead to increased prosperity, Thomas Malthus said population growth necessarily meant continued poverty.

belief in the limitless expansion of material wealth through scientific and technological innovation. But such a view of capitalism is profoundly false because it is *one-sided*, analogous to regarding only the Republican Party as the party of big business in the U.S. To begin with, the equation of capitalist ideology with consumerism and the worship of technological progress disregards religion. If you see a guy on Wall Street carrying a sign saying, "God will punish New York, the Babylon of the modern world," you would not conclude that he is a radical leftist opponent of capitalism. On the other hand, he is not likely to be a public relations man for the Federal Reserve System or Merrill Lynch—though these days you never know!

Green radicalism implicitly denies that Christianity is a central ideological pillar of the Western bourgeois order, that the churches—both Catholic and Protestant—are institutions in their own way just as crucial in present-day America and Europe as stock exchanges and advertising agencies. Recall that the main bourgeois party in Europe's most powerful capitalist state, Germany, calls itself the Christian Democracy.

The Polish pope, John Paul Wojtyla, played a key role in the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe. Yet in a 1995 papal encyclical, Wojtyla denounced the "powerful cultural, economic and political currents which encourage an idea of society excessively concerned with efficiency." The same encyclical attacks the "reckless tampering with the world's ecological balance." As we shall see, radical environmentalism as an ideology has a quasi-religious character sharing certain basic premises with Christian doctrine.

But even if we consider secular bourgeois economic doctrines, these do *not* all promise a boundless cornucopia of material wealth. At the very beginning of industrial capitalism in England and Scotland in the late 18th century, two different—in a sense alternative—currents of bourgeois economic ideology emerged, the one optimistic, the other pessimistic. Adam Smith maintained that capitalist entrepreneurs, spurred by market competition, would steadily increase the wealth of nations through technological innovation. However, 20 years later Thomas Malthus, a minister of the Church of England, the state church, argued that the large majority of mankind is condemned to perpetual poverty because of the naturally limited supply of agricultural land. He wrote: "The power of population is indefinitely greater than the power in the earth to produce subsistence for man."

Over the next two centuries, depending upon economic and political conditions, optimistic forms of bourgeois economic ideology have been ascendant at some times, pessimistic doctrines promoted and widely accepted at others. The growth of a significant environmentalist movement in the U.S. in the 1970s was linked to a shift in the dominant bourgeois ideology, especially among liberals, from Keynesianism to "energy Malthusianism." A seminal document of this movement, the 1972 *Blueprint for Survival*, stated: "*Indefinite* growth of whatever type cannot be sustained by *finite* resources. This is the nub of the environmental predicament."

Leon Trotsky once pointed out that revolutionary politics does *not* consist in putting a minus wherever the bourgeoisie puts a plus, and vice versa. And especially when it comes to environmental issues, the bourgeoisie is often divided. Nor do we determine our positions in response to those of other political tendencies, whether of the far right or the far left. We determine our positions on all questions by the *objective*—and I emphasize objective—interests of the proletarian revolution as a necessary transition to communism.

We judge environmental issues and conflicts on the objective merits of the concrete case. When environmentalist groups are raising a hue and cry that a corporation is dumping toxic wastes in a residential area, they may well be exposing a capitalist crime against public health. On the other hand, when millionaire homeowners oppose additional residential construction in their neighborhood in the name of "protecting the environment," the environment they're protecting is one in which their children will go to school only with the children of other white millionaires.

It is also important to stress that our position on environmental issues is necessarily governed not only by our political principles but also scientific and technical *knowledge*. For example, we have published a number of articles over the years on the issue of nuclear power generation and attendant questions, like disposal of nuclear waste material. In discussing such questions, as in the article "Nuclear Power and the Workers Movement" (*WV* No. 146, 25 February 1977), we examined the available scientific material.

As that article makes clear, we are opposed to the Green campaign against the generation of electric power through nuclear fission under any and all circumstances. But we do not therefore endorse the policies and activities of the firms involved in nuclear power or the government agencies overseeing them. Rather we demand workers' control over safety standards and practices in nuclear power plants, which is a direct challenge to capitalist prerogatives. More generally, our opposition to environmentalism as a movement and ideology does *not* mean we are indifferent to the degradation of the environment resulting from the present organization of industrial technology, just as our opposition to feminism as a movement and ideology does not mean we are indifferent to the oppression of women. Quite the contrary.

Library of Congress

White House Historical Association

Massacre of Cheyenne Indians in Oklahoma by Custer's troops. Right: John Muir with fellow conservationist and imperialist president Theodore Roosevelt in Yosemite, 1906. Muir endorsed murderous military expeditions which drove Native American Indians out of Yosemite.

Michael Yamashita

Profit-driven destruction of forests in Indonesia led to uncontrolled fires last year which blanketed entire region with suffocating smoke.

Malthus and Bourgeois Historical Pessimism

The environmentalist movement in the U.S. today was formed as a confluence—to use a good ecological term meaning flowing together—of three different currents arising in different historical eras. The first, already alluded to, is Malthusian economics. The second is the bourgeois conservationist movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries as represented by the Sierra Club, formed in 1892 by the famous naturalist John Muir. Its main political representative was Republican president Theodore Roosevelt, the most bellicose American imperialist of the day.

The third current emerged from New Left radicalism. In the late 1960s, many young American radical leftists idealized the peasant communes of Mao's China as an alternative to the money-grubbing, dog-eat-dog, gadget-ridden Western capitalist societies. A decade or so later, some of the same people idealized the primitive peoples—the ecologically correct term is primal peoples—of the Amazon basin, imbuing them with the same anti-bourgeois, countercultural virtues.

But let's begin at the beginning, with Malthusianism. What is called the Malthusian doctrine of population did not, in fact, originate with Thomas Malthus. During the 18th century, British bourgeois intellectuals studying economic and social change observed that when harvests were good, the lower classes married younger, had more children, more of whom lived to maturity, and therefore demand for food increased. If agricultural output did not increase proportionally, food prices rose and more people died of hunger and disease, especially infants and young children.

The enormous influence exercised by Malthus' 1798 *Essay on the Principle of Population* did not derive from its intrinsic intellectual merit but rather from the political context in which and for which it was written. Malthusian economics was an important and integral part of the ideological counteroffensive against the French Revolution. Not only feudal reactionaries throughout Europe but also the English bourgeoisie feared, and rightly so, that the principles of "liberty, equality and fraternity" would be embraced by their own lower classes. For comrades interested in this chapter of English history, I recommend E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*.

Malthus maintained that a society based on the principles of "liberty, equality and fraternity" was impossible because of the fundamental workings of *natural* law. His essay was written as a polemic against the leading English radical William Godwin, a prominent supporter of the French Revolution. Against Godwin, Malthus asserted:

> "This natural inequality of the two powers of population, and of production in the earth, and that great law of our nature which must constantly keep their effects equal, form the great difficulty that to me appears insurmountable in the way to the perfectibility of society."

Along the same lines, Malthus argued:

> "The principal and most permanent cause of poverty has little or no *direct* relation to forms of government, or the unequal division of property; and that, as the rich do not in reality possess the power of finding employment and maintenance for the poor the poor cannot, in the nature of things, possess the *right* to demand them."

Friedrich Engels, in his first major work, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, summarized the ideological import of Malthus' doctrine: "that the earth is perennially over-populated,

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Eco-Radicalism...

(continued from page 9)

whence poverty, misery, distress, and immorality must prevail; that it is the lot, the eternal destiny of mankind, to exist in too great numbers, and therefore in diverse classes, of which some are rich, educated, and moral, and others more or less poor, distressed, ignorant, and immoral."

Our opposition to Malthusianism does not mean we are indifferent to the question of population growth. Indeed, such a view is incompatible with the Marxist outlook if for no other reason than that birth control is necessary to liberate women from patriarchal domination and household drudgery, especially in backward countries. In an 1881 letter to Karl Kautsky, Engels wrote:

> "The abstract possibility that mankind will increase numerically to such an extent that its propagation will have to be kept within bounds does, of course, exist. But should communist society ever find itself compelled to regulate the production of humans in the same way as it has already regulated the production of things, then it, and it alone, will be able to effect this without difficulty."

What Engels considered an abstract possibility has today, I would argue, become a reality, though not for Malthusian reasons. In the late 19th century, the difference between the economic conditions of the masses in the advanced and backward countries was nowhere near as great as it is in the tail end of the 20th. Having an automobile, as do most working-class families in the U.S., allows for a totally different and richer way of life than living in a Mexico City slum or an Indian village. An international federation of workers states would confront the vast economic gulf separating the so-called First World from the Third World. And this will be a source of considerable political tensions. Raising the population of China and India to the material level of North America or Japan will be a lot easier and a lot faster if that population is much smaller than at present.

Eco-Freaks vs. the Atomic Energy Lobby

Nuclear Power and the Workers Movement

by Jail Maxwell

WORKERS VANGUARD

—25 February 1977

Spartacists opposed eco-radical campaign against nuclear power. Marxists stand for the development of science and technology.

Dietz Verlag Berlin

Friedrich Engels denounced Malthusian doctrine for justifying impoverishment of the working class. Right: London poorhouse for the unemployed, 1902.

CFF Archive

By the mid-19th century, the vast expansion of agricultural production in North America disproved and discredited Malthusian doctrine in its original form. It was clear that the rapid growth of an urban population in England would not lead to severe food shortages and famine. However, there remained concern about shortages of other natural resources. In the 1860s, a prominent British bourgeois economist, William Stanley Jevons, predicted that England would soon run out of coal. "The conclusion is inevitable," he wrote, "that our present happy progressive condition is a thing of limited duration." The idea that the growth of industrial society was ultimately limited by the finite supply of natural resources remained a minor current of bourgeois economic thought until the 1970s, when it again became a major current.

Conservationism and American Nationalism

Before discussing why this happened, I want to discuss the second major current feeding into the environmentalist movement: the bourgeois conservationist movement. By the end of the 19th century, a large majority of the American bourgeoisie and upper petty bourgeoisie lived in cities or suburbs. At the same time, many of them enjoyed hunting, fishing and roughing it in the great outdoors. They thus campaigned to preserve the country's diminishing wilderness areas, which were largely owned by the federal government, especially west of the Rockies, in order to pursue these activities.

The first major conservationist organizations were the Boone and Crockett Clubs, named after the fabled frontiersmen Daniel Boone and Davy Crockett, whose members were almost all avid hunters. When I was a kid, I visited Teddy Roosevelt's home on the north shore of Long Island. If it had four legs and moved, this guy shot it. On every wall there were stuffed heads of game animals—moose, elk, water buffalo, grizzly bears.

Of course, there's nothing bad about hunting, fishing, bird watching, mountaineering and backpacking in the wilderness. We have comrades who enjoy these activities. However, in the era of John Muir and Teddy Roosevelt, such forms of recreation were largely the preserve of the upper classes and so acquired an aristocratic aura. Before the automobile culture, the urban working class and lower petty bourgeoisie had no access to the country's remaining wilderness areas.

Nonetheless, many of the specific policies promoted by the conservationists were progressive—the establishment of national parks, forests and wildlife refuges, limits on tree-cutting to make forests self-regenerating, the prohibition on dumping toxic wastes in lakes and rivers. But I want to focus on the ideological outlook of the conservationist movement. Love of nature became an important component of American *nationalist* ideology in this period. The remaining wilderness areas were viewed as the country's most precious national heritage. While Europe had its historic castles, its magnificent palaces and art collections, America had its majestic mountains, its primeval forests, its crystal-clear lakes. It was no coincidence that the most politically powerful representative of conservationism, Teddy Roosevelt, was also the main representative of nascent American imperialism. While he was president, Roosevelt made a pilgrimage to John Muir's cabin in the Sierras to pay homage to the high priest of conservationism.

The same social and ideological milieu which gave rise to the conservationist movement also established the Boy Scouts and Campfire Girls. These were originally organizations of class-privileged youth which combined nationalist ideology with outdoorsmanship. Being able to rough it in the wild was regarded as the mark of a red-blooded American. The teenage son of a businessman or professional who spent the summer backpacking in the Adirondacks or Sierras was seen as having an ennobling experience inaccessible to the son of an Irish or Italian worker living in the urban slums. In the U.S., class and ethnic privilege always go together. The American bourgeoisie was then overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon or, more generally, North European Protestant. The industrial working class was predominantly Irish, Italian and East European, traditionally Catholic and heavily immigrant.

The conservationist movement by its very nature was imbued with a nativist outlook. The large majority of its supporters were disdainful toward ethnic Catholics and regarded blacks and Asians as *untermenschen* (subhumans). The administration of Teddy Roosevelt, the conservationist president, negotiated a so-called "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan to prohibit further immigration from that country.

More generally, bourgeois conservationists saw themselves as morally superior to the vulgar masses, especially the immigrant communities, who were supposedly indifferent to preserving the country's natural heritage. At the extreme, conservationism took on a quasi-religious character. Thus John Muir wrote:

> "Thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilised people are beginning to find out that going to the mountains is going home; that wildness is a necessity and that mountain parks and reservations are useful not only as fountains of timber and irrigating rivers but as fountains of life. Awakening from the stupefying effects of the vice of over-industry and the deadly apathy of luxury they are trying as best they can to mix and enrich their own little ongoings with those of Nature...some are washing off sins and cobweb cares of the devil's spinning in all-day storms on mountains."
>
> —quoted in David Pepper, *The Roots of Modern Environmentalism* (1982)

Go stand in a mountain storm in the Sierras and the only thing that will be washed away will be you!

Doubtless to the consternation of his latter-day followers, many of whom glorify Native American Indian culture, Muir was hardly "progressive" on this question. In his book *The Yosemite* (1912), Muir waxed lyrical about how successive U.S. military expeditions forced the Indians—denounced by Muir for their "murdering, plundering style"—"into reservations, some peacefully, others by burning their villages and stores of food." And when Basque sheepherders first entered the eastern Sierras, Muir denounced them for despoiling the pristine state of nature. Here we have the central tenet of Green radicalism, that nature in its pristine state must be preserved against the predations of human civilization.■

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Snoops...

(continued from page 1)

yellow tie when Lewinsky appeared before the grand jury? While legal "experts" drone on about whether Clinton is guilty of perjury or obstruction of justice for lying about his affair with Lewinsky, commentator Hendrik Hertzberg got to the point when he wrote in the *New Yorker* (17 August):

> "Obstacles may well have been placed in the path of an unaccountable prosecutorial bureaucracy that for obscure reasons has developed a single-minded obsession with discovering at any cost, and publicizing in sniggering detail, precisely what private sexual acts were engaged in by the President and the former intern. One can only hope so. But in what sense does the promulgation of details of this kind constitute justice? Doesn't this particular exercise in salacious nosiness *deserve* to be obstructed?"

Indeed, the Starr investigation underlines the sinister quality of the whole grand jury system, where anybody can be hauled before a prosecutorial inquiry without even the right to an attorney and threatened with imprisonment on contempt charges for refusing to "cooperate." In recent years, such repressive and invasive methods have been significantly expanded. Indeed, the Clinton White House has overseen some of the greatest assaults on civil liberties of any president in decades—from gutting the centuries-old right of *habeas corpus* to imposition of secret deportation trials of immigrants. And if they can't frame you up on bogus criminal charges, they can throw you in jail simply for the felony crime of lying—about anything—to a federal officer like an FBI agent or a customs official.

As communists, we are intransigently opposed to both capitalist parties, Democrats and Republicans. Bill Clinton is commander in chief of U.S. imperialism, and as such a deadly enemy of working people and minorities in the U.S. and around the world. But we are not indifferent to the anti-sex witchhunt which has now targeted Clinton. The seemingly limitless powers of the Starr chamber to pry into Clinton's and Lewinsky's private lives through harassment and intimidation are a threat to the most elementary right to privacy for the population as a whole. And that is what accounts for much of the public disgust with this inquisition. If the long arm of the sex cops can reach into the White House, many understand, then what about their own bedrooms? As we noted in "'Family Values' Reaction, Sex and the White House" (*WV* No. 684, 13 February): "The notion that even the president of the United States could be brought down by sex snoops does not sit well with many people."

Even the bourgeois press has deigned to observe that Clinton is hardly the first president to be caught with his pants down. John F. Kennedy had a virtual harem, ranging from Marilyn Monroe to Mafia moll Judith Exner, and everybody from George Washington to the stolid Warren Harding had their dalliances. An op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (23 August) calling to "reset our moral course" noted: "Most of our presidents have been morally tarnished in one way or another, and many have committed adultery or lied to the nation or both. But Bill Clinton is the President under today's rules."

"Today's rules" are defined by a climate of backward religiosity, anti-sex fervor and wholesale assault on constitutional rights—in which Clinton himself has played a not insignificant role. In the past few years, the bourgeoisie has moved to rein in some of the anti-sex witchhunt's more demented aspects, like the search for imaginary "satanic ritual abuse" at day-care centers. But more broadly, the capitalist rulers promote this reactionary offensive. Its purpose is to bolster the bourgeois status quo, the powers of the bourgeois state and the repressive institution of the family, the main source of the oppression of women and a key conservatizing prop which serves as an ideological transmission belt for the "values" of the capitalist rulers.

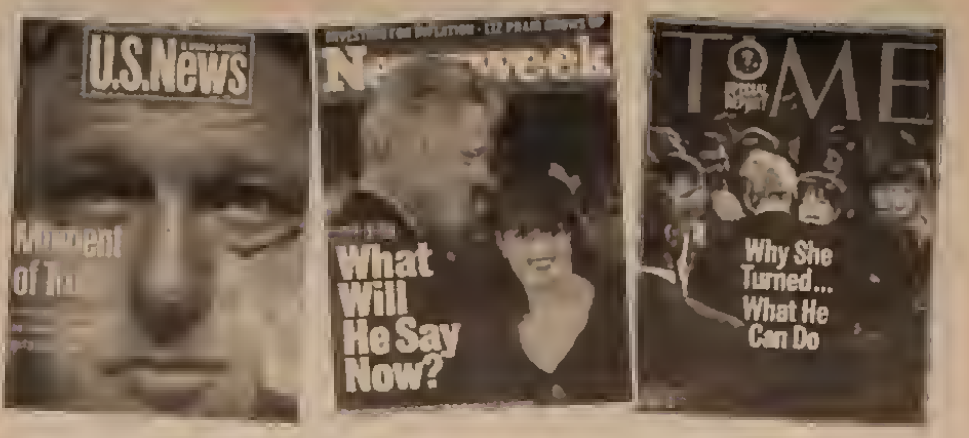
Particularly beginning with the presidency of "born again" Democrat Jimmy Carter, the forces of the religious right have been emboldened in their bigoted attacks on anything that deviates from white Christian fundamentalism. In the aftermath of U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat on the battlefields of Vietnam, Carter's crusade for "moral rearmament" was aimed at regimenting the population for a renewed war drive against the Soviet Union. As Gore Vidal noted at the time in an essay titled "Sex Is Politics," when the threat of external "enemies" failed to rouse "a howl of manly rage," the powers that be reverted "to the tried-and-true hot buttons: save our children, our fetuses, our ladies' rooms from the godless enemy."

Today, encouraged by counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and lacking the ideological battle cry of "fighting godless Communism," the religious right, aided and abetted by both Republican and Democratic politicians, is taking aim at the very right to privacy—in practice, the right to consensual sexual relations—and at every gain secured in recent decades, from the right to abortion to democratic rights for gays. The latest manifestation of this is the grotesque anti-gay "advertising" campaign in the bourgeois press triggered by Republican Congressional leader Trent Lott's condemnation of homosexuality as a "sickness" like kleptomania or alcoholism. We noted in "Sex, Race and the Military" (*WV* No. 671, 11 July 1997):

> "For 20 years, cops, courts, clergy and Congress have waged a war on privacy which seemingly knows no bounds. They have driven gay teachers out of the schools, threatened teenage mothers with getting thrown off welfare for engaging in 'illicit sex,' sent childcare workers to prison for years on the basis of concocted tales of satanic abuse and constricted the right to abortion from the day it was granted in 1973. But the latest sex witchhunt has reached into that holy preserve, the top command of the U.S. imperialist armed forces."

As Marxists, we say: not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military. Nonetheless we defended Air Force Lieutenant Kelly Flinn when she was drummed out for having an "adulterous" affair and lying about it. In that article we cited the Dreyfus case of the 1890s in France, which became a key test for socialists on the question of democratic rights. Captain Alfred Dreyfus was a Jewish career officer in the French Army who was framed up on espionage charges and jailed for years in an explosion of vindictive anti-Semitism. The Dreyfus Affair brought France to the brink of civil war between the bourgeois right—spearheaded by the officer caste, the royalists and the Catholic hierarchy—and the radical bourgeoisie. It split the socialist-led workers movement between those who would not defend him because he was an officer and those who knew that it was in the interests of all the exploited and oppressed to stop the reactionary offensive against him.

As the Dreyfus case demonstrated, democratic rights are indivisible. This is why we oppose the anti-sex witchhunt even when its victim sits in the White House. Marxists oppose all attempts by the bourgeois state to legislate private sexual norms. Even the imperial president's right to conduct his personal life without the sex cops' supervision must be defended—not least because their imposition on him is really bad news for the rest of us. Government out of the bedroom!■



Hypocritical media circus over Clinton's White House tryst.

WV Photo

SL contingent at 1992 abortion rights protest in San Francisco. Government out of the bedroom!

Bus Driver...

(continued from page 2)

New Yorkers outraged by Giuliani's arrogant racism. Transit management has been literally getting away with murder, as transit workers are killed in "accidents" resulting from lack of necessary maintenance work on tracks, signals and infrastructure. Meanwhile, there has been enormous speedup as ridership increases. Now the Transit Authority is proposing a plan whereby the cops would secretly report to management drivers who are deemed "uncivil," setting workers up for victimization without their knowledge and in the absence of even a traffic ticket.

A mobilization of union power is needed not only to defend Eben Lugo but to stop management's campaign of speedup, racist harassment and victimization. Yet the TWU Local 100 bureaucracy, currently headed by Willie James, has a record of knuckling under to—or colluding in—every management attack, from the imposition of drug testing to a contract deal two years ago to force slave-labor "workfare" recipients to take the jobs of unionized transit workers. The union tops refuse to mobilize labor's power because they are beholden to the capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans, and bow to the bosses' state. What is needed is a class-struggle leadership of the unions forged in the fight for a revolutionary workers party. Defend Eben Lugo! Come to his hearing: September 2, 10:30 a.m., Brooklyn South Traffic Violations Bureau, 2875 W. 8th St.■

Workplace...

(continued from page 5)

now see it as open season on unionists and minorities. At least one train driver has since been fired as a result of company entrapment. And in another case, two workers at BART's Concord maintenance shop were suspended under "workplace violence" policies, reportedly provoking a work slowdown.

Union Tops Push Class Collaboration

Binding arbitration is a deadly trap for labor. Far from being "neutral," binding arbitration is a crucial weapon of the exploiters, devised to weaken and demobilize the power of labor. The labor traitors' ready embrace of binding arbitration stems from their class-collaborationist view that the agencies of the capitalist class enemy—the government, the courts, the cops—are potential "allies" of labor. This outlook, which ties the workers to their exploiters, has long been rooted in the allegiance of the union tops to the capitalist Democratic Party.

The capitalist state is the executive committee of the ruling class; it cannot be reformed or pressured into acting on behalf of the proletariat but must be swept away through socialist revolution. The unions today will either be increasingly subordinated to the capitalists' as a secondary means of disciplining the workers, or they must become instruments for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system by the working class.

From AFL-CIO head John Sweeney on down, the labor bureaucracy represents a thin layer of privileged, overwhelmingly white labor aristocrats who have thrown in their lot with the racist capitalist rulers. Thus the union tops are up to their ears in the very same "workplace violence" witchhunt that is targeting their members. The AFSCME Web site includes a thick handbook called *Preventing Workplace Violence*, which hails joint labor/management committees as "an effective way to address workplace violence problems," even while admitting that such a procedure makes it impossible to file grievances against the resulting discipline of workers.

What particularly drives the AFSCME misleaders is their aggressive recruitment into the union of cops and prison guards, the very armed thugs whose job it is to perpetrate violence against workers and minorities—from herding scabs through picket lines to shooting down black youth in the streets. We say: ***cops and prison guards out of the unions!***

To rally behind it the forces to sweep away the capitalist enemy, the working class must champion the cause of all the oppressed. The lieutenants of capital who sabotage labor from within must be ousted and replaced with a class-struggle leadership of the unions—Break from the Democrats and Republicans! The key to victory lies in forging a multiracial revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government, which will take society's productive forces out of the hands of the bourgeoisie and consign the exploitation, oppression and violence inherent in capitalism to the scrapheap of history.■

Tibet...

(continued from page 16)

a society where slavery—sexual and otherwise—was rampant, medical care nonexistent and literacy the preserve of (some of) the ruling priest-caste. Although bureaucratically deformed from its inception, the 1949 Revolution overthrew capitalist/landlord rule and established a collectivized, planned economy, laying the basis for huge strides forward by the workers, peasants and minority peoples of China, including the Tibetans.

Today, the nationalist regime of the Stalinist Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is itself leading the charge toward capitalist restoration, re-establishing both imperialist and domestic capital investment, with its own cadre immersing themselves in money-grabbing entrepreneurship. The Beijing bureaucracy is rapidly oxidizing the "iron rice bowl"—the guarantee of jobs and housing and other social benefits—including current moves to eliminate the housing subsidy for state workers, which threatens to create millions of homeless. The looming threat of "free market" misery has led to widespread resistance, including strikes, by the Chinese proletariat.

For now, the imperialists, especially in business circles, have adopted a "soft cop" strategy, correctly perceiving that the Beijing regime has pushed China to the brink of counterrevolution. But the U.S. ruling class has, in the Korean and Vietnamese wars and earlier in World War II, demonstrated that it will readily perpetrate mass slaughter—up to and including nuclear incineration—to maintain world dominance and eradicate the "menace" of communism. And it would do so again in China should such be deemed warranted. Indeed, unlike the situation at the time of the 1917 Russian Revolution, when the imperialist powers were exhausted and ideologically bankrupted by World War I, today they have been reinvigorated by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, which was prepared by decades of Stalinist misrule.

Particularly in the face of the "free Tibet" frenzy against the Chinese deformed workers state, the Trotskyist International Communist League reasserts the need for unconditional military defense of China against imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution. To stop the devastation threatened by the reintroduction of capitalist slavery, China's toiling masses must carry out a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucratic caste. This requires the forging of an authentically communist party rooted in the internationalism of Lenin's Bolsheviks and the early Communist International, whose revolutionary program was carried forward by Trotsky's Fourth International. Key to this is the understanding that the only path to a socialist society of abundance lies through the rapid spread of proletarian revolution throughout South and Southeast Asia and to South Korea and Japan.

The Hell of Lamaist Tibet

Tibet is of little geopolitical importance for the imperialists. But it does pose a test of the resolve of the CCP Stalinists to defend their rule. Former Soviet leader Gorbachev's willingness to cede the Baltic states and, most importantly, the USSR's "influence" over East Germany intensified imperialist pressures against the Soviet Union and emboldened domestic counterrevolutionaries, finally leading to Yeltsin's pro-imperialist coup in August 1991.

When U.S. imperialist chief Clinton visited Beijing in June, he unfurled the banner of "autonomy" for Tibet—which, not accidentally, is the current program of the Dalai Lama—as part of his program for a "democratic" China. Clinton's trip had all the trappings and hypocrisy of an Elmer Gantry revival, replete with tedious sermons on the virtues of democracy accompanied by confessions of human frailty. Autonomy under the Dalai Lama would have approximately the same relationship to democracy as Clinton's (unremarkable) sexual proclivities have to chastity.

The stunning, picture-postcard beauty of "Shangri-La" notwithstanding, Tibet has the most minimal basis for human habitation, a reality which has facilitated its development as a distinct society, isolated, in the large, from the rest of the world as well as from such modern intrusions as literacy, medical care and civilization in general. Formed through the merger of a feudal-like aristocracy and a vast clerical estate making up, at times, over 20 percent of the male population, the Lamaocracy held sway over a society of peasants and herdsmen for hundreds of years until 1959. Only then, nine years after the entry of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) into the territory, did the Beijing bureaucracy begin to implement fundamental reforms in Tibet.

The theocracy in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa so effectively and brutally dominated the society that there is no accessible history of the kind of episodic peasant uprisings which characterized precapitalist societies throughout the rest of the world. In fact, there is no record of any unrest at all. It is a measure of the intensity of oppression and exploitation in Lamaist Tibet that what was perhaps proportionally the largest and most idle ruling stratum in human history was economically supported by growers of barley and herders of yak. At base, this meant the labor of women, since both the monks and a not small portion of the male population, who emulated the monastic life after "sinning" by procreating, were employed in contemplation.

After the PLA's 1950 occupation of Tibet, American imperialism—with parallel efforts by the ruling classes of India, Taiwan and Japan—utilized Tibet's ruling stratum and its fear of the least reform to foment resistance against the newly formed Chinese deformed workers state. In 1959, a rebellion inspired, armed and financed by the CIA originated in Tibet's eastern reaches in China's Sichuan province and culminated in a monk/aristocrat-led uprising in Lhasa. This effort—preordained to fail—was cynically launched by the U.S. simply to harass China. Against the imperialist hue and cry over "poor little Tibet," the Trotskyists stood forthrightly for the defense of China (see "Trotskyist Youth Protest U.S. Moves Against Mao's China," page 13).

The rebellion was smashed, the Dalai Lama fled to India and the CCP quickly abolished his administration—the "Tibet Local Government"—which had been formed in 1951. Only then did Mao move to abolish *ulag* (forced peasant labor), slavery and the myriad of mandatory taxes paid to the aristocracy and monasteries. Previously, the monasteries simply appropriated children to replenish the monk population while villages were forced to hand over children for state functions in Lhasa, with boys thus "donated" taken by the monks as consorts. The land, livestock and tools of the aristocrats who fled into exile were distributed to the peasants, as were the land and chattel of the monasteries which had participated in the uprising. As one frequent visitor to the area described post-revolutionary Tibet, "at least now you don't see emaciated serfs in rags carrying the litter of a noble dressed in warm clothing, turquoise rings and gold bracelets" (*Guardian*, 29 December 1973, quoted in A. Tom Grunfeld, *The Making of Modern Tibet* [1996]).

Even the modest reforms instituted under CCP rule were attenuated through sabotage by the remaining Tibetan aristocrats, as well as through the narrow policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which was shot through with "Great Han" Chinese chauvinism. Those aristocrats who stayed were reimbursed for their property, as were the "loyal" monasteries which were then subsidized by the Chinese state. Mao's "Great Leap Forward" of the late 1950s—a utopian campaign to catapult China to the status of an advanced industrial power on the basis of raw peasant labor—grievously undermined agrarian and social reform. Substituting utopian sloganeering for material reality, this leap ***backward*** brought industrial and agricultural production to a standstill, leading to a devastating famine throughout China.

Subsequently, Tibetans were subjected to fierce Great Han chauvinism during the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" beginning in the mid-1960s, in which Mao mobilized millions of student youth to buttress his position in an intrabureaucratic factional feud. In this grossly misnamed campaign, which took aim at all things "foreign" and at such "capitalist" influence as accumulated scientific knowledge and classical music, Tibetan language and native dress (including the distinctive hairstyle) were proscribed. Much of what had been at the core of Tibetan "culture"—monasteries, religious artifacts and texts—was simply smashed up and destroyed, although with the appreciable side effect of driving monks into actual labor. By decree, nomadic herdsmen were "transformed" into farmers overnight and the peasantry organized into large agricultural communes which lacked not only the machines but the soil necessary for large-scale farming. Predictably, agricultural production was so disrupted that by 1981 one-fifth of the Tibetan population required subsidies from the central government merely to survive.

AP

Reactionary Buddhist monks stage riot in Tibetan capital of Lhasa, 1987.

DPA

Dalai Lama with Chinese PLA troops in 1956. Three years later, he backed CIA-sponsored rebellion.

Deng Xiaoping's rise to power shortly after Mao's death was accompanied by the lifting of Han-chauvinist strictures against Tibetan language, attire and hairstyles. The monasteries were rebuilt and refurbished, while the idle monks returned in droves and currently number some 40,000 to 50,000. At the same time, the "market reforms" initiated under Deng have increased Han privilege in the area, as well as the distaste of most Tibetans for their occupiers. The growing presence of the PLA, with its relatively well-paid officers and soldiers and their families and its prominent role in business ventures (geared in Tibet primarily to tourism), has also led to an infusion of ethnic Han entrepreneurs employing Han workers.

Thus, the real gains for the Tibetan masses from the export of the 1949 Chinese Revolution—from the introduction of modern health care to the establishment of a modicum of education, which lowered the level of illiteracy from 90 percent to roughly 45 percent—stand alongside continuing glaring inequalities. Tibetan farmers and herders earn an average of $68 a year, while 79 percent of Tibetan women of childbearing age are illiterate. Such inequalities are rapidly increasing with the introduction of capitalist market "reforms."

Hollywood Stumps for Counterrevolution

Keenly attuned to the opportunities provided by the policies of the CCP bureaucracy, which has engaged in off-and-on discussions concerning the status of Tibet, the Dalai Lama has "evolved" from his earlier calls for independence, which faded out after the anti-Soviet rapprochement between the U.S. and Mao's China in the early 1970s. Now the god-king has expressed a willingness to dicker over some sort of "autonomy" arrangement, with occasional statements of approval of modernization and, even, some sort of "socialism." At the same time, following the final undoing of the Russian October Revolution in 1991-92, the aristocrats and lamas who maintain the Tibetan exile communities in the Indian subcontinent have increasingly sought to mobilize international pressure for Tibetan independence.

These developments have inspired a gaggle of American entertainers to lend their efforts to the reactionary anti-Communist crusade against China. Prominent among them is Richard Gere, the actor and sometime pupil of the

1959 Statement on Tibet

Trotskyist Youth Protest U.S. Moves Against Mao's China

The following leaflet, titled "The Tibetan Brigade: Crocodile Tears Stain the Monkscloth," is reprinted from Young Socialist *(June 1959), newspaper of the then-Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). It was issued by the Eugene V. Debs Club of Berkeley, California and the East Bay YSA. As we noted when we reprinted the leaflet in* Spartacist *No. 27-28 (Winter 1979-1980), this occasioned some reaction in the local radical milieu as it was known to have been written by Jim Robertson, a former longtime unassimilated Shachtmanite and ardent communist, as his first statement of Trotskyist Soviet defensism.*

A hue and cry has gone up throughout the "free" world and especially in the United States over the latest alleged atrocity of the Chinese (Communist) government. This "atrocity" is the attempt, assured of final success, to reestablish Chinese dominance in the face of revolt planned and led by the Tibetan priestly and landowning classes.

The situation is clear enough in broad outline. To their discredit, the Chinese government has attempted to conciliate with the Tibetan feudal classes for the past eight years. At the same time, as the product of a revolutionary upheaval, the Chinese regime brings with it certain reforms. These reforms, such as rudimentary education, threatened the age-old system of oppression of the peasants by the native rulers. These latter worthies, headed by their "god-king," felt undermined, and while they still had at least a measure of popular support staged a coup which ran into Chinese military resistance.

As an aside to those in the West who profess to admire the quaint devotion of the more backward in Asia to their religious leaders, let it be noted that these condescending attitudes went out with the "humble, devout" French serf of before 1789 and the "carefree, contented" Negro slaves in America. Oppression and obscurantism that lead to blighted and shortened lives are vicious. The path of human betterment is through increasing men's understanding and control of their universe, not by use of rosaries and prayer wheels.

Several defenses have been put forward in favor of the Tibetan feudalists. (1) "Freedom and democracy"!! When in the last two thousand years have the Tibetan people voted or been asked about anything? The very revolt was in part against the eventual possibility of that sort of thing.

(2) "Another Hungary." In Hungary ***the revolutian*** fought to go forward, seeking to smash the Stalinist bureaucracy (the brothers of Mao and company) in favor of rule from below and for socialism, and against the old order of great landed estates, privately owned factories, clericalism, and political rule by Admiral Horthy's fascist gang.

(3) "Self-determination" might have been a serious basis for deciding in favor of Tibetan independence could someone figure out how the Tibetan people are to express their choice in a nation where the "god-king" gives all the answers as well as asks all the questions. But in reality this aspect is without meaning.

The real choice for Tibet if Chinese control were thrown off is not independent nationhood but abject dependence on American arms, money and advisors. One has but to look at the other reactionary and feudal regimes in Asia to see both the reality and meaning of American imperialist domination: the military dictatorships in Pakistan and Thailand, the corrupt "democracies" of Viet Nam and the Philippines, the personal tyrannies in South Korea and Formosa. Not a pretty picture.

The victory of the Chinese Communist government is clearly the progressive choice in the present contest. However, to recognize this is not to whitewash that regime. But even in its distorted way it is part of great and positive changes on the Asian mainland, changes that eventually will be the Maoists' own undoing. Through these very achievements the regime will be overthrown by the mass of people anxious to rule their own destinies without the intervention of a privileged elite. That is the future; the Tibetan monk-rulers are the past.

But what about the hue and cry in America? How easily fine words are twisted to meet the needs of American "world leadership"! How morally corrupt our public figures are, men whose political complexion runs the entire respectable spectrum. Nationally a pro-Tibetan committee has been set up ranging in composition from the Formosa lobby mouthpiece, Henry Luce of Life-Time-Fortune, to Norman Thomas, accurately described as "the State Department socialist." At California, the self-styled "Tibetan Brigade" has sprung up and in its publicity seeking fashion faithfully echoes the rhetoric of their elders.

All this noise in a country that backs dictators the world over and as in Guatemala forcibly puts puppets into power with plots staged by the Counter Intelligence Agency. And at a time when, to take a most outstanding example, in Algeria, a whole people have been waging a desperate, bloody war for years against fascist colonials and an imperialist army supplied with American arms.

Here is hypocrisy of world-historic proportions. We socialists say: no thank you!

Dalai Lama, who has vowed to make Tibet "a household word in the United States, like Maalox or Lysol." However, Gere has apparently recently been supplanted in the Dalai Lama's inner circle. If Christopher Hitchens' report in the *Nation* (27 July) is to be believed, "Steven Seagal, the robotic and moronic 'actor' who gave us *Hard to Kill* and *Under Siege*, has been proclaimed a reincarnated lama." Hitchens observes, "Suggestions that Seagal's fortune helped elevate him to the Himalayan status of tulku [sacred vessel] are not completely discounted even by some adepts and initiates."

These jet-setting "artistes," who invariably exceed their gurus in vacuity, wish to add to their collections of causes and extravagant toys a Tibet to be preserved "au naturel," a theme park where tranquil and simple humans live in "organic" relationships unspoiled by "civilization." In reality, they uphold a society only decades ago so ravaged by sickness that an estimated *90 percent* of the population suffered from venereal disease; a society in which women were shared with their husbands' male relatives if poor or added to the stables of wives of the rich; a society where life was brutal, harsh and short and where the masses were offered not the least hope for amelioration or any kind of change. And that society, or one very much like it, would re-emerge if the Lama/aristocrat exiles returned to power in an "independent" Tibet.

In stressing the need for the Chinese proletariat to combat the Han chauvinism of the Stalinist bureaucracy and champion the rights of Tibetans, the Muslim Uighurs of Xinjiang and other national and ethnic minorities, we raised the call for "the right of independence for a Tibetan *soviet* republic" ("China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?" *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997). However, given the social conditions in Tibet, this call is mistaken. There is currently no basis for *any* sort of independent Tibet, where there exists neither a domestic capitalist class—not even a comprador capitalist layer—nor a working class of any significance. There is no way to even determine what the masses in Tibet might want. The toiling population—peasants and herders—remains unorganized, politically mute and isolated in myriad small villages and settlements.

In *The Permanent Revolution* (1930), Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky wrote:

> "Under the conditions of the imperialist epoch the national democratic revolution can be carried through to a victorious end only when the social and political relationships of the country are mature for putting the proletariat in power as the leader of the masses of the people. And if this is not yet the case? Then the struggle for national liberation will produce only very partial results, results directed entirely against the working masses."

As in the case of other horribly benighted and backward countries, like Afghanistan, even a modicum of modernization can only come from without. This is why, at the time of the Soviet military intervention against CIA-backed feudalist reactionaries in Afghanistan in 1979, we raised the call: "Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" In that context, we pointed to the extension of Bolshevik power to Central Asia in the 1920s, which laid the basis for an enormous leap forward for that region's toilers, particularly women who had been brutally oppressed under the Islamic hierarchy. The Kremlin's withdrawal from Afghanistan in the late 1980s set up women and leftists there for the horrendous rule of the Taliban cutthroats and led in short order to capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union itself.

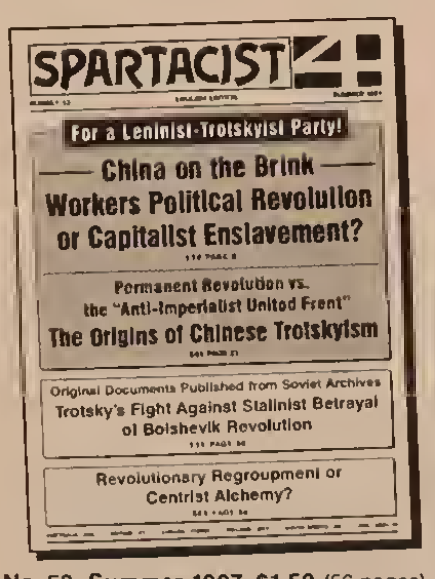
In Tibet, it was only the entry of the army of the Chinese deformed workers state that enabled the masses to begin even the most minimal steps toward social progress. The fate of the Tibetan people is inextricably bound up with the struggle for proletarian political revolution in China and socialist revolution in the Indian subcontinent and throughout Southeast and East Asia.

China: For Proletarian Political Revolution!

To oust the bureaucratic caste that is rushing to liquidate the last remaining gains of the Chinese Revolution requires the leadership of a proletarian party which, as Lenin prescribed, must act as the tribune of the people, fighting on behalf of all the oppressed. This means, for example, struggling against the erosion of the gains made by women since 1949 and combatting every instance of Great Han chauvinism promoted by the nationalist bureaucracy. Proletarian political revolution in China would immediately face the fury of imperialist-led reaction. The only defense against this is the international mobilization of the working class, struggling to spread red revolution particularly to South Korea and Japan.

Key to the victory of the October Revolution was the Bolsheviks' intransigent internationalism, including their defense of the right of self-determination for the many oppressed nations in the tsarist prison house of peoples. After seizing power, the Bolsheviks did indeed grant those nations the right to separate, while establishing measures of autonomy for various pre-national peoples. But particularly as the young Soviet republic was besieged by imperialist-led White counterrevolution, national self-determination, like all bourgeois-democratic questions, was subordinate to the defense of proletarian state power. The short-lived Ukrainian and Georgian "republics" of the time, despite their pretensions of "neutrality" and a patina of "socialist," peasant radical and even anarchist rule, proved to be little more than highways for the military forces mobilized by the imperialists against Red Russia. Similarly, an "independent" Tibet today could only serve as a platform for imperialist provocations against the Chinese deformed workers state.

The preconditions for any meaningful Tibetan autonomy or, if desired, independence are the destruction of every remaining vestige of aristocratic and monastic power—and the end to all state support to the monasteries—through the mobilization of the Tibetan masses into soviets of toilers linked to proletarian soviet rule in China. Only then could the Tibetan people begin to overcome centuries of near slavery and hideous deprivation and embark on the road of progress, prosperity and human freedom that is the goal of socialist revolution. That advance today depends on a victorious working-class political revolution in China as part of the fight for a socialist Asia.■



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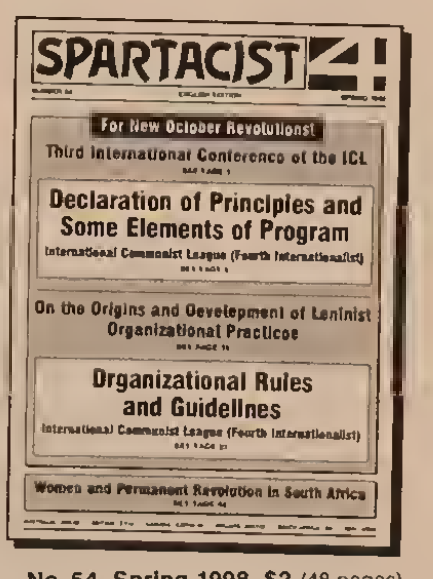

No. 54, Spring 1998, $2 (48 pages)

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U.S. Bombing...

(continued from page 1)

has yet surfaced. On the contrary, a British engineer who worked at the Khartoum factory for several years said: "It just isn't equipped to cope with the demands of chemical weapon manufacturing" (Reuters, 22 August). We recall the bombing of a supposed "biological weapons facility" in Baghdad—which turned out to be a baby formula factory—during the U.S.-led imperialist war against Iraq in 1991.

Cynically waving aside the whole question of facts, former CIA director John Deutsch haughtily declared: "A decision to retaliate does not require the same standard of proof as a conviction in an American court of law" (*New York Times*, 22 August). Clinton's lies in the matter of his private sexual affair with Monica Lewinsky have provoked howls of outrage. But there was not a peep of dissent from capitalist politicians or the media about the lying justification for Clinton's murderous missile strikes. In fact, from Wall Street to the White House, this whole capitalist system of racism and war is based on lies.

In the aftermath of the U.S. terror raids, American spokesmen have been whipping up a war scare against "Islamic terrorism" remarkable for its stridency. In the first instance, this is used to justify yet another augmentation of the repressive powers of the capitalist state. "Security" measures and police patrols were beefed up at airports and many public buildings, while a "bomb scare" even halted commuter trains into New York City. The U.S. rulers' "anti-terrorist" hysteria is a particular threat to Arab Americans and Muslims in general, who have been the victims of arson attacks, death threats and FBI harassment particularly since the war against Iraq. At the same time, it serves to whip up a patriotic frenzy aimed at undercutting class struggle.

The government's cynical warning of an increase in indiscriminate terrorism against Americans is a self-fulfilling prophecy. In one of the demonstrations of outrage which erupted in Sudan, Pakistan and the Near East, a spokesman for the Islamic fundamentalist Hamas group in the Zionist-occupied Gaza Strip proclaimed: "America will reap the harvest of its aggression." In carrying out their own far more deadly state terror, the U.S. imperialists are inciting attacks against American citizens abroad.

Mary Evans Picture Library

Britain's Lord Kitchener, an earlier imperialist butcher of Sudanese people. Kitchener's troops carried out 1898 massacre at Omdurman.

At protests in the U.S., the Spartacist League carried signs reading, "Down With U.S. Terror Bombing of Afghanistan, Sudan!" and "Afghan Islamic Reaction—Made in the U.S.A." We don't know who carried out the embassy bombings which killed several hundred Kenyan and Tanzanian civilians. But what we do know is that the Islamic *mujahedin* (holy warriors) now hypocritically denounced by Washington as "terrorists" are creatures of U.S. imperialism who only several years ago were hailed as anti-Communist "freedom fighters." Bin Laden's "network," for example, was armed, trained and financed by the CIA as part of Washington's proxy war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan in the 1980s. And the "terrorist training camps" in Afghanistan were built by the U.S. and described by Soviet analysts at the time as "the last word in NATO engineering techniques" (*New York Times*, 24 August).

When Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan in December 1979 to stem a CIA-backed *mujahedin* insurgency against a left-nationalist, pro-Soviet regime, U.S. imperialism seized on this to kick off a renewed war drive against the USSR. Working with its theocratic client states in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, Washington poured *billions* into arming the reactionary Afghan *mujahedin* who threw acid in the faces of unveiled women and flayed teachers alive for the "crime" of teaching young girls to read. Uniquely in modern history, the rights of women were a central issue in the civil war that raged in Afghanistan from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. It was also a key battlefield in imperialism's unremitting drive to destroy the Soviet degenerated workers state, which despite the rule of a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy rested on the planned, collectivized economy issuing out of the 1917 Russian Revolution, a historic gain for the world proletariat.

Driven by fierce anti-Communism, a whole slew of reformists—notably including the International Socialist Organization (ISO)—joined the imperialist rulers in calling for "Soviet troops out" and in embracing the *mujahedin* cutthroats as "freedom fighters." In contrast, we proclaimed: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" Trotskyists stood for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution to sweep away the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy. When Soviet troops were pulled out of Afghanistan in 1988-89, we bitterly denounced this betrayal. In solidarity with embattled Afghan women and leftists, the Partisan Defense Committee proceeded to organize an international fundraising campaign to assist civilian victims of the *mujahedin* siege of Jalalabad.

For its part, the Cliffite ISO gloated at the time, "We welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan" (*Socialist Worker*, May 1988). The Kremlin pullout paved the way for the victory of the Taliban reactionaries, who have imposed a benighted reign of terror and imprisoned women in the home and under the head-to-toe *burka* (see "Afghanistan: Hell for Women," *WV* No. 654, 25 October 1996). It also paved the way for capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union in 1991-92. Again the Cliffites joined the imperialists in rejoicing that "Communism has collapsed" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991).

Occasional "anti-imperialist" rhetoric notwithstanding, reformists like the ISO provide an ideological cover for the imperialist mass murderers. Emboldened by the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union, the rulers of U.S. imperialism have increasingly wielded their massive arsenal of terror to assert their dominant position in the world, not least in the horrendous slaughter of some 100,000 Iraqis in 1991 and in the continuing United Nations embargo which has killed over a million more, largely young children. From the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 to the counterrevolutionary wars which killed millions of workers and peasants in Korea and Vietnam, America's imperialist rulers are the deadliest terrorists on the face of the planet. Down with the starvation blockade of Iraq! Defend Cuba, China, North Korea and Vietnam against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution!

WV Photo

New York City, August 21: Spartacists at protest against Clinton's terror bombing of Sudan, Afghanistan.

The Spartacist League seeks to build a revolutionary workers party as part of a reforged Trotskyist Fourth International to lead the proletariat in sweeping away this rapacious, war-crazed capitalist class. As SL signs carried at the recent protests proclaimed, "Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!"■

SWP, the Ayatollahs' Socialists

Emblazoned across the back page of Jack Barnes' Socialist Workers Party (SWP) newspaper, the *Militant* (6 July), is the headline, "Two Million Visit Tehran Book Fair." The article boasts about how popular the Pathfinder book stall was at this fair, even glowing about the interest shown by military officials and other representatives of the Iranian regime. One has to ask: just what does it take to get to set up a "leftist" book stall in Teheran? We don't know just what the Barnesites have to do to warrant this privileged treatment from a reactionary, clericalist regime, but it certainly helps to act as fawning press agents for the ayatollahs.

When the Iranian mullahs under Ayatollah Khomeini came to power in 1979 by placing themselves at the head of a wave of mass protest against the tyrannical regime of the U.S.-backed Shah, the SWP was among the most avid of the numerous fake-left organizations internationally which backed the Khomeinites. We declared at the time: "Down with the Shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" We particularly pointed to the proletarian upsurge which had been the key force in preparing the Pahlavi dynasty's downfall, but which had been channeled behind the Islamic fundamentalists because of the treachery of the Iranian left. When the Khomeinites took over, we warned (*WV* No. 225, 16 February 1979):

> "This is not a victory for the working masses. Today, Iran belongs to middle-class Islamic reaction in a bloody alliance with a section of the same officer corps which has dealt out decades of death and oppression on behalf of the Pahlavis. They are prepared to do the same now."

This warning was soon borne out, as the mullah regime equaled or surpassed the Shah's tyranny in a bloody reign of terror which continues to this day, creating a brutal theocracy in which women are stoned to death for "adultery" and whose jails and graveyards are filled with victimized trade unionists, leftists, homosexuals, Kurds and other national minorities.

In contrast, the *Militant* (23 February 1979) cheered that "Iranian Masses Show the Way for Workers Around the World" and proclaimed: "Victory in Iran." Even as the mullahs began to impose the *chador* on women and to imprison leftists—including the SWP's own Iranian co-thinkers—Barnes' emissaries returned from visits to Iran burbling with polyannish "eyewitness reports." When SWPer Cindy Jaquith hailed the suffocating *chador* as a "symbol of resistance" and gushed over what she called "the most classical example of a revolution that we have seen since the Russian Revolution," we dubbed her reports, "Gidget Goes to Teheran" (see "They Wanted Khomeini, They Got Him," *WV* No. 227, 16 March 1979).

Now the SWP brags how one of the best-selling items at its stall was a book titled *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*. Little wonder! They also crow that "access to education and literature were among the central demands" of the workers and peasants who were supposedly the "driving force" of the "Iranian Revolution." Well, Iranians may be able to buy literature castigating cosmetics as "exploitative," but we doubt that Pathfinder offered any novels by Salman Rushdie, who remains subject to a *fatwa* (death warrant) by the Iranian regime for supposedly denigrating Islam.

As for Leon Trotsky's *The Permanent Revolution*, also published by Pathfinder, the Barnesites themselves long ago explicitly repudiated the revolutionary strategy elaborated there. Yet Trotsky's book is of crucial importance to Iranian leftists and workers, as it explains that achieving even democratic tasks and breaking the yoke of imperialist domination requires the proletarian seizure of state power as part of a perspective of international socialist revolution.

Two decades after the reactionary character of the "Iranian Revolution" has been amply demonstrated, the SWP continues to spin out an "anti-imperialist" cover for the mullah regime. For years, the SWP has tried to rope leftist youth into its liberal "solidarity with Cuba" campaign. The ex-Trotskyist SWP rejects the program of unconditional military defense of Cuba linked to proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Castro bureaucracy which has opened wide the doors to capitalist restoration. Willfully dismissive of the class line, the SWP promotes a liberal "anti-imperialism" which glorifies not only the Castro regime but even reactionary capitalist governments currently targeted by the U.S. rulers.

Indeed, in its report on the Teheran book fair, the SWP equates Cuba with the viciously anti-woman theocratic regime in Iran as "fellow revolutionary" countries. That statement alone should be enough to repulse any young leftists mistakenly attracted to the Barnesites. Those who seek a revolutionary strategy to defend the Cuban Revolution and fight against U.S. imperialism will find it in the Trotskyist program of the Spartacist League.■

CWA...

(continued from page 16)

off the tap of company profits.

The day before the official strike date, workers in New York City and upstate walked off the job for several hours, chanting "No contract, no work!" During the strike, picketers shut down scab cabling and office work in Manhattan and Brooklyn, in one instance converging on a non-union contractor and stopping all work by occupying a key piece of construction machinery. On behalf of Bell Atlantic, New York City mayor Giuliani mobilized a large cop presence to barricade picket lines. Several phone workers were arrested. It is critical that the union defend its members against the strikebreaking cops and courts: Drop the charges! No company reprisals!

The settlement in the Bell Atlantic strike is being touted by the CWA leadership as an enormous victory. Insofar as the union was able to hold the line against the further influx of non-union labor, it did indeed strike a blow against management's plans to gut union jobs. At the same time, the CWA bureaucracy acquiesced to several management demands that are directed to the same end. The company is allowed to hire non-union contractors on an "emergency" basis and more generally to "renegotiate work rules and compensation in order to bid more successfully" against non-union firms (*Washington Post*, 12 August). A Bell Atlantic press release following the settlement declares that the company will continue to "outsource" telemarketing and other work.

The union tops particularly trumpeted the company's agreement to transfer the work of non-union service representatives at Bell Atlantic Plus in Hampton, Virginia to unionized work places. What is not said is that at least 200 of the Hampton jobs are being eliminated altogether. Having done nothing to organize these workers, the CWA misleaders now throw them to the wolves in the name of protecting union jobs. But the primary responsibility for the explosion of non-union work in this industry lies with the CWA bureaucracy. Lying prostrate before the attacks on the union following AT&T's breakup and industry "deregulation," they did less than nothing to organize the raft of low-wage firms spawned in this period, particularly in the South.

Low-wage, non-union contractors and companies will continue to be a club held over unionized telecommunications workers. Although only some 60 percent of the workforce at the Baby Bells is organized in the CWA and IBEW, even this is too much for Wall Street. An article in the *New York Times* (17 August) noted, "Large proportions of union workers put the Bells at a long-term disadvantage in a brutally competitive market where almost all of the other players use mostly nonunion labor."

There is a clear and crying need for *industry-wide union organizing* efforts and for *one industrial union* for all telecommunications workers. This is a huge and powerful industry in which any attempts to organize the massive number of non-union companies means going up against the capitalist rulers, their state apparatus of cops, courts and "neutral" labor boards—and the whole welter of anti-labor laws that stands behind them. The spread of non-union telecommunications companies in the "right to work" South poses pointblank the need for the union to actively take up the defense of black rights. As we noted in the 1994 Spartacist League conference resolution (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 51, Autumn 1994):

> "On the one side, the entire black community will tend to rally behind racially integrated workers fighting the local white power structure. On the other side, the Southern branch of the American ruling class will resort not only to the police, company goons and professional strikebreakers but, if hard pressed, also to the Klan and its ilk, while using racist demagogy to turn backward white workers against the labor movement."

The fight against racist discrimination is also key to forging one industrial union, which can only come about by breaking down deep craft divisions—reinforced by racist and sexist bigotry—that separate higher-paid, overwhelmingly white male technicians from operators and clerks.

But the current leadership of the American labor movement is dead set against any such struggle. In many ways, the CWA bureaucracy stands out as the starkest example of a labor misleadership that equates the interests of the working class with those of the racist imperialist rulers. The CWA tops have for decades been in the forefront of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's collusion with the CIA in building "labor" fronts for U.S. imperialism against militant workers around the world. On the home front, this is seen in their support for the Democratic Party, long the mechanism through which the union bureaucrats tie labor to the capitalist exploiters. And even as they refuse to put the slightest effort into organizing non-union telecommunications workers, the CWA bureaucracy has for years dedicated money and organizers nationwide to "organizing" the strikebreaking, racist cops.

After some two decades of bitter defeats, prepared by the class-collaborationist policies of the labor tops, the unionized working class is beginning to engage in some hard struggle in defense of jobs and working conditions. The situation desperately cries out for a new class-struggle leadership of the labor movement, one rooted in the understanding that labor must be mobilized independently of the capitalist exploiters and their political parties—Democratic and Republican. Even so elementary a task as organizing the unorganized requires a leadership which, through such sharp class battles, can educate the working class in the understanding of its social power and its interests in fighting for the cause of black freedom and in defense of immigrant rights. Out of such struggles will come the proletarian leaders of a revolutionary workers party committed to the expropriation of the capitalist rulers through socialist revolution. ■

Letter...

(continued from page 3)

split, however, was on more substantive grounds.

It was a revolt against Clara's insistence on using the Party as a tool for resolving her personal problems and enhancing her political status. To this end she abused democratic-centralism by transforming the executive board into her factional tool. The board, which had been temporarily elected to expedite administrative work, made political decisions without the approval of the members, or arbitrarily overruled, impeded or refused to implement decisions of the membership that it did not agree with. The immediate reason for the split, was the refusal of the board to allow a report by the trial commission, which had been unanimously selected by the members to investigate and evaluate charges Clara had made against Dick's conduct, to make its report after completing three months of intensive study. The members, of course, strongly disapproved of Dick's treatment of Clara and were particularly concerned with his growing alcoholism which had become an embarrassment to the Party. The Trial Commission's report proposed that Dick take a year's leave of absence to deal with his drinking problem, and demanded that he cease his harassment of Clara. This did not coincide 100 percent with Clara's desires, and, refusing to hear the report, her board imposed its own decision.

Most galling was Clara's insistence on the Stalinist principle, that the executive board had the right to determine the personal relations of members, the distribution of their property in case of divorce, the custody of children, with or without the member's approval. Even sexual relations were within their purview. The only reference to adultery in the dispute was Clara's accusation that Dick had committed a political crime by having an affair with a member of the Spartacist League. Opposing the Board's dictatorship were most of the founders of the FSP, the drafters of its theoretical documents, and, of course, the majority of the Trial Commission whose months of careful evaluations were summarily ignored. We were not novices. Clara was not our Guru. We had had enough impediments to political work. This was the last straw. We walked out.

Weller is right in one thing. Clara's faction carried their motion by one vote. But "A half truth is a whole lie." The actual vote was 6-5. In that low vote lies the true story. Out of a membership of about 25, plus supporters nationally, *a faction of six—four on the executive board—considered it their exclusive right to publicly expel the theoretical leader and principal founder of our organization*. Democratic-centralism, without the "democratic" was used by a minority in executive position to serve bureaucratic ends. For some six months, the board ignored pressing political problems and dragged the members through meeting after meeting consisting of repetitions of Clara's problems with Dick, until enough members were discouraged from attending. Thus her faction of six suddenly became a majority of one at a hastily called "emergency" meeting and used that majority to expel Dick. The board notified nobody that a momentous decision for the organization was impending and no attempt was made to set this meeting at a time when all members could attend. Members living outside the Seattle area weren't consulted. Even Dick was not there to defend himself.

Spartacist

"Member of the Spartacist League."

We left, but we were not the last to leave. Within five years, four of the members who had supported Clara's motion and created her new FSP were expelled or dropped as male-chauvinists. This included her three supporting members on the executive board, one of them their most vocal feminist and another their new organizer. Within ten years, not a single member of the original FSP remained with her. Her status as Guru was confirmed.

Revolution She Wrote attests to Clara's exceptional abilities as an organizer and propagandist for socialist and Trotskyist ideas. But the book is marred by more than the slanders of Dick. It abounds with half-truths and lies designed to provide her with a reputation as a profound Marxist theoretician.

For example.

1. The article *The Emancipation of Women* taken from the resolution of the Seattle Branch to the 1965 national convention of the SWP, *Crisis and Leadership*, is by implication attributed to Clara. The resolution, however, was written by Dick Fraser, with Branch members proposing changes and then edited by Clara and me. Since Clara and Dick were members of the national committee at the time, the Resolution was presented under both their names.

The excerpt quoted on the centrality of Black women in the struggle for emancipation was developed by Dick in the early forties, some ten years before he met Clara. Radical Women has wisely made the concept the basis of its approach to Black women, but I was shocked when Nina Harding, at a memorial meeting, heaped praise on Clara for originating it. The editors of Clara's book promise to reprint the resolution. A bit of deliberate plagiarism since it has already been printed by Freedom Socialist Publications.

2. Clara's discovery of Lyndon LaRouche's fascist orientation came a bit late. LaRouche was clearly a fascist long before she discovered this. Yet the first organizer of her FSP joined one of his groups, the husband of one of the members of Radical Women was a LaRouche supporter, and Clara's FSP refused to participate in a large mass meeting called to expose and counteract the violent development of this fascist gang. There is something wrong with the politics of a group that only recognizes a fascist when he flips out on the "woman question."

3. Much is made of Clara's leadership in the formation of the *Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party*. Yet no mention is made of what happened to this promised regroupment. Interesting. It did not help its development when she raised personal vengeance to intolerable heights and branded her California allies as "counter-revolutionaries" for sending money to help provide medical care for Dick Fraser, who was dying of cancer. Myra Tanner Weiss, a founder of the *Committee*, a friend of Clara's for years, and her teacher during her youth, disassociated herself because of Clara's bureaucratic attempt to take over the organization.

4. The book is markedly silent on the persons who provided or developed the ideas that she later built upon and took as her own.

A personal biography of Clara Fraser could provide insight into the problems of socialist women in the revolutionary movement. It would make a fine sequel to *Revolution She Wrote*, but I doubt if her sycophants are capable of carrying out such a project. ■

Spartacist pamphlet, 1984
$.75 (24 pages)

Spartacist (English-Edition), No. 38-39 Summer 1986
$1 (56 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Pub. Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

WORKERS VANGUARD

Victory to the US West and SNET Strikes!

CWA Strikers Ward Off Bell Atlantic Union Busting

Organize the Unorganized!

AUGUST 24—As a result of a solid two-day strike against Bell Atlantic by 73,000 Communications Workers of America (CWA) members from Maine to Virginia, which ended on August 11, the company largely backed off from plans to hire non-union labor in its business offices and for its expanding work in data communications. The company also relented in its threats to tear up a 1994 agreement allowing early retirement and agreed to limits on forced overtime. As we go to press, some 34,000 CWA members are in the eighth day of a strike against Denver-based US West, which operates in 14 states, while picket lines by the CWA-affiliated Connecticut Union of Telephone Workers went up yesterday at Southern New England Telephone (SNET).

Central to all these strikes has been the fight against the mushrooming of non-union jobs in the telecommunications industry and attacks on wages and working conditions, from "two tier" wages to "productivity" speedup schemes. As we wrote in a special supplement following last year's widely popular UPS Teamsters strike (see "Unchain Labor's Power!" *WV* No. 673, 5 September 1997):

> "While the bosses rake in record profits, for working people in America today's supposedly booming 'employment' economy is increasingly defined by being 'downsized' into part-time, contract or 'contingency' labor. Downward pressure on wages is also maintained by massive speedup and the virtual elimination of the eight-hour day, as full-time workers are forced to work upwards of 60 hours a week. At the same time, wide layers of the ghetto poor have been tossed right out of the labor market and are now treated as a totally expendable population who should work for nothing in slave-labor 'workfare' schemes or just die."

The floodgates for attacks on unionized telephone workers were opened by the government-ordered "divestiture" of the AT&T monopoly in the early 1980s, leading to the creation of "Baby Bells" like US West and Bell Atlantic and a proliferation of low-wage, non-union outfits. Coming in the aftermath of a national strike in 1983, the purpose of the breakup of "Ma Bell" was to dismember the union and eliminate over 100,000 union jobs. Since that time, telecommunications has seen a heavy influx of capital investment, with a mad race to recombine into new monopolies. The current massive demand for data communications has been matched by an increasing shortage of high-skilled labor, giving phone workers additional leverage against the companies' attacks.

Bell Atlantic, having recently moved to acquire the GTE corporation (whose bid to take over Puerto Rico's nationalized phone company provoked a two-day general strike there last month), was under intense pressure to settle quickly so as not to lose high-speed data and Internet business accounts to its rivals. Despite instances of scabbing by phone workers organized in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), the strike was nonetheless a brief but powerful illustration of the social power of the working class which, by withdrawing its labor, can turn

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WV Photo

August 9: CWA picket line in New York City.

"Free Tibet": Rallying Cry for Counterrevolution in China

For Unconditional Military Defense of China Against Imperialist Attack and Internal Counterrevolution!

In recent years, one of the most backward and inaccessible regions on the earth has come to the fore as a cause célèbre for Hollywood movie stars as well as imperialist politicians. The clamor for "freedom" for Tibet from Chinese rule has also managed to yoke a significant number of liberal and leftish youth behind one of U.S. imperialism's longstanding anti-Communist crusades. This has been aided by a seemingly endless barrage of films extolling Tibet's "traditional"—and benighted—culture, its self-exiled god-king and star of Apple computer ads, the Dalai Lama. Among these is *Seven Years in Tibet*, idolizing a German Nazi in the 1930s who became a convert to the Tibetan cause. Meanwhile, a range of rap and rock groups like the Beastie Boys and Red Hot Chili Peppers have donated their efforts for "freedom concerts" to raise funds for this anti-China campaign.

The "Free Tibet" cause originated with the machinations of the American CIA and other imperialist forces intent on fomenting capitalist counterrevolution in China. Until its overthrow following the 1949 Chinese Revolution, the Tibetan "Lamaocracy" ruled

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AFP

Clinton meets Dalai Lama, Tibetan high priest of counterrevolution, at White House in 1997.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 696

11 September 1998

Chaos in Russia, Depression in East Asia

Wall Street Bubble Bursts

Photos: Reuters; AFP

Stock prices plunge amid growing financial turmoil around the world: Russians throng Moscow bank (left), Japan sinks deeper into recession.

SEPTEMBER 6—The sharp plunge in stock prices last Monday, the steepest point decline since the record-setting fall of last October's "Black Monday," sent tremors coursing through the international financial circuit. The tabloid *New York Post* (1 September) blared, "Kiss Your Assets Goodbye!" The chief economist for the giant Wall Street firm of Morgan Stanley talked of "a sense of despair and desperation" in financial markets. The London *Economist* (5 September) pointed "to mounting concern that the turmoil in emerging markets will end in worldwide depression."

The immediate trigger for the collapse came when Russia's months-long financial disintegration turned into a total meltdown in mid-August. The bankruptcy of the regime of President Boris Yeltsin—in every respect—is manifest. As the ruble has dropped in value against the dollar by nearly two-thirds, banks have been besieged by angry crowds seeking to get out what money they can, while the already impoverished populace is frantically trying to buy any food and other necessities they can. Yesterday, the head of the country's central bank quit and the Russian parliament rejected for the second time Yeltsin's bid to reappoint Viktor Chernomyrdin as prime minister. Chernomyrdin fumed that the country was on the verge of going "up in flames."

Coming on top of the East Asian economic crash and the deepening recession in Japan, the Russian collapse sowed panic in stock markets around the globe, leading to plunges over the past two and a half weeks ranging from 9 percent in Tokyo to 14 percent in Frankfurt and 32 percent in Rio de Janeiro. But as a number of commentators have pointed out, Russia's real weight in the world economy cannot account for what has been happening to stock markets from East Asia to South America and Wall Street—except perhaps as an irrational overreaction. Russia's entire annual output, at present exchange rates, is smaller than

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Kim Dae Jung Enforces IMF Austerity

South Korea Regime Orders Brutal Cop Attack on Strikers

U.S. Troops Out of Korea!

SEPTEMBER 5—Some 10,000 South Korean riot police stormed six Mando Machinery auto parts plants two days ago to drive out workers occupying the factories. Cops hauled off up to 1,600 strikers in two plants alone, including union leaders, and bloodied untold numbers of workers. This brutal assault was ordered by South Korean president Kim Dae Jung in order to break the 18-day strike against threatened mass layoffs at the country's largest auto parts supplier. Coming amid a wave of worker unrest against layoffs and other attacks dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) "bailout" of the crisis-ridden South Korean economy, this massive cop strikebreaking was a warning by the Kim regime to the whole of the South Korean proletariat.

Kim's election as president last December was hailed by a host of leftists and liberals in South Korea and in the West as a victory for "democracy." Kim won his spurs as a "reformer" while he was a political prisoner under the former U.S.-backed military dictatorship. But he came to office with the solid backing of U.S. imperialism. A White House spokesman hailed his election as a "big opportunity," while the *New York Times* (20 December 1997) declared that his "credibility with the unions" put him in a "good position to convince his

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Reuters

Massive police assault unleashed by Kim Dae Jung government to drive out strikers occupying auto parts plant in Asan, South Korea, September 3.

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Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

South Africa: Protest Lynch Mob Murder of Immigrants!

JOHANNESBURG, September 6—Three days ago, a rabid mob, whipped into a frenzy against "foreigners" at a rally of unemployed in Pretoria, brutally murdered three immigrants from other African countries on a commuter train. The immigrants were chased through the train by thugs wielding *sjamboks* (leather whips). A Mozambican man was thrown from a window and killed by an oncoming train. Two Senegalese men were electrocuted and burned alive after they tried to escape their attackers on the roof of the train.

These horrific anti-immigrant lynchings cry out for a mass protest mobilising the power of labour in defence of immigrant rights. This should be aimed against the neo-apartheid regime of the bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress (ANC), which has orchestrated and manipulated a xenophobic backlash against immigrant workers. Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League, calls for a proletarian-centred fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

At every level of society, immigrants are under vicious attack in the "new" South Africa. The apartheid *sjambok* and "pass" are now used against migrants from throughout the continent. Mass roundups of immigrants stacked into cattle cars are routine, while top echelons of the ANC Women's League make thousands of rands by running the Lindela deportation centre in Randfontein. Hawkers in the Johannesburg area have been harassed, beaten up and had their wares confiscated by jobless rivals. Police aid white racist farmers by deporting immigrant workers at month's end, just before payday. Inkatha Freedom Party tribalist chief Gatsha Buthelezi runs point for the ANC at the Ministry of Home Affairs, deporting an increasing number of migrants, with nearly 200,000 people kicked out last year.

In the 1994 elections which installed Nelson Mandela in power, many immigrants had been granted temporary identification papers and voter cards and encouraged to vote. But when they came to collect permanent identity documents after the vote, they were arrested and deported. Mandela's government—a nationalist popular front based on a tripartite alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)—has become the primary political agent for the Randlord capitalists and their senior partners on Wall Street and in the City of London financial centre. With its "one nation" rhetoric, the ANC consciously pits indigenous South Africans against immigrant workers in order to divert attention from the real enemy: neo-apartheid capitalism, under which the overwhelming majority of the population is kept in desperate poverty and blacks remain at the bottom.

South African capitalism has long relied heavily on migrant workers, coming mostly from Mozambique, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Swaziland, who form a strategic component of labour in the gold and diamond mines. The dirtiest jobs in the mines, as well as on construction sites and farms, are derisively known as "Maputo work," a reference to the capital of Mozambique. Following the ANC's election in 1994, South Africa became a magnet for immigrants from across the continent looking for jobs and shelter. Impelled by poverty and desperation, many continue to risk being killed by crocodiles in the Limpopo River or mauled to death by lions in Kruger Park as they seek entry into the country.

Many migrants arrive from neighbouring countries that sheltered South African exiles during the anti-apartheid struggle. Some are refugees from war and famine in places like Rwanda, Nigeria and Congo—countries where the South African bourgeoisie has sought to play a role as the junior partners of U.S. imperialism, brokering imperialist deals in the renewed neocolonial scramble for Africa. Many of these immigrants strongly identified with the ANC, seeing it as the leader in the struggle against apartheid. Defence Minister Joe Modise, a former member of the ANC's guerrilla wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, now recommends cranking up the voltage on South Africa's electrified border fences to "lethal mode."

The fight against anti-immigrant terror must be linked to the struggle to build a Leninist party which will mobilise the proletariat against all forms of oppression and exploitation, including organising the unemployed. In a country where "official" unemployment among the black majority hovers at 50 per cent, there is a real danger that the jobless poor can be recruited as strikebreakers against the unions. A march in Pretoria led by Unemployed Masses of South Africa, with placards reading "We want jobs, not foreigners," was the immediate inspiration for the brutal murder of the three immigrants. Yet desperate immigrants are only the first target.

Demagogic nationalist ANC politicians have sought to turn popular sympathy against the trade unions by portraying them as defending a privileged minority of black workers. This is a lie! Unionised black workers—like black workers as a whole—typically use much of their pay to help support unemployed relatives in both the townships and the countryside. It is the ANC and its partner, the reformist SACP, which defend the interests of the truly privileged minority in South Africa: the white financiers, industrialists, mine owners and landlords.

A class-struggle leadership in the trade

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TROTSKY

LENIN

Human Labor and the Dialectics of Nature

The development of human civilization, especially since the Industrial Revolution beginning in the late 18th century, has brought about significant and unanticipated changes in the natural environment. Today, bourgeois politicians and intellectuals voice concern over environmental problems, some even speaking of looming ecological catastrophe, but offer no solution other than, at best, ineffectual reforms within the framework of the profit-driven capitalist system. In addressing the interrelationship between human labor and the natural environment from the standpoint of historical materialism, more than a century ago Friedrich Engels stressed the need for proletarian revolution, which would lay the basis for an internationally planned socialist economy to replace the anarchy of capitalist production.

The animal merely *uses* its environment, and brings about changes in it simply by its presence; man by his changes makes it serve his ends, *masters* it. This is the final, essential distinction between man and other animals, and once again it is labour that brings about this distinction....

It required the labour of thousands of years for us to learn a little of how to calculate the more remote *natural* effects of our actions in the field of production, but it has been still more difficult in regard to the more remote *social* effects of these actions.... The men who in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries laboured to create the steam-engine had no idea that they were preparing the instrument which more than any other was to revolutionise social relations throughout the world. Especially in Europe, by concentrating wealth in the hands of a minority and dispossessing the huge majority, this instrument was destined at first to give social and political domination to the bourgeoisie, but later, to give rise to a class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat which can end only in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the abolition of all class antagonisms.—But in this sphere too, by long and often cruel experience and by collecting and analysing historical material, we are gradually learning to get a clear view of the indirect, more remote social effects of our production activity, and so are afforded an opportunity to control and regulate these effects as well.

This regulation, however, requires something more than mere knowledge. It requires a complete revolution in our hitherto existing mode of production, and simultaneously a revolution in our whole contemporary social order.

—Friedrich Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*,
Marx and Engels *Collected Works*, Vol. 25 (1987)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Jacob Zoin

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jane Patterson

EDITORIAL BOARD: Ray Bishop (managing editor), Bruce André, Helene Brosius, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Allison Spencer

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is September 8.

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Spartacist Events

Spartacist Forums

Flint Strikers Cripple GM—General Strike Shakes Puerto Rico

Class Struggle in the American Empire

BERKELEY

Saturday, September 19, 7 p.m.
2060 Valley Life Sciences
UC Berkeley
For more information: (510) 839-0851 or (415) 777-9367

LOS ANGELES

Sunday, September 13, 3 p.m.
Hollywood United Methodist Church
6817 Franklin Avenue
(Highland Ave. exit off 101 Freeway)
For more information: (213) 380-8239

SAN PEDRO

Saturday, September 12, 4 p.m.
Peck Park Community Center
560 North Western Avenue
(at Crestwood)
For more information: (213) 380-8239

BOSTON

The Fight for Revolutionary Marxism Today

Speaker: Len Meyers,
editor of Workers Vanguard
Saturday, September 26, 7 p.m.
102 Sever Hall
Harvard University, Cambridge
(take the Red Line to Harvard)
For more information: (617) 666-9453

MADISON

U.S. Imperialism—Get Your Bloody Hands Off the World!

Tuesday, September 15, 7 p.m.
Memorial Union
University of Wisconsin-Madison
(See "Today in the Union" for room)
For more information: (312) 454-4930

NEW YORK CITY

The Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

Thursday, September 24, 7 p.m.
Loeb Student Center, Room 408
New York University
(566 La Guardia Place near W. 4th St.)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

BERKELEY

The Capitalist State and the War on Workers, Blacks and the Oppressed

Wednesday, September 16, 7 p.m.
206 Dwinelle, UC Berkeley
For more information, readings: (510) 839-0851

NEW YORK CITY

Marxism: A Guide to Action

Tuesday, September 15, 7 p.m.

Anti-Labor Attacks, Cop Terror and the Capitalist State

Tuesday, September 29, 7 p.m.
Loeb Student Center, Room 413
New York University
For more information, readings: (212) 267-1025

Court Decision Acknowledges F.O.P. Vendetta

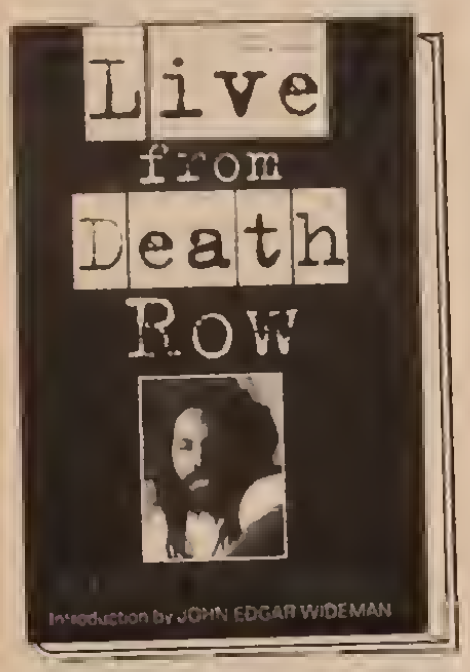
Mumia Abu-Jamal Wins Important Legal Victory

COC Productions

We print below a press release issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on August 28.

On August 25, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals found that the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections had violated the First and Fourteenth Amendment rights of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. The court decision stemmed from a federal civil rights lawsuit filed by Jamal in 1995 charging Pennsylvania prison officials with punishing him for publishing his powerful prison writings.

Arguing that prison officials had subjected Jamal to irreparable harm through an investigation in which they intercepted and opened his privileged legal correspondence with his defense lawyers, the court ruled that they be ordered to stop any further investigation of Jamal and desist in punitive actions against him. At the same time, in a blow against the ability of Jamal to fight for his life and his freedom, the Court of Appeals ruling denies him access to attorney-designated paralegals, whose visits began being blocked at the same time that the prison authorities were launching their efforts to gag Jamal.



Publication of Jamal's powerful death row commentaries in 1995 enraged cops and prison authorities intent on silencing him.

The Department of Corrections argued that rules against inmates conducting "business" gave prison officials the right to open Jamal's attorney mail and to subject him to disciplinary actions. Bluntly dismissing this argument as "nonsensical," the Court of Appeals ruling states: "We have difficulty seeing the need to investigate an act that Jamal openly confesses he is doing. Jamal's writing is published, and he freely admits his intent to continue. Continued investigation and enforcement of the rule invades the privacy of his legal mail and thus directly interferes with his ability to communicate with counsel."

Pointing out that Jamal worked as a journalist before his conviction, and that his writings continued to be published in more than 40 publications after he was imprisoned on death row, the decision notes that the prison authorities' investigation of Jamal's writings and broadcasts only began in 1994, following interviews of Jamal by National Public Radio (NPR). The ruling argues that prison authorities "did not claim to be burdened by his actions until the Fraternal Order of Police [F.O.P.] outcry in 1994," and that they did so "because of the content of Jamal's writing, not because he was being paid for it."

Following the publication of Jamal's book, *Live from Death Row*, in 1995, prison authorities denied Jamal access to the press or other media from February through September of that year. During this period, a death warrant was signed against Jamal. Prison officials were intercepting, opening and reading Jamal's correspondence with his defense attorneys, copying these letters and sending them to the assistant general counsel of the Department of Corrections. The Court of Appeals ruling notes that even though the prison officials' attorney concluded that these letters were not relevant to the investigation, he nonetheless sent them to the Office of General Counsel, "the office charged with advising the Governor of Pennsylvania on, among other things, signing death warrants."

In June 1995, Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge signed the execution warrant against Jamal just as defense attorneys were filing a petition to overturn his 1982 conviction on frame-up charges of killing Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner. During Jamal's appeal hearing that summer, Judge Sabo and the prosecution repeatedly accused Jamal of deliberately waiting until the death warrant was signed before filing his appeal papers. This claim was exposed as a fabrication in a previous ruling on Jamal's civil suit by district court judge Donetta Ambrose. Ambrose acknowledged that the prison authorities' actions led to a delay in filing these papers because of "the unwillingness of counsel and of Plaintiff [Jamal] to communicate freely by mail after having been informed that legal mail had been opened by prison officials."

Pittsburgh attorney Jere Krakoff, who together with Tim O'Brien represented Jamal in his civil suit, spoke to the importance of the court's recognition of the violation of Jamal's First Amendment rights as a writer. As Krakoff noted: "It's an extraordinarily important principle not only for Jamal but for all prisoners and for all society at large to hear from Jamal." As Richard Genova of the Partisan Defense Committee, which has been active in Jamal's defense for the past decade, said:

> "At a time when the state is stripping prisoners of virtually any and all constitutional rights, the political vendetta waged by the state against Jamal is so blatant that even the Court of Appeals judges recognized the prison authorities' investigation as political retaliation aimed at silencing him. These judges are far from sympathetic to the cause of prisoners' rights, particularly those of an outspoken black radical. That even they could see the police forces of the F.O.P. behind the punitive actions against Jamal by prison officials is a stunning, albeit unintended, confirmation of the whole state frame-up machine which had targeted Jamal from the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party. This vendetta continued when Jamal was a widely known journalist who eloquently exposed the racist reality of daily life in America, particularly the brutal cop attacks on the MOVE organization. It culminated in his being falsely convicted and sentenced to death in 1982."

In 1994, NPR caved in to the F.O.P.'s frenzied campaign against Jamal and refused to air Jamal's commentaries. Today again, the F.O.P. and its supporters are revving up their campaign for Jamal's death, publishing a full-page ad in the *New York Times* (14 June) demanding that he be killed. The cops and prison authorities want to silence Jamal in order to make it easier to kill him. An articulate and compassionate black man who eloquently describes the horrors of this barbaric system of injustice, Jamal's writings and broadcasts give the lie to the racist propaganda justifying executions with the claim that those sentenced to death are psychopathic murderers. As Gene Herson, labor coordinator of the Partisan Defense Committee, argued:

> "While we welcome the Court of Appeals decision, we warn that it should not blind Jamal's supporters as to the nature of the courts as part of the whole state machinery of repression and death. As Mumia continues to struggle and speak out from death row on behalf of the oppressed, it is urgent that the power of the multiracial labor movement be actively mobilized in the fight to free this innocent man and abolish the racist death penalty."

Jamal's appeal of his conviction is now before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. Funds are urgently needed for Jamal's legal defense. Get your union or organization to make a contribution now to the Bill of Rights Foundatinn (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail to: Cnmmittee to Save Mumia Ahu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. For more information about Jamal's case and about the PDC, call (212) 406-4252 or e-mail to 75057.3201@compuserve.com.■

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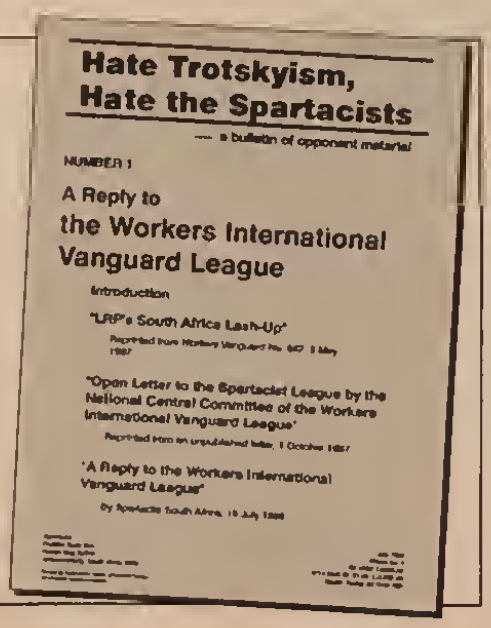

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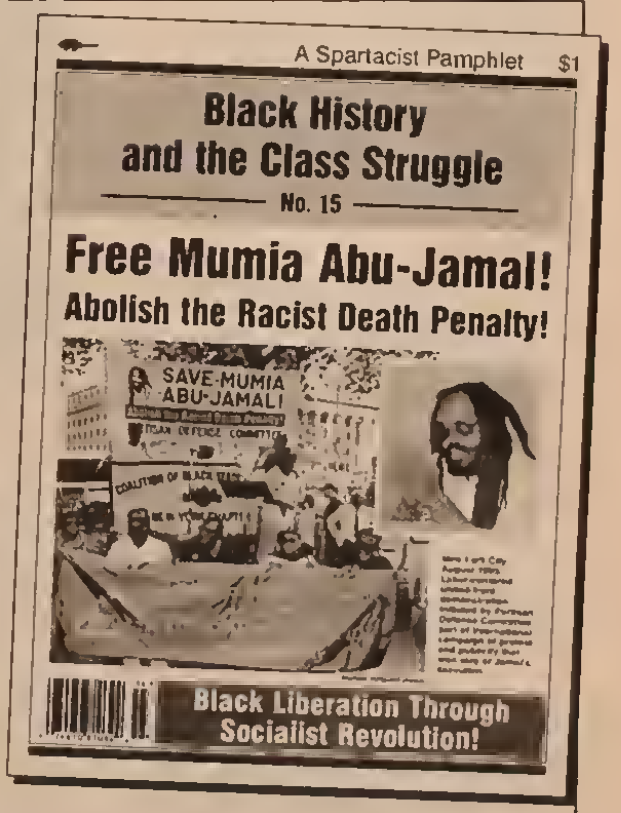

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Philly Cops' Reign of Terror

The following is reprinted from the new issue of Black History and the Class Struggle *(No. 15, August 1998).*

This August 8 marked the 20th anniversary of the massive police assault on the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia's Powelton Village neighborhood. Following a 15-month siege—which included the erection of an eight-foot-high fence sealing off a four-block area—at 6 a.m. on that August 1978 morning over 600 cops surrounded the MOVE compound. After bringing in a bulldozer to rip down a stockade fence around the house and using a crane as a battering ram to break down boarded windows, the cops used smoke bombs and water cannons to drive MOVE members and their children out of the house.

After a single gunshot was heard, the cops lacerated the house with thousands of rounds of ammunition. One of their own, James Ramp, long a central figure in the Philadelphia Police Department's "Stakeout" squad, was killed in the police crossfire. When the barrage of bullets stopped, MOVE member Delbert Africa crawled out of a basement window. Suffering from a bullet wound, shirtless, his hands above his head, Delbert Africa was attacked by heavily armed cops who repeatedly kicked and stomped on him while he lay helpless on the ground.

In August 1981, nine MOVE members were sentenced to prison terms of 30 to 100 years on false charges of killing Ramp. Four months later, prominent black Philly journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, who had raised his eloquent voice in defense of MOVE, was arrested and framed up on false charges of killing another Philadelphia policeman, Daniel Faulkner. The following July, Mumia was sentenced to death. Then on 13 May 1985, the Philly cops—working together with the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms—came to finish the job they had started in 1978, dropping a bomb on MOVE's Osage Avenue home. Eleven black people—including five children—were killed and an entire black neighborhood reduced to smoldering rubble.

Central to every one of these deadly racist assaults were the Philadelphia Police Department's notorious "red squad"—the Civil Affairs (CA) unit—and the Stakeout unit, an urban death squad of police sharpshooters. CA inspector George Fencl issued the first warning in the August 1978 attack on the MOVE house, his voice booming over a cop bullhorn: "You have exactly two minutes in which to come out." Two to three dozen specially trained and heavily armed Stakeout cops who were positioned close to the MOVE home were then mobilized for the kill.

Seven years later, it was also Stakeout cops who drove MOVE members back into the inferno of their burning Osage Avenue home under a hail of gunfire. Among these cops were some of the self-described "veterans of '78," including those who had viciously beaten Delbert Africa. As Charles Bowser, a black former deputy mayor who headed the city's whitewash commission on the MOVE bombing, concluded in his book, *Let the Bunker Burn*: "The facts were that some of the police had come to Osage Avenue to kill—to kill by bullets or to kill by fire, but to kill nevertheless."

On 9 December 1981, the first cops to arrive at the scene where Mumia Abu-Jamal lay critically wounded by a bullet from Faulkner's gun were Stakeout squad members Robert Shoemaker and James Forbes. The highest-ranking officer on the scene was Inspector Alfonse Giordano, a former Stakeout commander. A police report later that night shows that Fencl was also called into the investigation. These cops knew exactly who Mumia was; they had been trying to get him for years.

The Racist Cop Vendetta Against Jamal

Jamal had been in the crosshairs of the CA—formed in the mid-1960s as the Civil Defense (CD) squad—and Stakeout units since the age of 14, when he was brutally beaten and arrested by the cops for daring to protest a 1968 election campaign appearance in Philly by George "Segregation Forever" Wallace. At age 15, when Mumia became co-founder and Minister of Information of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP), he was placed under daily surveillance by Fencl's CD unit, which closely collaborated with the FBI's "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO). Indeed, the Philly CD squad served as a model for the deadly COINTELPRO operation which resulted in the murder of 38 Panthers around the country and the frame-up of hundreds more. In the 800 pages of FBI documents obtained by Jamal in 1995, report after report list as their source unidentified officers from the CD unit.

The Stakeout squad, an elite unit largely made up of former military men, was put together by then-deputy police commissioner—later police commissioner and mayor—Frank Rizzo in response to the eruption of the city's black ghetto in 1964. It was formed as part of the drive by bourgeois state authorities to crush any expression of opposition—particularly by blacks—to vicious racism and police brutality. Philly's Stakeout squad was the model for SWAT teams later formed in cities across the United States. Rizzo himself became an icon of racist "law and order" among cops nationwide, particularly for his attacks against the Black Panther Party.

Wide World

UPI

Above: Capping 15-month siege, Stakeout unit and other Philly cops launched murderous assault on Powelton Village MOVE house, August 1978. In May 1985, Stakeout cops also played central role in FBI/police firebombing of Osage Avenue MOVE home which killed eleven people, including five children, and destroyed entire black neighborhood.

The Stakeout unit was prominent in the 1970 raids of three BPP offices. With Fencl's CD unit in the lead, 45 heavily armed Stakeout cops stripped the Panthers' Wallace Street office bare, even ripping the plumbing from the walls. Outside, Panther members were lined up against the wall and ordered to strip. In his book *Protectors of Privilege* (University of California Press [1990]), Frank Donner notes, "The fact that the raiders were specially chosen for their marksmanship and wore bullet-proof vests, and Rizzo's taunting of a number of Panthers as 'yellow' because they dropped their guns in response to a police order rather than engage in battle all suggest that the raids were planned as a pretext to provoke a shoot-out." In other words, the raids were a setup for a kill.

As we noted in "Mumia Abu-Jamal: The COINTELPRO Files" (*WV* No. 624, 2 June 1995):

> "Mumia Abu-Jamal survived the rulers' onslaught against the Black Panther Party in the late '60s and early '70s. He was not assassinated in his sleep in the dead of night like Chicago Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. He was not then railroaded into a prison hellhole like Los Angeles Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) who has spent the last 25 years of his life buried alive for a crime that the government knows he did not commit—because they had wiretaps proving his innocence. But the feds and the Philly cops did not call off their vendetta against Jamal with the demise of the Panther Party. They continued to hate him for his eloquent and impassioned defense of black rights, and particularly because he remained defiant and unbowed in the face of state repression and racist oppression."

Jamal's defense of MOVE in 1978 further whetted the cops' appetite to get him. The Stakeout police surrounding the Powelton Village house saw Jamal as he entered and left the compound to conduct radio interviews. They seethed with hatred for his sympathetic coverage of MOVE. Ramp was elevated to the pantheon of police heroes—to this day, the Philly police department rifle sharpshooting team gives out an annual "James Ramp award." At a press conference following the 1978 cop attack, Rizzo ominously looked straight at Jamal as he blamed Ramp's death on the "new breed of journalism." Rizzo warned: "You're going to have to be held responsible and accountable for what you do." He seized on the killing of Ramp to scream for restoration of the death penalty: "Put them in the electric chair, and I'll pull the switch."

Jamal's sympathetic courtroom reports of the trial of the nine MOVE members charged with Ramp's killing enraged the police. He also covered the 1981 trial of three of the Stakeout cops who tortured Delbert, which resulted in the judge's acquittal of the cops on all charges. At that trial, a key witness for the defense was none other than CA head George Fencl. Perhaps most galling to the cops, Mumia was there to cover the celebration when MOVE founder and leader John Africa was acquitted of federal conspiracy and weapons charges in July 1981.

Only months later, the Stakeout cops who found Jamal bleeding at the corner of 13th and Locust Streets with a cop lying fatally wounded a few feet away finally saw the opportunity to frame him up. Giordano, described by Donner as "one of Rizzo's favorite officers," ordered that Jamal, who was near death, be taken to the Police Administrative Building for interrogation, finally relenting and allowing him to be taken to the hospital. Giordano was later the first to manufacture the claim that Mumia had confessed to killing Faulkner. In July 1982, Mumia was sentenced to death in a "trial" that in every respect was a travesty of justice. Ever since then, the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) has been screaming for the state's executioners to "pull the switch."

Philadelphia Police State

The sinister web of police surveillance, terror and frame-up that succeeded in entrapping Jamal is no aberration. Rather

it demonstrates the very nature of the capitalist state, its cops and courts, which exist as the bourgeoisie's machinery for the repression of the working class and oppressed. As the gap between the haves and have-nots increasingly widens, the rulers clamp down even further against the exercise of the most basic democratic rights by the population, lest the spark of social protest ignite a conflagration. To keep the lid on an ever seething cauldron of discontent, more cops are poured onto the streets and their powers to act as a law unto themselves are increased. While the Philadelphia cops are hardly unique, they have long stood as perhaps the starkest expression of the rampant police bonapartism that is increasingly the trend throughout the U.S.

The city in which Mumia Abu-Jamal was "tried" and sentenced to die has a particularly pronounced racist history going back to well before the Civil War. In 1862, black abolitionist leader Frederick Douglass wrote: "There is not perhaps anywhere to be found a city in which prejudice against color is more rampant than in Philadelphia." It was the most pro-South—and segregated—city north of the Mason-Dixon line, reflecting the interests of Philadelphia's ruling class, which was heavily involved in cotton and the textile industry, in the maintenance of slavery.

Irish immigrants in Philadelphia were originally referred to as "white Negroes" and correspondingly consigned to the lowest orders. The divide which pitted native Protestant workers against Catholic immigrants, who were brought in to supply cheap labor for the mills and foundries, came to be supplanted by racial hatred pitting white against black. As described in Noel Ignatiev's book, *How the Irish Became White*, the Democratic Party served as the agency for assimilation of the Irish into "white" society, albeit at the bottom end. Democratic Party politicians promoted virulent racism against blacks as the glue to cement the immigrant laboring masses to the interests of the ruling elite.

With the mass migration of blacks to the North during World War I came forcible segregation into ghettos, enforced by racist thugs both in police uniforms and Klan robes. In the 1920s, Pennsylvania had the fourth-largest Klan concentration in the country; the Philadelphia area alone had 30,000 Klansmen. When the federal government ordered the hiring of eight black workers at the Philadelphia Transit Company during World War II, this was met by a racist "work stoppage" organized by the transit bosses. When Democratic president Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered the army in to enforce wartime no-strike laws, some Southern soldiers took the opportunity to try to impose Jim Crow segregation on city buses, provoking mass resistance from outraged black riders.

Philadelphia remains one of the most intensely racist cities in the United States. During the 1950s and '60s, the city was rigidly racially segregated, with the partial exception of the Powelton Village area in West Philly near the University of Pennsylvania. No less than in a city somewhere in the Deep South, a black person could get in trouble very fast with either the racist cops or a gang of local racists simply for being in the wrong neighborhood or on the streets at the wrong hour. With its 40 percent black population, Philadelphia has the largest concentration of black people in the very white state of Pennsylvania.

In this city—grotesquely referred to as the "City of Brotherly Love"—race *is* politics. Whether Democratic or Republican, capitalist politicians make a name for themselves on the racially polarized terrain of "Filthy-delphia." This essential fact of life explains the rise to power of a fascistic racist pig like Frank Rizzo and the fanatical preoccupation by the city's police department and prosecutors with the Black Panthers, MOVE and Mumia Abu-Jamal. In Philly, the name of the

Ligalo/Philadelphia Bulletin

Owens/Philadelphia Bulletin

Frank Rizzo's racist reign of terror. Above: 1970 cop raid of Philadelphia Black Panther offices. Right: Following 1978 assault on MOVE, then-mayor Rizzo lashed out at "new breed" of journalists like Jamal (near right) for sympathetic coverage of MOVE.

game is and always has been to keep black people "in their place" and in the ghettos. For the city's white capitalist establishment, racial paranoia is as intense as it was for former FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, whose operational credo for the deadly COINTELPRO operations against the Black Panthers was that they constituted the "greatest threat to the internal security of the U.S."

In this sense, the city of Philadelphia is a concentrated expression of the development of racist American capitalism, which is rooted in the segregation of blacks at the bottom of society and in which the color bar serves to obscure and reinforce the irreconcilable class divide between labor and capital. While Irish, Italians and Poles in Philadelphia remained divided in separate neighborhoods, the hatred of all was directed against the black population. Out of this cauldron of ethnic hostility and racial hatred emerged a bonapartist police force that operated like a gang of white racist ethnic thugs. This was personified by Rizzo, who once boasted he would "make Attila the Hun look like a faggot."

Ethnic and racial hostilities were increasingly exacerbated with the devastation of heavy industry beginning in the 1970s, which reduced Philadelphia to a huge urban wasteland. In this context, the racist bonapartism of the Philadelphia police became even more pronounced as the cops were deployed to keep the lid on this pressure cooker of discontent. Again black radicals were a particular target. Following the decimation of the Black Panther Party by COINTELPRO, including stoking the murderous factional feuds resulting from the Panthers' nationalist strategy, the Philly cops embarked on a 20-year vendetta against MOVE. Jamal, whose role in the BPP had already put him squarely in the cops' sights, was a prominent target of this police vendetta.

A Conspiracy of Terror

The 1978 beating of Delbert Africa—captured in slow motion on television news cameras—had an impact on the city which presaged the impact that the LAPD beating of black motorist Rodney King would have across the country some 13 years later as a symbol of racist cop brutality. This atrocity by the Philly cops came atop a wave of coldblooded street executions by police and growing exposure of systematic frame-up methods employed particularly by the Homicide Division.

An editorial in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (20 August 1978) noted that for black elected officials and community leaders, who had no sympathy for MOVE, the beating of Delbert Africa, "brought to a head an accumulation of resentment of police violence and frustration that the city administration and the Police Department have held no one accountable for it." The editorial expressed the city rulers' concern "to prevent the resentments and frustrations which have been at work in the last week and more from growing into what could be dreadful and explosive proportions." In 1979, the feds moved in to try to quell the growing outrage and shore up the cops' authority, filing a civil rights suit against the city and the police department citing "widespread, arbitrary, and unreasonable physical abuse."

In response, the cops went on a rampage. Four hundred off-duty cops besieged the offices of the *Inquirer* after it ran a series of chilling photographs of the attack on Delbert Africa. Two thousand cops jammed an F.O.P. lodge to demand the ouster of black cop Alphonso Deal—a 24-year police veteran and head of the North Philadelphia chapter of the NAACP—when he called for dismissing those cops responsible for the beating. When three Stakeout unit members were indicted for the beating of Delbert Africa, 500 cops marched on City Hall, and the head of the F.O.P. cried, "They should have killed all of them."

The F.O.P. and an outfit called "Philadelphia Police Wives and Interested Citizens" went to the offices of the U.S. Attorney General to protest the suit against cop brutality. A leading representative of the cops' wives reported that her group had been gathering evidence since the 1970s of a "conspiracy among revolutionaries and radicals to assassinate police." The federal suit was soon dismissed for "lack of jurisdiction."

Following Mumia's frame-up, Faulkner's widow, Maureen, has likewise been cynically paraded around by the F.O.P. to portray Jamal as a vicious and sadistic killer who had long been conspiring to "assassinate police." At Jamal's 1982 trial, prosecutor Joseph McGill pointed to Mumia's earlier reference to a quote from Mao Zedong—"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"—to argue that it "proved" Jamal's intention to kill a cop. Thus, McGill argued that Mumia be sentenced to death—on the basis of his political beliefs. The F.O.P. and Philly D.A.'s office continue to peddle the lie that the prosecution's case against Jamal was overwhelming. But an article on McGill in *Philadelphia Magazine* (May 1986) reports that "Jamal's conviction was considered a miracle in law enforcement circles." No doubt: it was a frame-up pure and simple!

Fencl, Giordano and the other cops who had been itching to get rid of Jamal for many years were involved in railroading him to death row. Marcus Cannon, an eyewitness on the scene the night of the shooting of Faulkner, has reported that he saw two white men who appeared to be part of a street scene jump into action with guns drawn and rush toward the site. This fits a description of the so-called "granny" squads of the Stakeout unit, who dressed up as elderly, infirm or homeless people in order to entrap and shake down "suspects" and were backed up by plainclothes cops in unmarked cars. The Center City area of Philadelphia, the scene of the 1981 shootings of Jamal and Faulkner, was one of the prime locations covered by these "granny" squads.

History is not a conspiracy, but there are conspiracies in history. We are not saying that the cops who were at the scene of 13th and Locust Streets the night of 9 December 1981 knew Jamal was going to be there. But they were there and had the chance they had long awaited to catch Mumia in their racist frame-up machine. This was the culmination of a political vendetta, extending back more than a decade, against a man whose impassioned defense of the victims of Philly cop brutality had earned him a special animus among these thugs in blue and their masters in the city and federal government.

As we wrote in "Mumia Abu-Jamal: The COINTELPRO Files":

> "The fight to save Jamal and to abolish the racist death penalty is part of the struggle for black equality in America. It will take a workers revolution to put the capitalist state's machinery of death out of business once and for all and bring to justice the hired thugs who have committed untold crimes against the working class and minorities in the name of 'law and order.' Only then will the records of the government's secret police agencies be opened for all to see. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" ■

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Young Spartacus

Eco-Radicalism and Bourgeois Politics

For International Socialist Planning, Not Capitalist Plunder!

We conclude below an edited presentation by comrade Joseph Seymour of the Spartacist League Central Committee. Part One was published in WV *No. 695 (28 August).*

Part Two

Between the 1920s and 1950s, conservationist organizations consisted in the main of patrician mountaineers, as leftist historian Kirkpatrick Sale aptly described them. They represented a minor current in American bourgeois politics. The occasional conflicts between the Sierra Club and lumber companies or between the Audubon Society and real estate developers were not the stuff of front-page news or broad public interest. The emergence of the environmental movement as a major player in American bourgeois politics was a product of the political developments of the 1960s and 1970s.

The majority of young leftist radicals in the 1960s—white and black—considered that white workers benefited from U.S. imperialist exploitation internationally and that this accounted for the prevalence of racist and chauvinist attitudes among them. (For a comprehensive analysis of New Left radicalism and its course of development, see our 1971 pamphlet, *Youth, Class and Party*.) The foremost theoretical exponent of Maoism in the U.S. at this time, Paul Sweezy, maintained that the working class in the advanced capitalist countries had in its large majority become a labor aristocracy.

Hence, the relatively high standard of living in the U.S. was regarded as a fundamentally bad thing. It was seen as directly responsible for the impoverishment of what is now called the Third World and as the root cause of racism and support for imperialist militarism. At the time of the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Greenpeace, for example, stated: "Ecologically, the war in the Persian Gulf is a consequence of a fundamentally destructive way of life, centered on our addiction to oil"—"our" meaning the American people as a whole.

The New Left and Eco-Radicalism

This way of looking at the world originated in the late 1960s when neo-Malthusianism converged with certain currents of New Left radicalism. In the late '60s and early '70s, a journal called *Ramparts* served as an interface between the left wing of the liberal, university-based intelligentsia and what was called "the movement"—Maoists, anarchoid types, "revolutionary" black nationalists. The September 1969 issue, which also carried three statements from exiled Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver, contained a piece titled "Eco-Catastrophe" by Paul Ehrlich, a professor of biology at Stanford. Here was Ehrlich's message:

> "Western society is in the process of completing the rape and murder of the planet for economic gain. And, sadly, most of the rest of the world is eager for the opportunity to emulate our behavior. But the underdeveloped peoples will be denied that opportunity—the days of plunder are drawing inexorably to a close....
>
> "For mankind has artificially lowered the death rate of the human population, while in general birth rates have remained high. With the input side of the population system in high gear and the output side slowed down, our fragile planet has filled with people at an incredible rate. It took several million years for the population to reach a total of two billion people in 1930, while a *second two* billion *will have been added by 1975!* By that time some experts feel that food shortages will have escalated the present level of world hunger and starvation into famines of unbelievable proportions."

I want to emphasize not only important similarities between this kind of neo-Malthusianism and the main currents of New Left radicalism but also a fundamental difference. This difference accounts for the fact that Ehrlich was a tenured professor at one of the country's elite universities while the Panther leaders were being killed and imprisoned. New Left radicalism stood for the global redistribution of wealth from the have to the have-not countries. Maoists and radical black nationalists identified themselves with social revolutions in backward countries like China and Cuba, which expropriated the imperialist-owned factories, mines, oil fields, plantations and other property.

Neo-Malthusians like Ehrlich maintained that socialist revolution in backward countries could not prevent mass famines and that a program aimed at rapid industrial growth would only accelerate the coming eco-catastrophe. These neo-Malthusians viewed the world economy like a children's birthday party in which there was a very large bowl of cookies. American, West European and Japanese children got to the party first and ate up most of the cookies. If the children from Latin America, Africa and Asia who arrived later tried to eat as much as the Americans and Europeans, they would only run out of cookies sooner.

During the 1970s, many New Left radicals embraced Green politics. Activists who had defended the Black Panthers against government repression in the late '60s, ten years later were defending birds, fish and salamanders, supposedly threatened by government construction projects. How and why did this development take place?

The leftist radicalization of student-youth in the late 1960s was disturbing for the American bourgeoisie, especially its liberal wing. Every other dorm room at elite universities like Harvard and Berkeley sported posters of Malcolm X, Che Guevara and Mao Zedong. Yet the residents of these dorms were the social, and in many cases biological, heirs of corporate executives, top-level government officials, engineers, lawyers and the like.

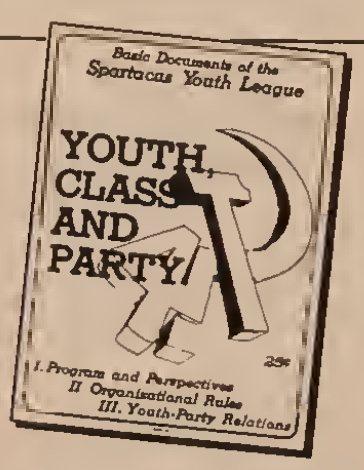
In the early '70s, the liberal bourgeoisie undertook a concerted effort to regain the loyalty of their wayward offspring. In 1972, the Democratic Party ran a "peace" candidate for president, George McGovern, who echoed some of the themes of New Left radicalism. While McGovern was overwhelmingly defeated by the Republican Nixon, he succeeded in convincing many young leftists that they had a place in the Democratic Party. Right after the U.S. pulled its troops out of Vietnam in 1973, Nixon and the Democratic Congress abolished the draft. Hostility to U.S. imperialism among young, male intellectuals became far less intense once they were no longer compelled to fight and possibly die for it. At the same time, the Supreme Court legalized abortion, thereby removing the main grievance that young women of the privileged classes held against the American bourgeois state. Under these conditions, "the movement" rapidly disintegrated.

Levick/Black Star

Populist signs at 1977 protest against nuclear energy reflected New Left origins of many eco-radicals.

In this context, conservationist organizations played a role in reintegrating erstwhile New Left radicals into bourgeois politics. A 1971 manifesto by the Sierra Club made the following appeal: "If there are any young activist SDS hippie anarchist conspirators in the audience, I would urge you to go out and get your college to institute departments of green studies at once, and while you're at it, put away the books on traditional economics" (quoted in William Tucker, *Progress and Privilege: America in the Age of Environmentalism* [1982]).

Green radicalism appealed especially to the anarchoid, hippie counterculture wing of the New Left, which opposed Marxism-Leninism in principle. The Green movement advocated a radical restructuring of the economy and a corresponding change in social attitudes, while having nothing to do with the working class which this type of New Leftist had always disdained as a bunch of racist, flag-waving bigots. Moreover, the ecology movement was gaining real political clout. Organizations like the



Originally published in 1971 as the basic programmatic document of the youth group of the Spartacist League/U.S. This edition includes a 1974 introduction.

$.25 (24 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

Gun-toting gas station attendant in Callfornie during 1979 oil shortage. Bourgeoisle seized on crisis created by oll cartel to push austerity under cover of "conservation."

Sierra Club and its offshoot Friends of the Earth could take on large corporations in court—and sometimes win. Most important of all, Green.radicals had an enormous sense of moral superiority, that they and they alone were concerned with the future of life on earth.

During the 1970s, environmentalism became an increasingly important component of liberal bourgeois politics—with one very significant exception. Black leaders were skeptical or hostile to the environmentalist craze. In 1979, Vernon Jordan, then head of the Urban League, stated that environmentalists "will find in the black community absolute hostility to anything smacking of no-growth or limits-to-growth. Some people have been too cavalier in proposing policies to preserve the physical environment for themselves while other, poorer people pay the costs."

While Jordan's remarks were self-serving, they were also very much on target. Environmentalism was a liberal form of what was then called the white backlash. White middle-class liberals and radicals, who had earlier actively supported the civil rights movement, had now turned away from the cause of the black masses in order to pursue their own interests, like maintaining a pleasant suburban environment with lots of greenery, birds and trees.

Capitalist Economic Austerity

There was another major factor behind the development of a significant environmentalist movement in the 1970s: a change in economic conditions and a corresponding change in liberal economic ideology. From the 1930s to the 1960s, the Democratic Party, especially its liberal wing, espoused Keynesian economics, promising full employment and higher growth rates through a mix of certain fiscal and monetary policies. The right wing of the Republican Party denounced Keynesianism as "creeping socialism." They argued that ever larger budget deficits would impose a crushing burden of debt on future generations and would undermine the financial stability of the American state. The Democrats were generally viewed as the party of economic growth, the Republicans as the defenders of the status quo.

But that changed in the late 1970s. The U.S. economy had begun to deteriorate in the late 1960s and real wages stagnated. This situation was aggravated when the Anglo-American oil cartel and its Saudi Arabian client state manipulated a fourfold increase in the world market price of oil, falsely claiming that the world was running short of petroleum. A major global economic downturn in 1974-75 was widely blamed on the oil crisis. The profits of American corporations fell sharply, as the downturn exposed their declining international competitiveness.

Miller/Time

U.S. president Carter touring Three Mile Island nuclear power plant in 1979 after near meltdown. Under capitalist system, safety is subordinated to profits.

Dirck Halstead

The capitalists responded by seeking to increase the rate of exploitation. Major companies demanded and got giveback contracts from the unions with reduced wages and benefits. The Democratic Carter administration in the late 1970s oversaw the worst deterioration in the economic conditions of the American working class since the Great Depression of the 1930s. To justify this, liberal Democrats told American working people that for decades they had been living beyond their means by consuming cheap but irreplaceable energy. In a major speech shortly after becoming president in 1977, Carter called for "painful" sacrifices as he asserted: "Our energy problems have the same cause as our environmental problems—wasteful use of resources."

Needless to say, this was not a popular program—except among environmentalist groups, which criticized Carter for not going far enough. The environmentalists thus became agitators and propagandists for bourgeois economic austerity measures. And the Democrats now became the defenders of the economic status quo. Now, the Republicans promised more rapid economic growth through a change in government policies, namely large cuts in taxes. The so-called "tax revolt," closely linked to the white backlash, led to the ascendancy of the Republican right with Reagan's victory over Carter in 1980.

The Reaganites initially adopted a flagrantly anti-environmentalist stance. They slashed the budget of the Environmental Protection Administration. James Watt, a Colorado lawyer who specialized in defending corporations against suits by environmentalist groups was appointed secretary of the interior, in charge of national parks and forests. These policies produced a powerful backlash. Major environmentalist organizations like the Sierra Club, Audubon Society and Nature Conservancy grew more rapidly than ever before. By the mid-1980s, they claimed a total of five million members, concentrated in the upper echelons of American society. The environmentalist movement generated huge sums of money for public relations, Washington lobbyists and lawsuits.

By the mid-1980s, the Reaganites beat a retreat on the environmental front. When Watt was dumped as secretary of the interior, one environmental lobbyist remarked cynically: "We're sorry to see him go, he was the best organizer we ever had" (quoted in Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Green Revolution: The American Environmental Movement, 1962-1992* [1993]). In its second term, the Reagan administration conciliated the environmentalist movement, while Reagan's vice president and successor, George Bush, adopted a pro-environmentalist stance.

"Deep Ecology": A Reactionary Utopia

The emergence of the environmentalist movement as a major player in American bourgeois politics, even within the Republican Party, predictably generated a schism, as Green radicals accused major organizations like the Sierra Club and Nature Conservancy of selling out to the corporations. The founder of Earth First!, Dave Foreman, who himself had been an environmental lobbyist in Washington, now asserted: "You should never support a piece of legislation" (quoted in Sale, *Green Revolution*).

In general, the Green radicals embraced the doctrine of "deep ecology" developed by a Norwegian, Arne Naess, in the 1970s and propagated in the U.S. by a group of professors at Humboldt State University in Northern California. "Deep ecology" takes environmentalist ideology to its logical conclusion: denouncing what it terms "anthrocentric" thinking, it opposes civilization in the name of protecting the rest of nature from the inherently destructive tendencies of the human species. In their 1985 tract *Deep Ecology*, Bill Devall and George Sessions state: "The intuition of biocentric equality is that all things in the biosphere have an equal right to live and blossom and to reach their own individual forms of unfolding and self-realization."

"Deep ecology" and Green radicalism more generally have a quasi-religious character, in that nature is regarded as a higher and ultimately unknowable power which man cannot control for his own ends without utterly destructive consequences. The root cause of the supposed environmental crisis is thus the intellectual arrogance of the human species. Thus the eco-radical Robert van den Bosch states:

> "The basic problem is that our brain enables us to evaluate, plan, and execute. Thus, while all other creatures are programmed by nature and subject to her whims, we have our own gray computer to motivate, for good or evil, our chemical engine."
>
> —*The Pestiscide Conspiracy* (1978)

"Deep ecology" argues for the dissolution of existing states and their replacement by self-sufficient "bioregions." There would he no cities, no international trade or travel. According to Earth First!, modern industrial society must "give way to a hunter-gatherer way of life, which is the only economy compatible with a

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Basil Blackwell Inc.

As Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky (left) explained in his writings on science, Marxists favor technological progress to eradicate scarcity and human misery. Dnieper hydroelectric station built under Soviet planned economy was part of effort to bring electricity to backward, rural Russia.

Arkedy Shaikhet

Novosti

"Little England" Labourites Embrace Russian Fascists

The following article is reprinted from Workers Hammer *No. 163 (July/August 1998), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.*

In an article headlined "Russia's Racist Depths," British Socialist Party (SP) leader Peter Taaffe issued a call for "the international labour movement...to assist the left in Moscow and the rest of Russia to combat the virus of racism, nationalism and fascism" (*Socialist*, 15 May). Seeking to revive the flagging fortunes of the "Youth Against Racism in Europe" (YRE) groups set up by the SP (formerly Militant Labour) and other affiliates of

WORKERS HAMMER

the reformist Committee for a Workers International (CWI), Taaffe appeals for "active assistance" to enable the YRE "to produce material explaining to the youth of Russia the real aims and purposes of the fascist groups."

The *Socialist* article describes the ominous rise in fascist terror in Boris Yeltsin's Russia, including an attack Taaffe witnessed on one of his supporters in Moscow. But *Taaffe's appeal is a cynical fraud through and through*. Not only did the CWI enthusiastically support the 1991-92 capitalist counterrevolution which ushered in the rising tide of racist terror, but *Taaffe and his Russinn supporters apologise for fascist killers in their midst.*

"Democratic" Counterrevolution and "Red-Brown" Chauvinism

Capitalist restoration has subjected the working masses of the former Soviet Union to an unparalleled decline in living standards. Mass unemployment, homelessness, malnutrition and disease are today rampant and growing. In the absence of organised working-class resistance, the fascists have seized on such economic desperation. The growth of murderous fascist gangs has been fuelled as well by the Great Russian chauvinism pushed by the new capitalist rulers. Reports in the Western press of the near-deadly beating of a black American soldier and the bombing of a Moscow synagogue in May only hint at the wave of fascist terror against dark-skinned people from the Caucasus, Jews and African and Asian students and visitors.

After fascists threatened "to kill one non-Aryan every day after Hitler's birthday on April 20," two Asian women were viciously beaten by a mob of skinheads in a Moscow shopping area. African students are attacked nearly every day, and skinhead gangs recently rampaged through dormitory rooms at Moscow State Veterinary Academy. On 7 May, a 25-year-old Azerbaijani trader was stabbed to death in a Moscow market by skinheads in black uniforms. The cops who were on the scene colluded in this racist murder. And when 1500 Azeris marched through Moscow to express their outrage over this killing, the cops dispersed the procession and Mayor Luzhkov threatened to prosecute the protest organisers. The role played by Yeltsin's cops should come as no surprise; since the capitalist counterrevolution, Caucasians and Central Asians have repeatedly been rounded up and expelled from Moscow and other Russian cities.

Grotesquely, the fascist killers have also been embraced by the self-styled "Left Vanguard," *Levy Avangard*, Russian group of the CWI. This was disgustingly evident at a May Day forum in Moscow featuring Taaffe himself speaking on "The British Labour Party, One Year Later." Three members of the so-called "National Bolshevik Party" (NBP) were seated in the room, dressed in their standard black leather and openly flaunting Nazi-style armbands. When a comrade of the International Communist League attending the meeting saw the fascists, he immediately urged the organisers to expel the NBP scum. The ICL spokesman then declared from the floor:

> "There are three members of the fascist NBP here with their Nazi regalia. The organisers of this meeting have said they refuse to remove them. This is a provocation and an obscenity, as a representative of the ICL I am leaving."

As our comrade left—and the Nazis stayed—Taaffe shouted out, "Good!" Three others walked out in protest, including a young Azerbaijani woman who knew only too well what the NBP fascists stand for.

The CWI's flirtation with the fascist scum did not begin at the May Day forum. The Moscow anarchist journal *Naperekor* (January 1997) reported that the Russian Taaffeites' "Left Anti-Fascist Resistance" (LAS) has harboured NBP supporters since its founding in October 1996. Most recently, *Levy Avangard* (May 1998) issued an open appeal to the fascists titled "How to Understand the NBP." This sickening piece praises NBP *führer* Eduard Limonov for his "deserved fame" as a writer (!) and expresses "pity" for the Nazi terrorists as "daydreaming" idealists and "phrase-mongering windbags." Urging the fascists to "acknowledge reality," it concludes with the invitation, "Why are you still not with us?"

The *Levy Avangard* article *spits on the graves of the millions of Soviet workers and soldiers who died defeating Hitlerite Nazism and mocks all those who are being beaten, stabbed and bombed by fascists today!* Do the Taaffeites want the NBP "daydreamers" to carry out *more* actions like their August 1996 rally denouncing Yeltsin's pact with Chechen independence fighters as "treason" or their march through Moscow last November carrying swastika-like banners? Limonov himself is a racist killer who crows about joining Serb chauvinists in "ethnic cleansing" operations against Bosnian Croats. Another NBP leader laments Hitler's "regrettable mistake" in attacking Soviet Russia instead of joining with it to attack the West (*St. Petersburg Times*, 2-8 June 1997). Indeed, *Levy Avangard* (November 1997) has itself acknowledged that, at least in one town, the "majority" of the NBP consists of "Nazi-skinheads" who "are responsible for numerous attacks on Arab and Negro students."

In his recent *Socialist* article, Taaffe writes of "the economic and social wasteland which is capitalist Russia today." But Taaffe and his supporters bear their share of political responsibility for bringing about this wasteland. In August 1991, the Taaffeites—whose paper was then called *Rabochaya Demokratiya* (Workers Democracy)—joined Russian Orthodox priests, would-be capitalists and other reactionary rabble on Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary barricades. *Rabochaya Demokratiya* (April-May 1992) sought to whitewash its active support to the forces of capitalist restoration by absurdly *denying* that "the liquidation of the USSR weakened the position of socialism in the world."

Sanin/Segodnya

Moscow protest by Azeris in May against a racist murder by skinheads.

But as the ravages of capitalist restoration became evident and the Yeltsinite "democrats" increasingly despised, the CWI opportunists shifted gears. To his British readers, Taaffe hypocritically declaims how "sickening" it was to see this year's May Day rally in Moscow, organised by Gennady Zyuganov's Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF), "sullied by the presence of fascists and racists, some of whom openly carry anti-Semitic placards." But in Russia, Taaffe's outfit seeks a common language with these nationalists and has ever more aggressively tailed after the "red-brown coalition" of Stalinist has-beens, monarchists and outright fascists in recent years. The same April-May 1992 issue of *Rabochaya Demokratiya* which amnestied the capitalist counterrevolution also featured a grovelling front-page appeal to the "red-brown" Toiling Russia group. This article did not even mention Russian chauvinism or anti-Semitism.

In the December 1995 elections, *Rabochaya Demokratiya* gave backhanded support to the KPRF, an outright bourgeois-nationalist party which is the current embodiment of the "red-brown coalition," burying a nominal disclaimer against "political support" to Zyuganov beneath reams of "fight the right" rhetoric and a headline which screamed, "Not One Vote for the Right!" The Russian Taaffeites subsequently changed the name of their paper to be more acceptable in this rabidly chauvinist milieu. The current issue of *Levy Avangard* does not so much as mention Russia's imperialist ambitions or the right of the Chechen people to self-determination—or even the rampant skinhead terror in Russia.

Beware YRE "Anti-Racism"

The aim of the latest YRE campaign—limited to "explaining" the purposes of the fascist terrorists—is thoroughly in keeping with its liberal politics, informed by the CWI's reformist view that the racist cops are "workers in uniform" and its craven appeals to the capitalist state to ban the fascists (see Spartacist Pamphlet, "Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State," August 1994). Indeed, Taaffe's call for "lobbies and pickets of Russian embassies...protesting against the free rein that is given to fascist and neo-fascist groups" dovetails well with the current designs of the "democratic" imperialists and their International Monetary Fund (IMF) vultures to promote investment by "cleaning up" the image of Yeltsin's Russia. To this

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Hill/NY Times

Moscow synagogue bombed by fascists in May.

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Wall Street...

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the $241 billion which Japanese stocks lost in the last week of August alone.

Russia was, so to speak, the straw that broke the back of the Wall Street boom. Beginning in the early '90s, the "baby boomer" generation increasingly invested their pension funds in the stock market as if it were an automatic money-making machine. This massive infusion of money drove up stock prices to astronomical levels having no relation to corporate profitability. For several months, U.S. central bank head Alan Greenspan and the *Economist*—house organ of international financiers—have warned that the Wall Street bubble was going to burst.

Profits in the U.S. have been declining, and the situation facing "multinational" corporations and banks in most of the rest of the capitalist world is far worse. Since last fall, financiers and bourgeois economists of all political persuasions have voiced concern that the Asian economic crisis could lead to a full-blown world depression on the scale of the 1930s. Financial markets are so volatile and nervous, political conditions in much of the world so unstable and conflict-ridden that any major shock—say, a popular upheaval in Mexico or a war between India and Pakistan, or even an Iranian military incursion into Afghanistan—could have produced the kind of panic in stock markets around the globe that we are now seeing.

During his visit with fellow lame duck Boris Yeltsin in Moscow last week, U.S. president Clinton implored Russians to follow "the fundamental imperatives of the global market." Those are hardly encouraging words these days. South Korea, despite an International Monetary Fund (IMF) "bailout" package of close to $60 billion and sharpening attacks on the jobs and living standards of the working class, continues to sink deeper into depression. China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state whose Stalinist rulers have been driving the country headlong toward capitalist restoration, has also been affected by the Southeast Asian economic crisis, itself triggered in good part by the flood of cheap exports from China's growing "free market" sector.

Most importantly, Japan, industrial powerhouse of Asia and the world's second-largest economy, is in the throes of its worst economic and political crisis in decades (see "Japan Economic Crisis Shakes Imperialist Order," *WV* Nos. 693 and 694, 3 July and 31 July). Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto resigned following a humiliating showing for his Liberal Democratic Party in parliamentary elections in July, but his successor has been no less successful in putting together a package for "economic recovery." In the past year, Japan has experienced its first major bank failures in half a century, sharp cuts in investment in productive capacity and record levels of unemployment. Painting a picture of growing global economic chaos, a former vice chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Alan Blinder, wrote in a recent op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (25 August):

> "Several Southeast Asian countries are in what can only be called a depression. China, it is said, may have to devalue its currency. Japan is sagging badly. Russia lurches from one crisis to the next. And parts of Latin America look shaky."

"Death of Communism" Myth Goes Splat

Post-Soviet Russia's role in the world, or even the world economy, cannot be measured simply in terms of industrial output, volume of foreign trade, debt exposure by Western and Japanese banks, etc. While Western, mainly German, banks stand to lose well over $100 billion as a result of the Russian financial meltdown, the impact of the economic collapse there is primarily political and ideological. Russia may be economically bankrupt, but it still has a formidable nuclear arsenal, including thousands of warheads. As for the ideological impact, we noted in "'Death of Communism' Myth Goes Splat" (*WV* No. 677, 31 October 1997) following last October's stock market crash that the imperialist rulers seized on the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union to proclaim a "bright new world of unfettered capitalism." We continued:

> "There was even talk of 'the end of history,' in the fatuous words of State Department ideologue Francis Fukuyama, with the contradictions generated by the anarchic capitalist mode of production suppressed or at least easily controllable. Corporate directors and the International Monetary Fund and World Bank envisioned a return to the 'golden age' before the First World War and the Bolshevik Revolution—few or no restrictions on international movement of capital, stable foreign-exchange rates, 'investor-friendly' governments and, above all, a limitless growth of profits."

Today, even Fukuyama admits to having second thoughts about his rosy vision of the "end of history," writing: "There are two things on the horizon that I think are really quite scary: that the Asian crisis could broaden into a global depression, in which case all bets are off about everything; and essentially that Russia could fail in its attempt to Westernize and go backward seriously" (*New York Times*, 30 August).

The burgeoning international economic crisis has also intensified the interimperialist rivalries which came into sharp relief following the destruction of the Soviet Union. Washington's demands that Tokyo put its economic house in order have grown increasingly bellicose in recent months. This comes after years of trade disputes, as the U.S. has tried to blackmail Japan into slashing its export levels. And while the U.S. is loath to throw more money at Russia, Germany not only faces a default on some $30 billion in loans but as well a potential military threat should Russia descend into chaos. A vice president of Germany's huge Commerzbank warned: "We cannot let Russia, a superpower so near to Germany, fall deeper and deeper into crisis" (*New York Times*, 25 August).

AP

Russian miners demanding back wages blockade Trans-Siberian railway. Capitalist counterrevolution has led to impoverishment of working people.

Today, the mood of bourgeois triumphalism has been replaced by panic in international financial markets and fear of a major world depression. At the same time, these conditions are impelling the working masses into struggle. In recent months, the Yeltsin regime has been confronted by a series of workers strikes—spearheaded by the miners who blockaded trains carrying vital supplies. In Indonesia, a popular upheaval last spring led to the ouster of right-wing military dictator Suharto by his own generals. In South Korea, the highly combative working class is resisting the savage austerity measures demanded by the IMF. The powerful Japanese proletariat, facing the elimination of "lifetime employment," is being shaken out of its political complacency and conservatism. And the U.S.—the core country of world capitalism—was hit this summer by the longest and most effective auto strike in decades and by the powerful Teamster strike against UPS last summer.

Nonetheless, this increased combativity comes amid a historic retrogression in class consciousness, particularly in West Europe where mass reformist Communist Parties commanded the allegiance of advanced sectors of the proletariat. With the victory of capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, workers were sold the lie that "socialism has failed." As a result, today even many formerly pro-Soviet workers in the West no longer identify their struggles with the goal of achieving a socialist society. The International Communist League seeks to instill in the proletariat the revolutionary-internationalist consciousness which animated the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution.

The continued existence of capitalist imperialism brings with it not only widespread immiseration for the world's working people but the danger of a new global depression and another cataclysmic world war. Socialist revolutions internationally—ushering in a classless, egalitarian society based on production for need, not for profit—is the only answer to the anarchy and brutality of the capitalist system. It is the task of the ICL to forge the proletarian leadership needed to lead humanity out of this abyss.

Yeltsin and Wall Street: From Hero to Goat

There is a measure of historical justice in the fact that the financial collapse of Yeltsin's Russia triggered the worst few weeks on Wall Street in over a decade. It was during a visit to the financial center of world capitalism nine years ago that Yeltsin launched his career as the paramount leader of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. Yeltsin had earlier played a key role under Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev, who took over the Kremlin in 1985 under the banner of market-oriented *perestroika* "reforms." Yeltsin soon broke with Gorbachev, denouncing his "half-way measures." Seeking the backing of American imperialism, he toured the U.S., where he was fêted by the likes of David Rockefeller. Speaking at Columbia University, the ex-Stalinist apparatchik declared: "I have seen that capitalism is flourishing."

The restoration of capitalism in Russia and the other former Soviet republics cannot, of course, be explained by the machinations of one blustering demagogue and his imperialist sponsors. The social base of the counterrevolution was a large layer of Soviet yuppies, typically the privileged children of Stalinist bureaucrats, who aspired to the more affluent lifestyle and social status of their counterparts in New York, Paris and West Berlin by looting the economy built up under the Soviet Union. They called themselves "democrats" and preached "free-market" economics as a cure-all for the USSR's economic stagnation and backwardness relative to the advanced capitalist countries. They also expected that by restoring capitalism they would be generously rewarded by the imperialists with investment funds, bountiful aid and "soft" loans.

As the Soviet bureaucracy rapidly disintegrated in 1989-91, especially along national lines, the pro-Western "democrats" shifted their support from Gorbachev to Yeltsin. The decisive moment came in August 1991 when elements of the beleaguered Gorbachev regime, calling themselves the "State Emergency Committee," moved to take over the Kremlin and restore order. Contrary to Western imperialist propaganda, the Emergency Committee was not aiming to restore the old Stalinist "command" system or revive the centrally planned and collectivized economy on which the Soviet degenerated workers state was based. Rather it aimed for a bureaucratically controlled restoration of capitalism within a Russian-dominated state encompassing all of the territory of the USSR.

U.S. president George Bush openly orchestrated the successful maneuvers of the Yeltsin camp against the Emergency Committee. Washington threatened to launch a new Cold War—including economic sanctions and support to nationalist forces in the non-Russian republics—if the Emergency Committee prevailed. At the same time, the U.S. made it clear that a Yeltsin regime could expect substantial economic support. In December 1991, Yeltsin rudely booted Gorbachev out of the Kremlin and officially announced the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Yeltsin's August 1991 countercoup was a pivotal event in determining the fate of the Soviet Union, the world's first workers state. Trotskyists fought for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution to sweep away the nationalist bureaucracy in the Kremlin. In the weeks following Yeltsin's August 1991 countercoup, the ICL distributed over 100,000 copies of a statement in Russian throughout the Soviet Union with the call, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" (*WV* No. 533, 30 August 1991).

This stood in sharp contrast to virtually the entire spectrum of centrist and reformist groups around the world, who lined up behind Yeltsin and his imperialist patrons. The social-democratic organization led by Tony Cliff in Britain, represented in the U.S. by the International Socialist Organization, rejoiced that "Communism Has Collapsed" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991). The British centrists of Workers Power, who falsely claim to be Trotskyist, even boasted how one of its supporters had joined the speculators, racketeers and Russian Orthodox priests on Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary barricades! Thus, these supposedly "revolutionary" groups demonstrated their fundamental loyalty to the imperialist rulers.

In the absence of a concerted proletarian mobilization, the Soviet Union succumbed to capitalist counterrevolution. As we wrote at the time:

> "Atomized and bereft of any anti-capitalist leadership, lacking any coherent and consistent socialist class consciousness, skeptical about the possibility of class struggle in the capitalist countries, the Soviet working class did not rally in resistance against the encroaching capitalist counterrevolution."
>
> —*How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*, Spartacist pamphlet (August 1993)

However, it was no easy task for would-be Tsar Boris to cohere a strong regime amid the political and economic wreckage of the Soviet Union. Prodded by Washington, in September 1993 Yeltsin dissolved the Russian parliament—which was dominated by a "red-brown coalition" of ex-Stalinist "patriots" and openly reactionary Russian nationalists—and then ordered a military assault on the parliament building. Yeltsin then pushed through a new constitution enshrining an all-powerful presidency and a very weak parliament.

The accelerating economic decline and immiseration along with the bloody colonial war against Chechnya in the Caucasus soon destroyed what remained of Yeltsin's popular authority. Six months before the 1996 presidential elections, Yeltsin's approval rating had sunk to a mere 6 percent while the most popular candidate was Gennadi Zyuganov, head of the Communist Party-Russian Federation. Despite its name, this is a bourgeois-nationalist party with ties to elements of

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the new capitalist exploiters, who for the most part are drawn from the industrial managers of the former Soviet Union. Yeltsin bought the elections with the help of $14 billion from his imperialist sponsors. As we wrote at the time, "Thanks to the deep pockets of the International Monetary Fund, Yeltsin was able to piece off those sectors of the new exploiters, who in the end united behind his candidacy" ("Washington Buys Russian Elections," *WV* No. 649, 2 August 1996). But the pockets of the IMF were not deep enough to prevent Russia's total financial collapse two years later.

"Corporatist, Criminal-Style Capitalism"

Russia has a huge, well-trained labor force and a large, first-rate technical intelligentsia. But to exploit this manpower efficiently would require a massive infusion of investment capital to reconstruct, retool and modernize the country's industrial plant. Instead, the industrial plants inherited from the Soviet era have been driven into the ground. There is no more striking index of the primitive state of capitalism in Russia than that *three-quarters of all transactions are done by barter* without money or credit.

In 1992-93, the Yeltsin regime sold off the industrial enterprises, mines and oil fields developed under the Soviet planned economy to a handful of Kremlin insiders for a small fraction of their actual worth. Reputedly, seven tycoons—who were the core backers of Yeltsin's 1996 election campaign—control over half of the Russian economy. Grigory Yavlinsky, an early advocate of capitalist restoration who is now a leading liberal opponent of Yeltsin, pithily describes Russia's economy as "corporatist, criminal-style capitalism."

In certain respects, post-Soviet Russia has taken on the economic and political structure of a Third World country. Exports consist almost entirely of oil, natural gas and precious metals. The oil barons are therefore the only people who have large amounts of dollars and other hard currencies, which they use to buy government officials from local city halls to the Kremlin. Typical in this regard is Kremlin power broker Boris Berezovsky, who runs the Sibneft oil company which finances his own bank. The premier political agent for Russia's oil barons is Viktor Chernomyrdin, who ran the Soviet natural gas industry, which he transformed into a giant monopoly corporation, Gazprom, pocketing a fortune for himself in the process.

The post-Soviet Russian economy is marked by the almost complete absence of foreign investment in productive activities, not only in manufacturing but also in the lucrative extractive sector. In this respect Russia contrasts sharply with the smaller East European countries of the former Soviet bloc. American and German capitalists readily buy up, retool and construct plants in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic—but not in Russia. Why not? Because they cannot exercise effective political control over Russia.

The new capitalist entrepreneurs and their political agents in Poland and Hungary are more than happy to be junior—very junior—partners of Frankfurt and Wall Street. They accept their lowly position in the "new world order." But Russia's tycoons, their political agents and their military men aspire to rule a great imperialist power, dominating at least the non-Russian regions of the former USSR, the so-called "near abroad." All of Yeltsin's major rivals—Communist Party head Zyuganov, ex-general Aleksandr Lebed, Moscow mayor Yuri Luzhkov—play up Russian national grievances and ambitions and strike a posture hostile to the West, especially the U.S.

The interplay between this corporatist capitalism, Western fears of Russia's imperialist ambitions and the repercussions of the Asian economic crash have now brought about total political and financial chaos. To begin with, Russia's new capitalists don't pay taxes. Since 1991, Yeltsin has cut social programs to the bone and also substantially reduced military spending. The real wages of government employees have fallen 40 percent, as have old-age pensions. Still, last year the Yeltsin regime ran a budget deficit amounting to 6 percent of the country's total national output.

Asian Crisis Topples Russia's Financial House of Cards

The Asian economic crash caused international moneymen to turn a jaundiced eye at other so-called "emerging markets," especially Russia. In South Korea and Indonesia, "crony capitalism" at least oversaw a real expansion in productive capacity. But crony capitalism in Russia resulted in a wholesale destruction of productive capacity. And Tsar Boris looked very like a Slavic Suharto. In fact, the eruption of mass anti-Suharto protests in Indonesia in mid-May marked the beginning of the collapse of Russia's financial markets.

Sygma

Suau/Time

Yeltsin launches counterrevolutionary coup in front of Moscow White House, August 1991 (left). Same White House after military assault ordered by Yeltsin in October 1993, following disbanding of parliament.

Moscow government bonds could be sold only at ever higher interest rates on ever shorter terms. The Russian treasury was redeeming up to $8 billion a month at interest rates from 50 to 100-plus percent. And the only reason anyone was buying them at all was a belief that in a crunch the U.S. and Germany would pay off rather than see Yeltsin go down the tubes as strikes paralyzed the country and angry mobs ran through the streets of Moscow and St. Petersburg. Washington and Bonn, the moneymen reasoned, would not let Russia become an Indonesia with 10,000 nuclear warheads. But could the Western imperialist powers prevent it, and at what cost?

The massive bailouts of South Korea, Indonesia, etc. have depleted the reserves of the IMF, World Bank and kindred international financial institutions. Japan is facing the daunting task of bailing out its *own* banks which are saddled with $600 billion in "non-performing" loans. Moreover, the Yeltsin regime is manifestly corrupt and inefficient. For every dollar provided by the IMF, 50 cents ended up in offshore bank accounts of Yeltsin cronies and the other 50 cents was frittered away. Late last year, the IMF suspended a scheduled payment of $600 million until the Yeltsin regime brought its tax-collection act up to par. Responding to this pressure, in March Yeltsin fired his entire cabinet and replaced them with a team of youthful "free marketeers."

The IMF continued to dole out money to Moscow, but only as if it were rationing food and water in a lifeboat adrift on the high seas. When Russia's financial markets started their sharp slide downward in late spring, IMF chief Michel Camdessus conspicuously turned his back on Moscow. "Contrary to what markets and commentators are imagining," Camdessus lectured like a professor addressing particularly obtuse students, "this is not a crisis. This is not a major development." Statements like this, as much as anything else, turned Russia's financial mess into a major development, indeed.

With no prospect of a large and immediate Western bailout, every holder of Russian stocks and government bonds—whether foreign or home-grown—dumped them forthwith and converted the ruble proceeds into dollars or other hard currencies. An eleventh-hour "rescue package" worked out with the IMF in late July was too little, too late and had too many strings attached. Every dollar flowing into Moscow from Washington instantaneously flowed back out again as the run on the ruble became a rout. Former World Bank economist Charles Blitzer exclaimed: "Robbery is going on, that's the only way to describe it.... It seems Russia's oligarchs are engaging in big-time capital flight" (*New York Times*, 26 August).

On August 17, the Yeltsin government in effect declared bankruptcy, devaluing the ruble and suspending payments on foreign loans for at least three months. With everyone from Wall Street bankers to Siberian coal miners calling for his head, Yeltsin moved to re-cement his ties to Russia's new tycoons by reappointing Chernomydrin, who had been dumped from the job only months ago, as acting prime minister. Chernomydrin has tried negotiating for a "power-sharing" deal with the Communist opposition in parliament and is ominously calling for an iron-fisted "economic dictatorship" to impose order on the country.

For the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!

The Yeltsin regime is internally shaken, universally despised and discredited. The recent strikes by miners and other workers are a welcome sign of reawakened combativity on the part of Russia's proletariat. But to overthrow the corporatist, criminal-style capitalism they face, a new vanguard of the multinational working class of Russia must be forged based on an understanding of the historic significance of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, the subsequent Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet workers state and the counterrevolution led by Yeltsin in 1991-92.

It was the October Revolution of 1917 led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party which, by expropriating the Russian capitalists and landowners and kicking out the imperialists, laid the basis for a planned, collectivized economy. But the Bolshevik Party which led the revolution was destroyed by Stalin through a political counterrevolution in 1923-24, in which a nationalist bureaucratic caste seized the reins of power. Yet despite the gross mismanagement and massive parasitism of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the economic and cultural development of the Soviet Union brought substantial benefits to its working people—not only Russians but also Ukrainians, Georgians, Uzbeks, Tajiks, etc.

Development toward a genuinely socialist society could take place only in the context of an internationally planned socialist economy brought into being through workers revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries of North America, West Europe and Japan. But the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, in the guise of building "socialism in one country," was viscerally opposed to this perspective. By the 1980s, decades of corrupt and stifling Stalinist misrule had produced political apathy and cynicism among the Soviet working class. As Trotsky predicted in the 1930s, the Stalinist bureaucracy—if not overthrown by a proletarian political revolution—would generate from within its ranks capitalist counterrevolutionaries tied to and supported by world imperialism.

Emboldened by the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union, the bourgeoisie internationally has escalated attacks on workers and minorities. The gains made by South Korean workers during the past few decades of industrialization are being wiped out by the economic crash and dictates of the IMF. The Japanese ruling class is scrapping its traditional corporate paternalism (e.g., "lifetime employment") as the country sinks ever deeper into recession. West Europe is beset by mass unemployment, and the "welfare state" is being dismantled by both right-wing and social-democratic governments. And the U.S. ruling class has been acting as if it can do *anything* to the workers, the poor, the elderly, the black and Hispanic communities.

The onset of a bear market on Wall Street is likely to intensify the conflict between labor and capital. With Social Security under the gun, millions of American workers have come to rely on pension funds—many of whose assets are tied to the stock market—to see them through their retirement years. Now those funds are dwindling daily. And the capitalists will try to recoup their losses by laying off workers and seeking to intensify the rate of exploitation.

Especially with the world economy lurching toward a major depression, the working class cannot defend itself against the onslaught of capital solely through strikes and similar labor actions. For example, corporations losing money and intent on cutting back operations might well take on a long strike with the aim of defeating the workers through exhaustion and sheer economic hardship. Moreover, under conditions of increasing economic hardship, reactionary demagogues will seek to foment racial, national, ethnic and religious hatreds, trying to turn sectors of the exploited against one another: witness the fascist attacks on immigrant communities in West Europe or the murderous anti-Chinese riots in Indonesia.

Revolutionary vanguard parties must be built to lead the proletariat in struggle against all forms of national, racial and social oppression. Struggles to defend jobs, wages and working conditions must be linked to a broader program of struggle against the capitalist system as a whole. In advancing a series of demands to combat unemployment, growing immiseration and racist and fascist terror, Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky explained in the 1938 Transitional Program, founding document of the Fourth International:

> "It is necessary to help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution. This bridge should include a system of ***transitional demands***, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat."

The situation cries out for new October Revolutions to expropriate the bourgeoisie and lay the basis for an international, planned socialist economy. The ICL fights to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International to lead the proletariat to the conquest of power from South Korea to Russia, Japan and the U.S. ■

South Korea...

(continued from page 1)

followers that they need to endure a year or two of pain." We warned that the "democratic" Kim regime's declared intent to enforce IMF austerity would mean "intensified repression against the workers movement" ("IMF 'Bailout' Means Misery for South Korean Workers," *WV* No. 681, 2 January). Kim has now demonstrated that he is every bit as prepared as his dictatorial predecessors to unleash police-state repression against workers who resist the IMF's starvation dictates.

With the deepening of the East Asian economic crisis, South Korean workers this summer were being thrown out on the streets at a rate of 8,000 per day. But the crisis has also provoked a wave of workers struggles as well as a tide of nationalist sentiment in broad layers of the society. A prolonged strike against Hyundai —the country's largest auto maker— ended last month in the face of a massive cop siege. Despite the threat of military repression, Hyundai workers this week overwhelmingly rejected the agreement ending the strike, defying union leaders who had caved in to demands for hundreds of layoffs.

As South Korea's capitalist rulers cracked down on the trade unions, the U.S. and Japanese imperialists were issuing hysterical tirades against the Stalinist regime in North Korea after its launch of a test missile that flew over Japanese territory. Washington seized on the missile test to again rail that North Korea was developing nuclear weapons, while Japan called off efforts to "normalize" relations with the North. These imperialist provocations are part and parcel of a 50-year-long counterrevolutionary drive to crush the bureaucratically deformed workers state in the North, which issued out of a social revolution that overthrew the capitalists and landlords. In the 1950-53 Korean War, U.S.-led forces under the aegis of the United Nations slaughtered upwards of three million people and leveled whole cities.

To this day, the U.S. has over 37,000 troops in South Korea, and another 40,000 in Japan. The massive American military presence is a dagger aimed at the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states and an assertion of the U.S. capitalist rulers' interests in the region against the dependent South Korean bourgeoisie and against rival Japanese imperialism. It also serves as a warning to South Korean workers, threatening to drown in blood any challenge to the capitalist order. As proletarian internationalists, the Spartacist League demands: U.S. troops out of Korea! We stand for the unconditional military defense of North Korea against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. But the nationalist Stalinist regime in Pyongyang, which promotes suicidal illusions in a "peaceful reunification" with the South, itself undermines the collectivized foundations of the North Korean deformed workers state. Trotskyists fight for the revolutionary reunification of Korea through socialist revolution in the South and proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucracy in the North.

Continuing in the footsteps of its predecessors, the Kim Dae Jung government has combined its drive against the unions with police-state repression against the left. In May, Kim's secret police rounded up 26 supporters of the International Socialists of South Korea (ISSK), cothinkers of Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party and the American International Socialist Organization. Like the left and labor movement in general, ISSK supporters have repeatedly been victimized under the draconian National Security Law, which can send people to prison for as little as listening to a North Korean radio broadcast. The government's repression is aimed at silencing even the mildest dissent. In fact, the Cliffites share the South Korean rulers' anti-Communist hatred of the North, refusing to defend it against the Seoul regime and U.S. imperialism.

Ki Ho Park/Kistone

Protest earlier this summer by South Korean Hyundai workers on strike against threatened mass layoffs.

Among those backing Kim's election last year were leaders of the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU). The KCTU emerged in the late 1980s in opposition to the government-sponsored KFTU labor federation, which had been set up under the auspices of the South Korean secret police. Following Kim's election, the KCTU joined a tripartite committee with representatives of the government and the *chaebol* monopolies to oversee the implementation of layoffs, wage cuts and other IMF austerity measures. Now, in response to the police attack against the Mando plant occupations, a KCTU spokesman has threatened to pull out of the committee and announced, "We will stage a general strike." But KCTU leaders have repeatedly pulled back from such confrontations—including a threatened general strike in July—out of loyalty to Kim.

South Korea's independent unions have displayed unquestioned militancy. But this combativity is undermined by the nationalism which pervades the left and labor movement. As we stressed in our January article: "The South Korean proletariat can go forward only on the basis of complete and unconditional independence from the bourgeoisie. This is all the more urgent today, as the South Korean ruling class seeks to line the workers up to sacrifice their livelihoods and struggles in order to appease imperialist dictates."

The Asian economic crisis poses pointblank the need for a revolutionary struggle against the capitalist order. To lead the fight against imperialist oppression and degradation in dependent countries such as South Korea requires the leadership of a Trotskyist party based on the perspective of permanent revolution: the seizure of power by the proletariat, marching at the head of women, poor peasants and all the oppressed and linked to the fight for socialist revolution in the imperialist centers.■

South Africa...

(continued from page 2)

unions would fight to mobilise labour in defence of immigrants and all the oppressed. But under their existing leadership, the unions are chained to their class enemies by the political logic of nationalism. This is most demonstrably seen in the government alliance of COSATU, the largest union federation in South Africa, with the ANC/SACP. In response to the train lynchings, COSATU called on the government to "create jobs to prevent such attacks" (*Sunday Independent*, 6 September). But Mandela's neo-apartheid regime cannot possibly meet the aspirations of the masses for jobs, homes, decent living standards, medical care and education. In the absence of a revolutionary struggle for proletarian state power, the grievances of one sector of the oppressed will continue to be channelled into hostility toward other sectors.

The brutal murders in Pretoria are a dark portent of escalating racial and ethnic/tribalist hostilities. Only the forging of a revolutionary proletarian party that acts as a tribune of the people in the fight for a black-centred workers government can cut through the hatreds born of the horrendous poverty produced by capitalist superexploitation and the divide-and-rule policies of the apartheid masters. As we wrote in "South Africa Powder Keg" (reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 12, February 1995), shortly after Mandela became the first black president of South Africa:

> "So long as the struggle over the redistribution of the country's wealth is defined in national-ethnic terms and limited to a purely South African framework, it could well trigger race war, bloody tribalist conflict and economic collapse. Only a ***proletarian internationalist*** perspective, linking the reconstruction of South Africa to a world socialist revolution, can ensure that a just and egalitarian society will be erected on the ruins of the apartheid state."

A socialist South Africa would not be limited to south of the Limpopo River but would use the industrial and mineral wealth of the country for the social and economic liberation of the impoverished masses of the African continent. This is the only way forward.■

Labourites...

(continued from page 8)

end, Yeltsin government spokesmen have also issued cynical denunciations of skinhead attacks.

Even as they ape the worst excrescences of Great Russian chauvinism, the Taaffeites have themselves been the target of witch-hunting anti-communist hysteria in the Russian press, and one of their supporters was recently jailed for five months in Kazakhstan. Despite our deepgoing political differences with *Levy Avangard*, the ICL has protested this victimisation by the class enemy.

Levy Avangard's British patrons were submerged for decades inside the racist, pro-imperialist Labour Party as the fake-Trotskyist Militant Tendency. When they emerged some years ago, they set up the YRE as a liberal front group aimed at capitalising on anti-fascist activism among radical youth in Western Europe. But the Taaffeites remain firmly wedded to Labourite reformism, preaching economist "unite and fight" rhetoric tailored to the prejudices of backward workers and thus necessarily hostile to the fight against national, racial and sexual oppression. Not only do they refuse to raise the elementary demand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland but they have even taken to sponsoring a notoriously anti-Catholic Loyalist killer, Billy Hutchinson. And at the Moscow meeting, a Russian Taaffeite tried to break up a discussion our comrade was having with the young women who later joined the walkout, ranting that all the ICL is "interested in is homosexuals."

Against such bigoted filth, the Trotskyist ICL stands in the tradition of Lenin's Bolshevik Party, acting as a proletarian "tribune of the people." As part of our fight against the looming danger of capitalist restoration and for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy in the former Soviet Union, when a Russian fascist group first surfaced in the late 1980s, the ICL raised the call: "Soviet Workers Must Crush Pamyat!" (*WV* No. 461, 23 September 1988). Three years later, we distributed over 100,000 leaflets in Russia with the call, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" And we devoted an entire issue of our Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin* (No. 3, Spring 1992) to the struggle against anti-Semitism, women's oppression and anti-gay bigotry. It is only on the basis of an internationalist programme for proletarian state power that a new Bolshevik Party will be built in Russia as part of a reforged Trotskyist Fourth International.

To those leftist youth who take the YRE's pretensions as good coin, we say: Beware "anti-racists" who embrace Russian fascists!■

CORRECTION

The article "General Strike Rocks Puerto Rico" (*WV* No. 694, 31 July) includes a quotation taken from *WV* No. 588 (19 November 1993) stating that we "advocate independence" for Puerto Rico but do not favor forcing that, or any other status, on the Puerto Rican people. In fact, these statements are self-contradictory. Our position was correctly expressed in the article "A Century of U.S. Imperialist Plunder" (*WV* No. 686, 13 March):

> "Marxists defend Puerto Rico's right to self-determination and support struggles for independence in order to strike a blow against U.S. imperialism and to remove the national question from the agenda in Puerto Rico. But we are not in favor of forcing annexation, federation, or even independence on anyone, least of all by racist U.S. imperialism."

We do not currently *advocate* independence for Puerto Rico, not least because the vast majority of the population there is not in favor of it at this time. As the article in *WV* No. 694 noted, "While there is deep resentment among Puerto Ricans over their colonial oppression, most are contradicted and loath to relinquish the benefits of U.S. citizenship—such as the right to work on the mainland—and fear that independence would mean falling into the crushing immiseration typical of capitalist Caribbean states such as the Dominican Republic."

Victory to Northwest Pilots Strike!

SEPTEMBER 7—A solid strike against Northwest Airlines by over 6,100 members of the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) is now in its tenth day. The airline, the country's fourth largest, was forced to cancel its 1,700 daily flights. In many Midwestern cities, where Northwest carries upwards of three-quarters of all air traffic, the airports became empty hallways.

This strike poses a long-awaited opportunity for airline workers to reverse years of givebacks and defeats. Mechanics, baggage handlers, flight attendants and other workers at Northwest are currently engaged in their own contract negotiations. On September 3, some 2,100 pilots at Air Canada launched their first-ever strike against that company. And earlier this summer, 19,000 reservation agents and passenger service workers at United Airlines voted to join the International Association of Machinists (IAM), the largest private-sector organizing victory since 1978.

The ALPA walkout came after two years of bargaining directly overseen by anti-labor government "mediators" and the courts. The pilots are striking to do away with a two-tier wage scheme and for a 14 percent pay raise over three years to partially make up for the $900 million in concessions—including pay cuts of over 15 percent—granted by the ALPA, IAM and Teamsters union tops in 1993 when the company pleaded bankruptcy. Since that time, Northwest profits have more than tripled, allowing the company to amass a $3 billion surplus to hold out against a lengthy strike. Yet Northwest and the capitalist media have unleashed a torrent of strikebreaking propaganda cynically portraying the pilots as "overpaid" and greedy in an attempt to isolate them from other airline workers.

If the company can beat back the pilots, this will embolden management to go after other Northwest workers, like the flight attendants who make as little as $12,000 a year. Last month, 27,000 Northwest mechanics, baggage handlers, ticket agents, cleaners and other workers represented by IAM District 143 voted overwhelmingly in favor of a strike after rejecting a contract proposal pushed by the IAM leadership. Likewise, 11,000 flight attendants in Teamsters Local 2000 are locked in negotiations with management over wages, benefits and working conditions. Flight attendants have joined ALPA picket lines in Chicago and several other cities to demonstrate their solidarity.

Joined by a host of Congressmen and state governors, Northwest is clamoring for President Clinton to impose a back-to-work order under the strikebreaking Railway Labor Act, as he did to stop a strike by American Airlines pilots in February 1997. While Clinton has thus far refrained from intervening in the Northwest strike, ALPA and other unions at Northwest must be prepared to defy any government strikebreaking.

But the IAM tops have themselves aided Northwest's strikebreaking efforts, criminally instructing union members to report for work—i.e., to *scab* on the strike. Even after the company laid off 27,500 mechanics and other workers, thousands of Northwest workers are still being ordered by the union bureaucrats to work behind the picket lines. This backstabbing points to the utter treachery of the pro-capitalist union misleaders, who place the capitalists' strikebreaking laws above the interests of the workers. All Northwest workers should be joining the strike lines, both to support the pilots and to advance their own demands. Picket lines mean don't cross!

The low wages and wretched working conditions now faced by airline workers are themselves the result of the union bureaucracy's class collaborationism. In the U.S., this is centrally expressed in the AFL-CIO tops' embrace of the capitalist Democratic Party. It was Democratic president Jimmy Carter who pushed through the deregulation of the airline industry in 1978, which was proclaimed as a great "populist" reform. In the upshot, as we noted some years ago, "the airline industry has experienced union-busting, deteriorating safety conditions, *greater* monopoly and now sharply rising fares" ("Junk Bonds and Flying Jalopies," *WV* No. 473, 17 March 1989).

When Republican president Ronald Reagan smashed the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981—deploying a scheme also devised by Democrat Carter—this opened the floodgates to union-busting and givebacks throughout the airline industry. As documented in Thomas Petzinger Jr.'s *Hard Landing* (1995), "Deregulation was a massive exercise in the redistribution of wealth." In the 1980s, notorious corporate raiders like Frank Lorenzo and Carl Icahn financed hostile takeovers of airlines with junk bonds, looted their assets, then extracted enormous concessions from airline unions to pay back the banks and bondholders. Typical of these latter-day robber barons was Northwest's Alfred Checchi, who took control of the company in 1989 in one of the last of the leveraged buyouts. Last year, Checchi ran for governor of California as a Democratic Party candidate. And a current member of the Northwest board of directors is Walter Mondale, who served as vice president under Carter.

WV Photo

Flight attendants join picket line of striking Northwest pilots at Chicago's O'Hare Airport, September 4.

The smashing of PATCO was carried out with the complicity of the AFL-CIO tops—including IAM president and "Democratic Socialists of America" member William Winpisinger—who refused to call out the other airline unions in defense of the air traffic controllers. The labor bureaucrats then shoved through a series of contract settlements leading to mass layoffs and wage cuts, while workers were offered company stock in exchange. Such bogus "profit sharing" schemes are designed to convince the workers to identify their interests with the company's bottom line, reflecting the labor bureaucracy's own support to the capitalist system. As part of the 1993 union "bailout" of Northwest, representatives of ALPA, the IAM and Teamsters were even appointed to the company board of directors.

It is precisely these policies of class collaboration that stand in the way of effective struggle against the onslaught of the capitalists. The battle to defend the airline unions must be linked to the fight for a workers party and a workers government which will take transport and industry out of the hands of the profit-gouging capitalists. Victory to the Northwest and Air Canada strikes!■

Eco-Radicalism...

(continued from page 7)

healthy land" (quoted in Barry Commoner, *Making Peace with the Planet* [1990]). This is, of course, reactionary utopian nonsense—with an emphasis on the nonsense. I very much doubt whether most people who say these things take them seriously.

Yet in protests around tuition hikes or in opposition to U.S. imperialist militarism, we encounter young activists who subscribe to ecology radicalism to some degree. So we have to address the issues and underlying worldview. Furthermore, petty-bourgeois radicalism is extremely volatile. Yesterday's pacifist is today's terrorist. Yesterday's student vanguardist and intellectual elitist is today's workerist syndicalist. After the May 1968 general strike in France, thousands of American New Leftists who had been for student vanguardism went over to "Marxism-Leninism" as they understood it. In the face of a working-class upsurge in Mexico, for example, a lot of these anarcho-green types would become gungho for "workers power." And if we are to win some of them, we have to counterpose a scientific socialist to a reactionary utopian response to the ecological problems which do exist objectively.

The organization of industrial production under capitalism necessarily leads to the degradation of the environment because capitalist firms are motivated by maximizing short-term profits. To this end, they even *suppress* the development and application of new technology which is ecologically sounder. During the 1930s, General Motors bought up—and shut down—urban trolley and railway systems in order to increase demand for private automobiles (see "Death on the Tracks," *WV* No. 640, 1 March 1996). More recently, the major oil companies have blocked the development of solar energy.

In their denigration of the proletariat and their promotion of schemes to "save the environment" under the existing capitalist system, the eco-radicals help perpetuate this system in which science and technology are often used in ways destructive to humanity. The vast nuclear arsenal in the hands of U.S. imperialism poses a far greater danger to humanity than does leakage from nuclear power plants. Under capitalist rule, the fundamental irrationality of profit and market relations can render unsafe even the best-understood technology. But in opposition to eco-radicals, we are defenders of technological development and promoters of it. Even the present technology is more than adequate to provide food and shelter for everyone. Yet, as famine plagues many countries, the U.S. government is still paying farmers here *not* to grow food. As we wrote in "Eco-Faddism and Nuclear Power" (*Young Spartacus* No. 55, June 1977), when Green radicalism first gained wide currency:

> "Marxists are not insensitive to the environmental aspects of technological progress. But our concern is tempered by our dedication to the scientific eradication of scarcity and human misery. The victorious proletarian revolution will utilize science and technology to provide the material basis for overcoming the 'human condition' of war, poverty and privation—the hallmarks of class society."■

This pamphlet reprints presentations given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour on the origins of Marxism in the French Enlightenment and in left Hegelianism. Also included are "150 Years of the Communist Manifesto" and "Marxism and Religion."

In the retrograde climate of post-Soviet reaction, the struggle to reassert the validity of the program and purpose of revolutionary Marxism is crucial for our fight for new October Revolutions.

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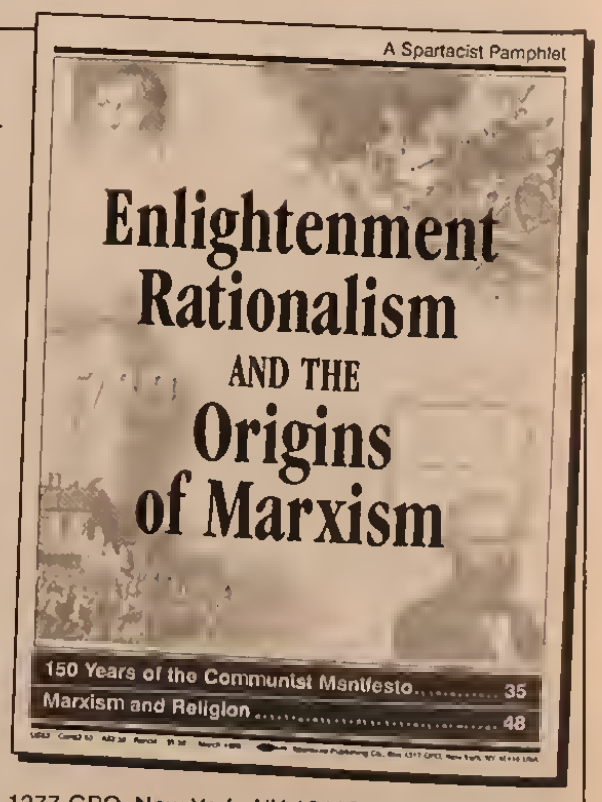


GM...

(continued from page 16)

million in modernizing the Flint Delphi parts plant. In turn, the UAW tops agreed to prevent any further local strikes at those factories until the national contract expires next fall.

Wall Street Declares War on the UAW

As soon as the strike ended, GM boss John Smith, responding to Wall Street's demand that GM "inflict a crushing blow to the U.A.W.," announced a two-prong attack on the union (*New York Times*, 6 August). First he stated GM's intention to spin off its huge Delphi parts division as an "independent" operation. This immediately poses a big fight that has been brewing for some time: the defense of the 50,000 current union jobs at Delphi *and* the organization into the UAW of the four out of five parts plants that are currently low-wage, non-union shops.

GM then announced it was going to begin closing existing assembly plants in the U.S. and build a series of new facilities based on the "Brazil model," in which half as many workers are needed to put together cars, with whole sections like dashboards assembled in non-union parts factories. Taken together, these proposals are nothing short of a declaration of war on the UAW, one of the biggest and most important unions in the U.S. GM is out to impose on its U.S. workforce the brutal work methods it uses to hideously exploit the workers of Brazil, Mexico and other semicolonial countries, many of whom labor in non-union hellholes.

The aim of these measures was not lost on UAW members. Many workers have already said that they are saving money and gearing up for a national strike when the UAW contract with GM expires next year. The stakes in this looming battle are very large. If GM can break the back of the UAW in its North American operations, you can bet that Ford and Chrysler will follow suit. But GM and Wall Street, who have been getting their way for nearly two decades, may be seriously miscalculating the current mood of union members. Since the UPS Teamsters strike last year, it is clear that a new fighting spirit has emerged in the working class. This has been visible in a series of militant strikes flaring up across the country and in Puerto Rico.

Like the GM strike, recent strikes by Bell Atlantic and US West telephone workers and Philadelphia transit workers were marked by aggressive tactics toward would-be scabs and the companies. The evident combativity of union members poses a collision with the greedy, union-busting corporations. But it also poses a clash within the UAW and other unions with the double-dealing labor bureaucrats, who have worked hand in glove with the capitalists and the government in overseeing the loss of hundreds of thousands of jobs and drastic cuts in workers' standard of living. When an army gets ready to do battle with the enemy, it is important to prepare by taking stock of its fighting capacity, especially the question of leadership.

Mobilize Union Power!

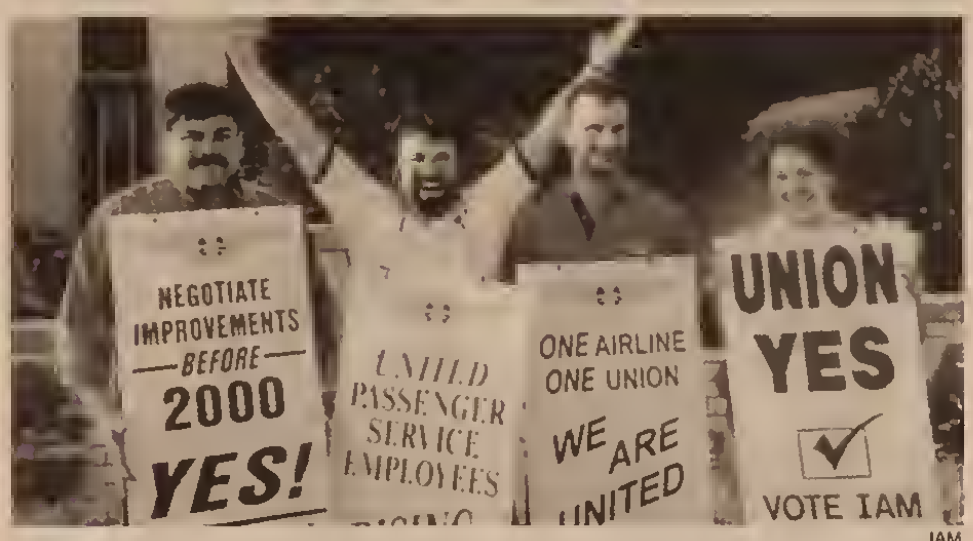
A common theme in recent strikes has been the fight to defend decent-paying unionized jobs in the face of the deepening immiseration of the working class imposed through multi-tier wage schemes, low-paid part-time or temporary jobs with no benefits, widespread "downsizing" of the workforce and accompanying speedup. This was palpably seen in the aging GM workforce, many in their 40s and 50s, who have been forced to endure backbreaking six-day and seven-day workweeks for years and who know that if GM gets its way, when they retire their jobs will go and there will be nothing for their kids but minimum-wage service industry jobs. In the past ten years alone, Solidarity House has presided over a decline in UAW membership of more than a quarter of a million. A former GM worker voiced the sentiment motivating the Flint strikers: "I either stand now and strike or there may be no tomorrow."

AP

When GM returned stamping dies to struck Flint plant, UAW tops directed workers to cross picket lines to assist company in preparing to restart production. Picket lines mean don't cross!

Throughout the strike, bourgeois press and TV news crews scoured the country looking for anti-union sentiment among the 200,000 GM workers who had been laid off, but they found only solid support for the union's cause. Such local strikes have become key to the defense of jobs for all GM workers, because Solidarity House refuses to call out the union nationally to combat attacks on jobs and working conditions. There have been 19 such strikes against GM since 1990, and they have managed to stop some threatened factory closures. Blocked by these actions and by provisions in union contracts against closing plants, GM has relied instead on a war of attrition to regain market share lost to its rivals. With the collusion of the UAW misleaders, GM has eliminated 125,000 jobs since 1990 as workers retire or are forced out because of the backbreaking conditions. As an increasing number of workers approach retirement age, the rate of attrition has risen from 5 percent to twice that.

When the AFL-CIO tops did nothing to stop the government's smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers in 1981, it became open season on the unions. Throughout the 1980s and early '90s, the labor bureaucracy permitted a series of isolated strikes to end in defeat—and then declared that strikes could never be won. The proportion of private-sector workers organized in unions has plummeted to less than 10 percent. This has been accompanied by a deep cut in real wages, amounting to some 20 percent over the last 20 years. The loss of unionized industrial jobs has been most heavily felt among the black population, traditionally the "last hired and first fired." In turn, the downward pressure on wages has been augmented by the axing of welfare and other social programs, an anti-working-class attack which particularly devastated the ghetto and barrio poor, creating a vast pool of millions to compete for low-wage jobs or to be forced into slave-labor "workfare" schemes. Even among unionized workers, real wages have fallen by 7.6 percent just since 1994.



IAM

Growing pro-union sentiment is reflected in recent vote by 19,000 United Airlines workers to join IAM, the largest private-sector organizing victory in 20 years.

This has led to a massive redistribution of income in favor of an already wealthy handful, while working families have to work ever-longer hours to make ends meet. This situation is captured in the fact that of the 5.4 percent growth registered by the U.S. economy in the first quarter of 1998, fully 4 percent was the result not of increased productivity and technological improvements but of forcing increased amounts of overtime to work the hell out of those already employed. The average couple's workweek is a day and a half longer now than it was in the 1960s. The capitalists don't want to shell out the costs of medical and other benefits that would come with hiring new workers—a big reason why a large proportion of working people now have no medical insurance of any kind.

To even begin to redress these conditions poses a collision of enormous proportions with the entire capitalist class. A few figures point to the stakes involved. Unionized workers make on average $200 a week more in wages and benefits—over $10,000 a year—than non-union workers. An organizing drive aimed simply at bringing back into the union fold the more than four million workers lost to the unions in the past 20 years, coupled with an across-the-board wage increase to make up for the 20 percent drop in real wages, would cost the capitalist exploiters *hundreds of billions* of dollars. That helps explain why, even in the face of a sharp decline in strikes over the past two decades, corporate America devotes lavish sums of money for professional strikebreakers and anti-union "consultants." As one such, Martin Jay Levitt, wrote in his *Confessions of a Union Buster* (1993), "The war on organized labor is a $1 billion-plus industry." And this is all in addition to the strikebreaking cops, courts and other repressive forces of the capitalist government—the executive committee for the capitalist class—which are at the disposal of the employers.

The "new" AFL-CIO bureaucracy under John Sweeney has made much of the need for a renewed effort to organize non-union workers. The recent organization of 19,000 reservation clerks and other workers at United Airlines by the International Association of Machinists was an important victory. But this stands in sharp contrast to the failure to unionize hideously exploited strawberry workers in California—an effort which the Sweeney team put forward as the centerpiece of its organizing drives. To successfully unionize these workers requires a campaign of *class struggle* against the powerful agribusiness bosses, with strikes in the fields backed up by secondary strikes and labor boycotts by other unions, especially Teamster truckers.

Yet Sweeney & Co. have relied on

continued on page 14

AP

UPI

UAW bureaucrat Doug Fraser helped break series of wildcat strikes at Detroit Chrysler plants in 1973, was later rewarded by Chrysler CEO Lee Iacocca (near right) with appointment to board of directors.

GM...

(continued from page 13)

legalistic appeals to government labor boards, moralistic pleas to supermarket chains and supposed "organizing" rallies promoting Democratic Party politicians. In the upshot, the strawberry workers have been subjected to terror by the agribusiness bosses, who have imposed their own company union on the largely immigrant workers. Meanwhile, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy has devoted considerable resources to "organizing" prison guards and cops—the paid racist, strikebreaking thugs of the capitalist state.

Many "left" critics of the AFL-CIO tops complain that the bureaucrats are not committing enough funds to union organizing. But the problem is not primarily one of money. What is posed is a political question. To take on and roll back the war on organized labor requires a leadership with the understanding that the interests of labor and capital are *counterposed*, that any serious mobilization of union power threatens the capitalists and will bring the working class into a head-on confrontation with the bourgeois state, whether under a Republican or Democratic administration, and that the working class must therefore vigilantly guard its independence—organizational and political—from the bourgeoisie, its state and its political parties.

All of this is flatly counterposed to the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's political support to the racist, capitalist Democratic Party—and through it to the bourgeois order and the bourgeois state. The union tops make a principle of bowing to the bosses' "legality," which is an elaborate set of laws devised by the ruling class precisely to protect its property and class rule *against* the working class. These labor traitors literally act as the bourgeoisie's political police within the labor movement, from disbanding mass pickets to preventing strikes. The UAW misleaders' acquiescence to binding arbitration goes to the core of the labor bureaucracy's legalism. Far from being "neutral," arbitration is a crucial weapon of the exploiters, designed to weaken and demobilize the power of labor. If the employers have not wielded this weapon much until recently, it was because they saw an opportunity to instead simply crush every outbreak of labor struggle through brute union-busting. Faced with a solid shutdown of its operations around the country, GM turned to the courts to break the union's struggle.

So strong are the bureaucrats' ties to the capitalist order that they have renounced the very means by which the industrial unions were built in the 1930s. That was a convulsive struggle, including three citywide general strikes in 1934, mass sit-down strikes in Flint in 1937 which organized GM, and secondary labor boycotts and solidarity strikes. This massive upheaval was accompanied by an unprecedented radicalization of the U.S. proletariat. The 1934 Minneapolis strikes, which laid the basis for transforming the Teamsters into the huge industrial union it is today through subsequent campaigns to organize over-the-road drivers, were led by Trotskyist militants who understood that the workers' interests could only be advanced through a policy of class struggle whose aim was the overthrow of the entire capitalist system.

Protectionism: Chauvinist Poison

After living through years of "downsizing," workers are displaying a determination for defending their jobs and keeping open the plants in which they work. But the UAW bureaucracy is opposed to any struggle which would challenge GM's "right" to squeeze every cent of profit it can out of the workforce. With its long history of collaborating with management, Solidarity House fosters the illusion that the union and management can simply sit down together and bargain for a role in determining how and where GM invests in new plant and equipment. This demand is clearly utopian because it denies the fundamental conflict of class interests between capital and labor. Stopping GM's union-busting scheme to restructure its North American operations is not going to be done through negotiating in GM's boardrooms. It's going to mean serious class struggle every step of the way.

As one Wall Street analyst dryly remarked, "In a capitalist society, the owners decide where the capital goes" (*Detroit News*, 30 July). And that means capital goes where profits and dividends can be maximized, to semicolonial countries like Mexico and to non-union plants in the South. The working class will control investment when it controls industry—when the means of production are expropriated from the bourgeoisie and organized in a planned, collectivized economy under a workers state. And that will take a socialist revolution.

Behind the UAW bureaucracy's talk about "investing in America" is its deep-seated loyalty to the American *baurgeaisie*. The poisonous, flag-waving protectionism expressed in calls for import quotas and chauvinist tirades against "foreign workers stealing American jobs" is aimed at bolstering the interests of U.S. imperialism against its rivals. This goes hand in hand with the labor bureaucracy's support for the Democratic Party. The UAW journal *Solidarity* (March/April 1998) enthusiastically promotes unannounced Democratic presidential contender Richard Gephardt, who is a virulent, Japan-bashing protectionist.

Any serious struggle against the far-flung GM empire necessarily entails a perspective of class-struggle solidarity with workers in other countries, including solidarity strikes, labor boycotts of scab goods and other actions in support of struggles for union recognition. The need for such proletarian internationalist solidarity was concretely demonstrated in the Flint strike, which shut down not only GM's U.S. plants but those in Canada and Mexico as well.

The UAW tops and the Sweeney AFL-CIO leadership occasionally mouth pious phrases of concern over the low wages paid to workers in Third World countries. But their protectionist strategy is *counterposed* to the fight for international labor solidarity. Nor does it defend the jobs of unionized workers in the U.S. As the *New York Times* (26 August) reported, Yokich himself made this clear when he said in response to the Delphi announcement "that some changes in production processes were inevitable.... Even if jobs are created at non-union supplier factories in the United States, he said, 'It's still an American job, isn't it?'" In other words, says Yokich, the American capitalists can grind the living hell out of the workers, as long as they "put America first"!

While the labor bureaucrats scream about shipping jobs abroad, for years they have allowed the bosses to ship jobs to low-wage, non-union plants in the American South. The union misleaders refuse to touch this question not only because of their devotion to the profits of the companies, but because it would mean actively taking on the question of racial discrimination against black workers. Organizing the "open shop" South necessarily and directly poses the need to mobilize labor to defeat the racist, union-hating lynchers of the Ku Klux Klan, who would be unleashed by the capitalists to suppress multiracial labor struggle. The Klan and the people behind them have always understood that unions *mean* racial integration.

Vance International union-busting thugs. Capitalists spend over $1 billion a year on private strikebreaking armies and anti-union "consultants."

Morris/Washington Post

At the same time, the "America first" chauvinism pushed by Yokich & Co. also serves to fuel the capitalist rulers' attacks on Hispanic, Asian and other immigrant workers in the U.S. The fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants is a crucial part of mobilizing the power of labor in struggle against capitalist exploitation. As we note in the International Communist League's "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

> "Modern capitalism, i.e., imperialism, reaching into all areas of the planet, in the course of the class struggle and as economic need demands, brings into the proletariat at its bottom new sources of cheaper labor, principally immigrants from poor and less-developed regions of the world—workers with few rights who are deemed more disposable in times of economic contraction. Thus capitalism in ongoing fashion creates different strata among the workers, while simultaneously amalgamating the workers of many different lands. Everywhere, the capitalists, abetted by aristocracy-of-labor opportunists, try to poison class consciousness and solidarity among the workers by fomenting religious, national and ethnic divisions. The struggle for the unity and integrity of the working class against chauvinism and racism is thus a vital task for the proletarian vanguard."

AFL-CIO

AFL leaders William Green and George Meany with Democratic president Roosevelt (sitting). AFL and CIO tops backed anti-labor "New Deal" administration, enforced no-strike pledge to support U.S. imperialism in World War II.

Labor Lieutenants of U.S. Imperialism

The current UAW tops are directly descended from the social-democratic Reuther machine which ran the UAW beginning in 1946. In the 1930s, Reuther was one of a host of union activists, including Communist Party (CP) supporters, who worked to channel the labor upsurge into support for Democratic president Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" administration. Portrayed as a "friend of labor," the Roosevelt government enacted the Wagner Act and other measures which, in the guise of legalizing unions, were in reality aimed at curtailing class struggle and subordinating the unions to the capitalist state.

Along with the rest of the CIO and AFL leadership, Reuther supported a no-strike pledge and compulsory arbitration to back U.S. imperialism in World War II. Following the war, the biggest strike wave in U.S. history broke out in 1945-46. Shortly afterwards, Reuther helped launch the Cold War purges which drove militants out of the unions. The anti-Communist witchhunt was codified in the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, which also banned secondary strikes and other militant tactics which had been key to the union's very formation. The merger of the AFL and CIO in 1955 took place on the basis of the purges, which destroyed whole unions, and of a program of subordinating the labor movement to the legal straitjacket drawn up by the capitalists and their government.

By the early 1970s, UAW officials like Doug Fraser were themselves leading goon squads to break wildcat strikes by auto workers in Detroit. For his efforts on behalf of the auto bosses, Fraser was later rewarded with a seat on Chrysler's board of directors. This is emblematic of the UAW tops' program of subordinating the interests of auto workers to the capitalist drive for profits, from union-management "productivity" committees to "profit-sharing" schemes aimed at convincing workers that they have a stake in their own exploitation. Far from securing jobs, such measures help fuel the job-slashing offensive. Thanks to Ford's "cordial relations" with the UAW bureaucracy—which last authorized a strike against Ford in 1986—the company has managed to largely do away with its unionized parts operations and increase its profit margin and market share at GM's expense, impelling the latter to go after even more UAW jobs.

Abroad, the labor bureaucracy's support to U.S. imperialism has meant collaborating with the CIA in subverting Communist-led unions in West Europe after World War II and in suppressing militant unions in Third World police states like South Korea. Thus, the AFL-CIO tops helped create the low-wage, non-union havens for imperialist investment overseas which they now decry. Leon Trotsky, who with V.I. Lenin stood at the head of the Bolshevik Party which led the workers of Russia to power in the October Revolution of 1917, explained the root cause of the union tops' fealty to the imperialist rulers in his 1940 article, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay":

> "The intensification of class contradictions within each country, the intensification of antagonisms between one country and another, produce a situation in which imperialist capitalism can tolerate (i.e., up to a certain time) a reformist [union] bureaucracy only if the latter serves directly as a petty but active stockholder of its imperialist enterprises, of its plans and programs within the country as well as on the world arena."

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

It is a measure of the threadbare "socialist" credentials of reformist groups like the Communist Party, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Socialist Action that not one of them denounces the UAW bureaucracy's support to protectionism or the Democratic Party. What all of these groups have in common is their rejection of a revolutionary perspective. Instead, accepting the framework of capitalist rule, they seek at best to pressure the bourgeoisie to alleviate the conditions of exploitation and oppression.

While intoning that "we must seriously challenge class collaboration," CP

Harlem...

(continued from page 16)

police barricades. And the criminalization of blacks was precisely the point Giuliani wanted to drive home.

Having failed to provoke the crowd, the cops are frustrated because they only bagged one arrest and now say they will review videotapes to get others. The Giuliani administration is also threatening to charge Khallid Muhammad with "inciting to riot." A black pastor at Harlem's Canaan Baptist Church aptly responded, "Then Mr. Giuliani should be indicted for the police riot on the Brooklyn Bridge of which he was a part a few years ago."

In September 1992, Giuliani stood at the head of a racist mobilization by thousands of cops outside City Hall demanding more police power. After he finished his speech, 10,000 white cops broke through barricades to storm City Hall, then occupied by black Democrat David Dinkins. They later took over the Brooklyn Bridge and rampaged through lower Manhattan, punching reporters, insulting black elected officials and terrorizing women and minority youth.

The following year, Giuliani took office. The cops were given a green light to run roughshod over the ghetto and barrio poor. The number of people killed by cops on the street or in police custody jumped by 50 percent in the first year of his reign. Now, Giuliani is waging a wholesale assault on such democratic rights as freedom of speech and assembly for whole layers of the population. Again playing the race card, his attempt to ban the "Million Youth March" was aimed at further strengthening the forces of repressive "law and order."

And bigoted demagogue Khallid Muhammad gave Giuliani the perfect target. As we wrote last issue:

> "While we defend the right of the 'Million Youth March' to march down Harlem's Malcolm X Boulevard, we emphatically warn that Khallid Muhammad is a poisonous messenger of racial hatred. When it comes to fomenting race war, Muhammad is a fitting analogue to the racist Republican mayor.... Diverting the justified outrage of black youth against conditions of horrendous oppression into racist bigotry against Jews, Asians and others, Muhammad stokes the flames of right-wing reaction whose first targets will be black people."

Muhammad and his minions used the platform of the "Million Youth March" to spew racist filth, railing against Jews as "the bloodsuckers of the black community." In truth, it is Muhammad and his ilk, like his former mentor, Nation of Islam head Louis Farrakhan, who themselves aspire to be the bloodsuckers of the black community. While talking of "black empowerment," they seek to carve out a niche for themselves as the sole exploiters of the black ghetto masses. This illusory program of "black capitalism" is premised both on the benevolent acquiescence of the white power structure and on the maintenance of racist segregation.

Muhammad's incitements to race war are a deadly danger to the ghetto youth and others whom he would readily sacrifice to further his own ends. As the cops waded into the "Million Youth March," Muhammad tried to incite the crowd to "take their guns away and use their guns in self-defense" (*New York Times*, 7 September). Minutes after setting up hundreds of black youth for murderous attack by racist cops itching for a bloodbath, he drove off in his white Mercedes. As one black woman from Brooklyn's Crown Heights ghetto pointed out, "Giuliani and Khallid are in concert, in my opinion. They need one another" (*New York Times*, 7 September). Giuliani, however, is backed by the forces of state power in his bid to foment race war.

The chilling display of racist police terror on the streets of Harlem on September 5 was meant as a message not only to blacks but to all working people and the poor that they had better "stay in line"—or else. Helping to enforce this message are the job-trusting labor bureaucrats who refuse to lift a finger to oppose the increasing devastation of the inner cities. Instead of mobilizing New York's powerful integrated unions, the pro-capitalist labor tops line up behind Giuliani.

The way out is through the road of class struggle, mobilizing the multiracial proletariat to put an end to this capitalist system which is rooted in racial oppression and enforced by the cops, courts and other repressive agencies of the capitalist state. This is the perspective advanced by the Labor Black Leagues, initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, in the introduction to their program, "What We Stand For" (*Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 13, February 1996):

> "Full equality can only come through the struggle for revolutionary integration, to free black people from grinding capitalist oppression through mobilizing the social power of the multiracial working class and establishing a socialist society where those who labor rule. There is no other road to black freedom or proletarian emancipation. Getting there is a question of leadership. The Labor Black Leagues are multiracial organizations of militant workers and youth fighting for revolutionary integration: for black liberation through socialist revolution!" ■

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national chairman Gus Hall in the same breath calls for "defeat of the ultra-right in the 1998 elections" (*People's Weekly World*, 8 August). Such "fight the right" rhetoric has always been a code phrase for support to the Democrats as a "lesser evil." In fact, the CP has been steeped in class collaboration for more than 60 years. The CP played an instrumental role in channeling the burgeoning radicalization of the 1930s away from the fight for an independent political expression of the labor movement—a workers party—and into the arms of the anti-labor "New Deal coalition."

Despite its "fight for communism" rhetoric, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) embraces the CP's history of Stalinist treachery. PL alternates between "revolutionary" bombast and a search for a "center-left coalition" with "progressive" aspirants to the trade-union bureaucracy. At the same time, PL's brand of idiot ultraleftism leads them to dismiss the unions as institutions no different than the church and the army. Last year, PL went so far as to denounce the UPS strike as a feud between different wings of the ruling class and vituperated that the strike's success was a victory for fascism!

And while the ISO mildly criticizes the UAW tops for its "jointness" programs with management at the shopfloor level, it covers for the bureaucracy's broader class-collaborationist program. At bottom, the social-democratic ISO shares the UAW bureaucracy's view of the supposed "neutrality" of the capitalist state. Thus for years the ISO has trumpeted the Teamsters for a Democratic Union, which orchestrated the government takeover of that union in the late 1980s. For its part, *Socialist Action* (August 1998) criticizes Solidarity House for having "full confidence in corporate America's legal system," yet counterposes as a "militant" alternative former Teamsters president Ron Carey, who was installed in office by the Justice Department. Now the same capitalist state which oversaw Carey's installation has not only ousted him from the presidency but decreed his expulsion from the union. This is the bitter fruit of inviting the class enemy into the labor movement.

David North's Socialist Equality Party (SEP) postures as opponents of the "class collaboration and nationalism" of the UAW bureaucracy in a 16 June statement on the GM strike. But this is a complete fraud. Behind the Northites' "leftist" stance lies their very right-wing attack on the unions, which they have written off as not being any kind of working-class organization. During the 1994-95 UAW Caterpillar strike, this outfit *defended scabbing* by arguing that the union members who crossed the picket lines were not "anti-union" but "simply recognized the futility of the policies being pursued by the UAW" (*International Workers Bulletin*, 18 December 1995). Echoing the bourgeoisie's hatred for the existing mass organizations of the working class, the SEP's call for "an independent political party of the working class" is a cynical sham.

In contrast, the Spartacist League fights to build a workers party whose aim is to make the working class conscious of its historic interest in fighting to abolish this entire racist profit system. A workers party will be built not in *counterposition* to the trade unions, which are organizations for economic defense of the working class, but in the crucible of big class battles, which will result in the fight for a new, class-struggle leadership of the unions. The U.S. is the only industrial country in the world where the workers have not historically had their own independent political party reflecting in some way the conflicting interests of capital and labor, not even one akin to the reformist West European social-democratic parties.

This backward political consciousness is in large measure the result of the calculated use of racism—as, earlier, religion—to divide the working class. Rooted in the brutal segregation of the black masses at the bottom of American society, the color bar has served to obscure and reinforce the fundamental division in capitalism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The fight for labor's emancipation from capitalist wage slavery can only go forward if the multiracial proletariat takes up the struggle against racial oppression. At the same time, black workers are a strategic component of the working class. Combined with their double oppression as workers and blacks in racist American society, this will impel them to play a leading role in the socialist revolution in this country.

The history of the American working class is one of convulsive class battles. And if the proletariat is to defend its livelihood and organizations in the face of the bourgeoisie's rapacity, there will be a series of such battles ahead. But union struggles alone are not enough to prevail against capital. In his 1865 pamphlet, *Wages, Price and Profit*, Karl Marx defended the need for trade-union struggle against the constant attacks of the capitalists, whose general tendency is "to push the *value of labour* more or less to its *minimum limit*." At the same time, he warned:

> "The working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these everyday struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady. They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in these unavoidable guerrilla fights incessantly springing up from the never-ceasing encroachments of capital or changes of the market. They ought to understand that, with all the miseries it imposes upon them, the present system simultaneously engenders the *material conditions* and the *social forms* necessary for an economical reconstruction of society. Instead of the *conservative* motto, '*A fair day's wage for a fair day's work!*' they ought to inscribe on their banner the *revolutionary* watchword, '*Abolition of the wages system!*'"

The present labor officialdom does not even call for a fair day's wage. In the course of the class battles to come, a new leadership of the labor movement must come forward based on a program of militant struggle against the entire capitalist system. Out of such struggles will be forged a revolutionary workers party based on the Marxist understanding that the capitalist profit system must be rooted out and replaced by workers rule. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

In Wake of Solid Strike

For a Class-Struggle Fight Against GM Job Slashing!

The 54-day walkout at two General Motors plants in Flint, Michigan was the longest and most effective strike against the automaker since 1970. As 9,200 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Locals 651 and 659 took to the picket lines, production ground to a standstill at 27 of GM's 29 assembly facilities in North America. This was the costliest walkout ever not only for GM, the world's largest corporation, but for the American bourgeoisie as a whole. By the time the strike ended, GM had lost some $12 billion in sales and $3 billion in profits.

The ruling class was taken aback by this demonstration of labor power. In the midst of the GM strike, the *New York Times* (19 July) commented: "That labor can still muster so much muscle comes in a way as a surprise after decades during which the percentage of American workers belonging to unions has plunged and unions have been on the defensive because of downsizing, deregulation and competition from imports." The bourgeoisie had come to believe that it would face no challenge as it gorged itself on fabulous profits derived from ratcheting up the rate of exploitation, busting unions, slashing jobs and wages and destroying even the most minimal social programs for the impoverished and unemployed, particularly the ghetto masses. After trumpeting the supposed "death of communism" and even the end of class struggle, the American ruling class was caught off guard last year by the widespread popularity and solidity of the Teamsters strike against UPS, which broke the nearly 20-year pattern of crushing defeats for labor.

No to Class Collaboration—Break with the Democrats!

Hugh Grannum / AP

UAW president Stephen Yokich, left, with GM chief John Smith. Workers' determination to fight job cuts, seen in Flint strike, is undermined by UAW tops' push for "partnership" with capitalists.

By the mere fact of withdrawing their labor power, GM workers demonstrated the potential power of the working class that lies in its numbers, organization and discipline, and most decisively in the fact that it is labor that makes the wheels of profit turn in capitalist society. But the Flint strike also showed how the power of labor is sapped and undermined by the labor bureaucracy, which preaches an identity of interests between the workers and their capitalist exploiters. When GM lodged a court suit against the union —the first since the 1937 Flint sitdown strikes which laid the basis for the UAW—the Solidarity House bureaucracy under UAW president Stephen Yokich *voluntarily* acquiesced to government arbitration. With the company throwing down the gauntlet, the last thing the UAW tops had in mind was waging a hard class battle to defeat GM. And when it looked like the arbitrator would, not surprisingly, rule against the union and outlaw the strike, the UAW tops panicked and pushed through a settlement.

In the upshot, the strike ended effectively in a standoff. GM had intended to inflict a crippling blow on the union. That it failed was evident in a complaint by a spokesman for Wall Street's Paine Webber that "the market expected GM to deliver a knockout blow, and they didn't." The company agreed to keep open, at least until January 2000, the stamping plant in Flint and two plants in Dayton, Ohio which had been threatened with closure and renewed its promise to invest $180

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Racist Attack on "Million Youth March"

Giuliani's Cops Lay Siege to Harlem

After a federal court rebuffed his attempts to ban the "Million Youth March," on September 5 New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani laid siege to black Harlem with an occupation army of thousands of cops. Police poured into the area on horseback and motorcycles, as other cops lined the rooftops. Subway stops were closed throughout the neighborhood and barricades blocked virtually every street leading to the rally site, while police helicopters hovered overhead. Describing the scene, an 81-year-old Harlem resident said, "It's like a damn slave plantation." Blocked even from getting to their jobs or homes, many called it the "Million Cop March."

Giuliani was itching for a bloodbath—and he almost got it. At 3:55 p.m., five minutes before the court-ordered end of the rally, dozens of riot-clad cops assembled in back of the stage at 118th Street. Five minutes later, a police helicopter buzzed the crowd, followed by a second chopper a minute later. Following this cue, the cops stormed the stage. As they disconnected the sound system and pushed people from the stage, the cops were pelted with garbage and bottles. A phalanx of cops on motorcycles and horseback waited to charge. Dean Meminger, a black correspondent for New York's NY 1 television news channel who was visibly terrified, reported to viewers: "it almost looked like a police state."

Following the calculated cop rampage he had masterminded, Giuliani ranted contemptuously: "They had their free-speech right. When it got to 4:01 p.m., it was over." From the outset, the racist mayor had seized upon the call for a "Million Youth March" by anti-Semitic demagogue Khallid Muhammad as an opportunity to further trample on and terrorize the city's black population. "They treat us like we're all criminals," said one black man who was turned back by

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Funches/NY Post

Cops attack platform at "Million Youth March" as part of racist occupation of Harlem.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 697 | 25 September 1998

Imperialist Chief Clinton Witchhunted for Sex

Impeachment Drive Threatens Right to Privacy for All

SEPTEMBER 20—The drive to remove Bill Clinton from the presidency for his consensual sexual affair with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky poses a threat to every one of us. At issue is one of the most fundamental democratic rights, the right to privacy—which in practice comes down to the right to a private sex life without meddling or snooping by state and church authorities. The politicians and media are going after Clinton for about the only thing he's done that *isn't* a crime from the standpoint of the working class. As we noted in an earlier article (*WV* No. 695, 28 August):

> "Bill Clinton is commander in chief of U.S. imperialism, and as such a deadly enemy of working people and minorities in the U.S. and around the world. But we are not indifferent to the anti-sex witchhunt which has now targeted Clinton. The seemingly limitless powers of the Starr chamber to pry into Clinton's and Lewinsky's private lives through harassment and intimidation are a threat to the most elementary right to privacy for the population as a whole."

Among the world's industrialized countries, the U.S. is the most deeply permeated by religious and superstitious influences. Yet there is also a strong sentiment among the populace that the government has no business dictating how people conduct their private lives. If the long arm of the sex cops can reach into the White House, many understand, then what about their own bedrooms? It is notable that despite the torrent of hypocritical anti-sex moralizing spewed out by politicians and the media, Clinton's approval rating has remained solid since his affair with Lewinsky first came out in January (though this could change, as opinion polls are notoriously susceptible to the bourgeoisie's propaganda machine).

At this weekend's conference of the Christian Coalition in Washington, D.C., the right-wing religious bigots gathered there were "despondent" over the lack of outrage among America's "God-fearing people." Moreover, as the

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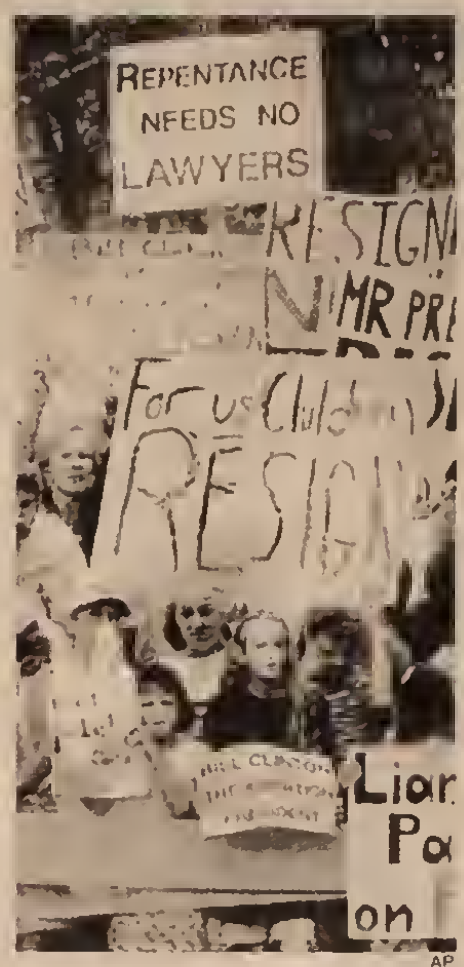

AP

Anti-sex moralism and anti-abortion bigotry on display at Cincinnati protest against Clinton.

London, Dublin Impose New "Anti-Terror" Laws

Northern Ireland: Down With Police-State Crackdown!

Reuters

British Troops Out Now!

The following article is adapted from Workers Hammer *(No. 164, September/October 1998), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.*

LONDON, September 17—The first session of the Northern Ireland Assembly on Monday, coming after an announced end to British Army patrols of Belfast and a "historic" meeting between Protestant Loyalist first minister David Trimble and Sinn Féin/Irish Republican Army (IRA) leader Gerry Adams, occasioned outpourings of praise for the imperialist "peace process." But the real face of the "peace" deal signed in Belfast's Stormont Castle last April, imposed by British Labour Party prime minister Tony Blair and Irish Republic taoiseach (prime minister) Bertie Ahern and brokered by U.S. president Bill Clinton, was seen in the massive mobilisations of British Army and Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) repression and in the Orange mobs besieging the Catholic community of Drumcree over the summer.

In a joint declaration by the Spartacist League/Britain and the Dublin Spartacist Group opposing the Stormont agreement, we warned that this imperialist "peace" would necessarily be imposed at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority in the North and would not do working-class Protestants any good either. We noted that it "will be taken by the governments in London, Dublin and Belfast as a mandate for intensified repression" (see "Northern Ireland: Imperialist 'Peace' Fraud," *WV* No. 689, 24 April). This is exactly what is now taking place. The imperialist butchers in Westminster and their junior partners in Dublin seized on the August 15 bombing

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The Left and the "Million Youth March"

The army of cops that laid siege to black Harlem and rampaged against participants at the "Million Youth March" (MYM) on September 5 was an ominous new installment in racist New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani's campaign to brand the ghetto poor as criminal outlaws. In his efforts to promote race war in the city, Giuliani found a fitting analogue in MYM organizer Khallid Muhammad. As we wrote in our article protesting the attempt to ban the MYM: "Diverting the justified outrage of black youth against conditions of horrendous oppression into racist bigotry against Jews, Asians and others, Muhammad stokes the flames of right-wing reaction whose first targets will be black people" (*WV* No. 695, 28 August).

Yet a whole number of self-proclaimed "socialist" organizations fell in behind Muhammad's reactionary mobilization. *Workers World* (10 September) praised Muhammad as "strong and unapologetically anti-white." The Revolutionary Communist Party hailed the MYM as "proud, defiant and determined to make a difference" (*Revolutionary Worker*, 6 September). *Socialist Action* (September 1998) pledged its "uncompromising support to the progressive political goals of the Million Youth March," as though there is anything whatsoever progressive about Khallid Muhammad's anti-Semitic, anti-Asian, woman-hating black nationalism.

Seemingly standing apart from these leftists was the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which distributed a leaflet at the Harlem rally titled "Why Anti-Semitism Destroys Our Struggle." Leaving aside that the ISO is obviously incapable of staying away from any "mass action," even one dominated by Muhammad's anti-Semitic ravings, this leaflet was nonetheless a pretty bold move for these inveterate opportunists. Doubtless, "the courage of their convictions" was bolstered by "respectable" opposition to Muhammad coming from Harlem Democrats like Congressman Charles Rangel and State Senator David Paterson.

The black elected officials tried to organize a "community peacekeeping force" to serve as an auxiliary to Giuliani's racist cops. Yet the ISO's leaflet said not a word in opposition to the Democratic Party. And, in the aftermath of the MYM, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (11 September) applauded Democrat Al Sharpton—a former FBI fink who ran in last year's Democratic Party mayoral primary—as "the only speaker to say that he opposes anti-Semitism and homophobia." The ISO did *not* note that only a few years ago Sharpton joined black demagogue Sonny Carson in whipping up an anti-immigrant frenzy against Korean shopkeepers.

The ISO has postured as an opponent of reactionary black nationalism in the past. In 1995, it decried Louis Farrakhan's Million Man March as "a step backward from the political goals and ideals of the 1960s civil rights movement." But the goals of the liberal leadership of the civil rights movement were premised on the illusion that black equality could be achieved within the framework of racist American capitalism, largely through the vehicle of the Democratic Party. Although sometimes cloaked with "socialist" rhetoric, the ISO's politics are fundamentally predicated on the same liberal pressure politics. Their own illusions in the Democratic Party come through in an ISO pamphlet titled "Bill Clinton: A Record of Broken Promises." But the Clinton White House is delivering exactly what it "promised" in its relentless war against blacks, immigrants, working people and the poor.

The ISO: Color-Blind "Socialists"

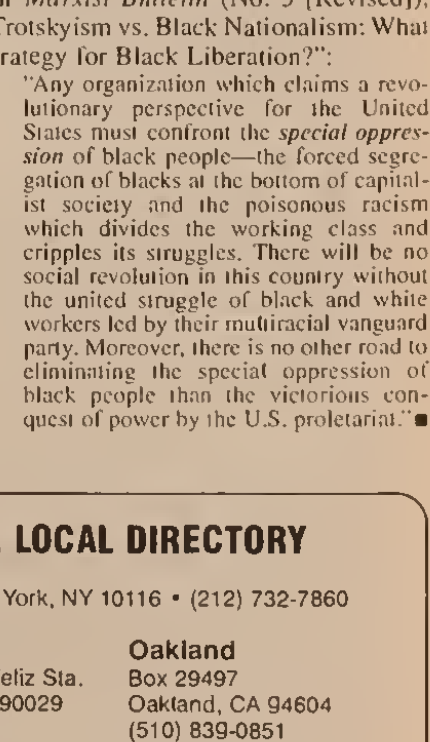
In its leaflet to the Million Youth March, the ISO calls for "a movement that unites black and white workers to fight for real change." Indeed, the fight to break down the racial divisions which are imposed by America's capitalist rulers is crucial to mobilizing the multiracial proletariat in its own class interests and in defense of all the oppressed. But the ISO's "unite and fight" rhetoric is based on obscuring the centrality of the fight for black liberation to the struggle for socialist revolution in the U.S. Indeed, the ISO studiously avoids even mentioning black people in its articles on the attacks on welfare, on the burgeoning prison population and the increase in state executions. Yet blacks are the first target of the attacks of the American ruling class, which plays the race card in order to drive down the living standards of all workers.

While denouncing Farrakhan and Muhammad for assisting the bosses in dividing the working class along racial lines, the ISO social democrats say not a word about the far greater responsibility of the pro-capitalist trade union tops they tail in maintaining a system based on brutal racist oppression. In its cheerleading for the Carey leadership of the Teamsters during last year's UPS strike, the ISO completely ignored the refusal of the Teamster bureaucrats to take up any fight against racist and sexist discrimination at UPS.

The ISO has denounced Farrakhan's Nation of Islam for "work[ing] with the police rather than organizing against them" (*Socialist Worker*, 27 October 1995). But the ISO itself sees cops—the armed guardians of the rule of capital—as potential "allies" of the labor movement. In 1997, John Molyneux, a leader of the ISO's British parent group, the Socialist Workers Party, proclaimed that the cops would cease being "agents of the state" if they were to "rebel collectively." But as any black youth or militant worker knows, the cops "rebel collectively" by demanding more money, more power and more leeway to gun down the ghetto poor and beat up strikers. In our polemic against the ISO's pro-cop line, we wrote: "The ISO's benevolent view of the capitalist state precludes its being a revolutionary organization. Instead, the most it can be is a tepid 'left' face of capitalist barbarity, particularly in the guise of the racist Democratic Party" ("ISO: Looking for a Few Good Cops," *WV* No. 664, 21 March 1997).

For all the ISO's criticisms of Muhammad and Farrakhan, its color-blind "socialism" is just another statement of its own accommodation to the existing capitalist order. As we wrote in the introduction to our *Marxist Bulletin* (No. 5 [Revised]), "Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism: What Strategy for Black Liberation?":

> "Any organization which claims a revolutionary perspective for the United States must confront the *special oppression* of black people—the forced segregation of blacks at the bottom of capitalist society and the poisonous racism which divides the working class and cripples its struggles. There will be no social revolution in this country without the united struggle of black and white workers led by their multiracial vanguard party. Moreover, there is no other road to eliminating the special oppression of black people than the victorious conquest of power by the U.S. proletariat."■



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Socialist Revolution: The Only Road to Black Emancipation

TROTSKY

LENIN

Because racial oppression is embedded in the very foundations of American capitalism, the aim of black emancipation can only be realized through a proletarian revolution which replaces the rule of the bourgeoisie with an egalitarian socialist society. In a 1945 pamphlet, published when Jim Crow segregation reigned in the South and only two years after lynch mobs had rampaged through the streets of Detroit, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party advanced a class-struggle program to combat black oppression and the racist bigotry which has historically been used to divide the working class. The Spartacist League fights to build the multiracial revolutionary workers party needed to lead the struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression to victory.

Without a doubt, it is only those who hire and exploit wage labor who stand to gain by pitting white against black and black against white: the wealthy planters, the big industrialists, the monopoly capitalists, and the Wall Street financiers; those who produce nothing themselves but who, like leeches, live by extracting a hidden toll from their employees.

The people who own and control the factories, the railroads and all the other means of production and distribution, stand to gain because interracial prejudice diverts the attention of both the black and the white workers away from their true foe....

Capitalist exploitation hangs like a tapeworm from the entrails of human society. It lives off the nourishment which is created by the labor power of both white and colored workers. In its parasitic existence it gives off increasing doses of poisonous prejudice. In America the poison of racial prejudice, which capitalism produces, circulates throughout society and is the direct cause of the external festering sores of segregation, discrimination, lynching and race riots.

Since these exploiters are the only ones who really gain in dollars and cents by driving this wedge between white and Negro workers, it is easy to understand that the capitalist system itself is the real cause of Jim-Crowism. Here, then, is the basic enemy against which we must battle.

The Negro will never achieve complete equality as long as the capitalist system, which makes race prejudice profitable, is allowed to exist.

—Charles Jackson, *A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow* (1945)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Jacob Zorn

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jane Patterson

EDITORIAL BOARD: Ray Bishop (managing editor), Bruce André, Helene Broslus, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tlac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is September 22.

No. 697 **25 September 1998**

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Protests Denounce Reactionary Iranian Regime

On September 21, the Spartacist League/U.S. and other sections of the International Communist League joined in united-front protests against the Islamic fundamentalist regime in Iran initiated by exile groups of the Worker-communist Party of Iran (WPI). The protests in New York City, Vancouver, London, Berlin, Hamburg and Sydney, Australia were timed to coincide with Iranian president Mohammad Khatami's visit to the United Nations and were called to "defend rights, secularism, Socialism, freedom and equality" against the murderous Iranian regime (the word "socialism" was omitted from the WPI's appeal in the U.S.). A day earlier, our Los Angeles comrades joined a protest there.

Among the signs carried by our contingents were ones reading: "Down With the Woman-Hating Mullah Regime! For Workers Revolution in Iran!" "U.S./UN/NATO Out of the Persian Gulf! Down With UN Embargo of Iraq!" and "Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!" In a letter endorsing the WPI's united-front call, we stressed "the necessity of the absolute independence of the working class from its 'own' capitalist rulers and from the agencies of imperialism, notably including the United Nations, that den of thieves and their victims, to paraphrase Lenin's earlier formulation about the UN's predecessor, the League of Nations."

This points to a key difference between our revolutionary Marxist program and the politics of the WPI. Many WPI cadre have been murdered, imprisoned or exiled for their heroic opposition to the ayatollahs' regime in Teheran. Yet despite its stated commitment to socialism, the WPI has repeatedly issued impotent appeals to the UN and other imperialist agencies to oppose repression in Iran and Iraq. This is implicitly reflected in its protest call, which states, "Rather than speak at the UN, the regime's representatives must be tried for their crimes against humanity."

A statement issued by the WPI's affiliate, the Worker-communist Party of Iraq, for a September 14 demonstration in London made this appeal explicit, calling for a "team of international inspectors to visit Iraqi prisons" to make "full inquiries" about prison conditions there. And a 25 May Internet posting by the Iraqi group—which is heavily centered in the Kurdish region of the country—demanded a plebiscite on Kurdish independence in Iraq with representatives of the "UN to observe the process and to give legitimacy to the result of the referendum."

Such appeals dovetail with the designs of the imperialists themselves, who already have an army of UN "arms inspectors" in Iraq and have killed more than one million Iraqis in the last eight years through the UN-sponsored starvation blockade. Also under a UN fig leaf, the imperialists have carved out an "autonomous region" in Iraqi Kurdistan which has been opened to repeated, murderous invasions by the Turkish army as it pursues its own war of annihilation against Kurdish nationalists. Only days before the WPI-initiated protests, Washington brought together the feudalist and petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan to broker a truce between these perennially feuding groups in order to further imperialist control of the region and bolster the CIA-sponsored "opposition" to the regime of Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein.

WV Photo

September 21: Spartacist contingent at NYC united-front protest outside United Nations against bloodsoaked Iranian regime.

As the SL speaker at the New York City protest emphasized:

> "Repeated appeals for UN intervention in Iraq and Kurdistan can only result in the further oppression and misery of the masses of the Near East. It was under the aegis of the UN that the U.S. slaughtered over 100,000 Iraqis in the 1991 Gulf War. And it is today the UN which is strangling and starving the masses of Iraq, including its Kurdish inhabitants. The liberation of the Kurdish people can only be achieved through the overthrow of capitalism in Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria. For the right of self-determination for the Kurdish people! For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!"

During the 1991 Gulf War, we raised the slogan "Defeat U.S. imperialism—Defend Iraq!" while calling on the Iraqi working people to sweep away their capitalist oppressors. But the WPI's predecessor organization refused even to side militarily with Iraq against the U.S./UN onslaught.

Behind the WPI's appeals to the agencies of "democratic" imperialism lies its failure to transcend the Menshevik/Stalinist schema of "two-stage revolution," which puts off the fight for socialist revolution to a distant future while seeking to pressure a (nonexistent) "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie to carry out a democratic revolution. This perspective has led to countless defeats and betrayals for the workers of the colonial and semicolonial countries, notably in Iran itself. At the time of the 1978-79 upheavals which overthrew the Iranian monarchy and installed the Khomeiniites in power, we called for a revolutionary mobilization of the proletariat in opposition to both the shah and the mullahs. In contrast, much of the left in Iran and internationally tailed behind the Islamic clergy. And while the WPI did not exist at the time, it retrospectively tries to draw a nonexistent distinction between the Khomeini-led "revolution" and the ayatollahs' accession to power, talking of the "suppression of the 1979 revolution by the Islamic regime" (*Bolshevik Message*, February 1989).

As the SL speaker at the NYC protest concluded:

> "What is essential is the application of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, powerfully vindicated by the 1917 Russian Revolution. In backward countries, the bourgeoisie is tied by a thousand strings to the imperialists and incapable of resolving the tasks associated with the European bourgeois revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, such as political democracy, agrarian revolution, national emancipation or elementary rights for women. Trotsky stressed that in the epoch of imperialism these tasks can only be resolved through the proletarian seizure of power. To thwart imperialist intervention and overcome the economic backwardness of 'Third World' countries, this must be integrally linked to a struggle for international socialist revolution, particularly in the advanced industrial countries. What is necessary for this is the forging of proletarian, internationalist Trotskyist parties in the Near East committed to the fight against all forms of oppression through the struggle for proletarian revolution."■

Women and Revolution

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We are proud to make available the first bound volume of *Women and Revolution*, journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League/U.S. Now incorporated into *Spartacist*, the theoretical and documentary repository of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), *Women and Revolution* reflects our commitment to the fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution.

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Imperialism and Class Struggle in Asia

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Hollywood United Methodist Church
6817 Franklin Avenue
(Highland Ave. exit off 101 Freeway)
For more information: (213) 380-8239

SAN FRANCISCO
Saturday, October 24, 7:30 p.m.
Women's Building
3543 18th Street (near Valencia)
For more information: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

BOSTON

The Fight for Revolutionary Marxism Today
Saturday, September 26, 7 p.m.
102 Sever Hall
Harvard University, Cambridge
(take the Red Line to Harvard)
For more information: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

Defeet of Reconstruction and the Greet Rell Strike of 1877
The Shaping of Racist American Capitalism
Saturday, Octobar 10, 7 p.m.
Ida Noyes Hall, Library Room
University of Chicago
(1212 E. 59th St.)
For more information: (312) 454-4930

MADISON

The Revolutionary Road to Black Liberation
Saturday, Octobar 3, 3 p.m.
Mamorial Union
Univarsity ol Wisconsin-Madison
(Saa "Today in tha Union" lor room)
For more information: (312) 454-4930

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forums

TORONTO

The Fight for a Trotskyist Party
Introducing "Who We Are, and What We Fight For," Programmatic Theses of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste
Saturday, October 3, 7:30 p.m.
St. Paul's Centre
427 Bloor Street West
(one block west ol Spadina Station)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

For World Socialist Revolution!
Imperialism and Class Struggle in Asia
Saturday, October 3, 2:30 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre
1661 Napier Street
(off Commercial Drive)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

NEW YORK CITY

Anti-Labor Attacks, Cop Terror and the Capitalist State
Tuesday, September 29, 7 p.m.
Loeb Student Center, Room 413
Naw York University
(LaGuardia Place & Washington Square South)
For more information, readings: (212) 267-1025

TORONTO

The Bolshevik Revolution
Thursday, October 1, 7 p.m.
International Studant Centre
33 St. George Street
(north ol College St.)
For more information, readings: (416) 593-4138

The Holocaust, "Collective Guilt" and German Imperialism

We reprint below the first part of an article originally published in the German-language edition of Spartacist *(No. 20, Summer 1998).*

SPARTACIST

The recent publication of *A Nation on Trial: The Goldhagen Thesis and Historical Truth* (Henry Holt & Co., 1998) by Norman G. Finkelstein and Ruth Bettina Birn has revived the controversy touched off two years ago by Daniel Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (Vintage Books, 1997). Goldhagen's warmed-over version of the half-century-old "collective guilt" argument—that the German people as a whole were responsible for the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust—met with a frenzy of adulation among bourgeois commentators in the U.S., and initially with an ugly chauvinist uproar in Germany. Finkelstein and Birn's polemics against Goldhagen have, in turn, provoked a vile outcry among American Zionist spokesmen, including attempts to have their book banned.

The Holocaust—in which six million Jews were murdered, along with millions more Roma and Sinti (Gypsies), Slavs, homosexuals, leftists and Soviet citizens—was a singular event in human history: a systematic attempt by a technologically advanced capitalist power to wipe out an entire people. But none of the countless other Holocaust books published in recent years were featured on the covers of major American and German magazines and few made it onto the best-seller lists in either country. Nor is the prominence achieved by Goldhagen's arid, pseudo-academic treatise explained by any breakthrough in research or analysis. His "evidence" that the mass of "ordinary Germans" were responsible for the Holocaust is largely derived from a case study of a Nazi police unit! Moreover, this same unit was previously examined (with different conclusions) in Christopher Browning's *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (1992).

The Goldhagen controversy has been fueled less by a historical dispute over the degree to which the German people were driven by a supposedly unique form of "eliminationist anti-Semitism" to

Eastfoto

Top: Nazis round up Jewish survivors of heroic 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising for deportation to Treblinka death camp. Goldhagen book glorifies U.S. imperialist "democracy," but it was Soviet Red Army (below) which smashed Nazi regime.

Yevgeni Khaldei

PART ONE

embrace the Nazi extermination machine and more by the current international political situation. The U.S.-dominated anti-Soviet Cold War consensus which shaped world capitalist politics for 45 years after World War II has given way to a resurgence of interimperialist rivalries.

Already in the 1970s and '80s, as it regained its former economic might following the defeat and devastation of World War II, the German bourgeoisie was chafing at its subordination to U.S. imperialism. This was expressed on an ideological level in a revival of reactionary chauvinism, both in "left" and right colors, as German imperialism sought to reclaim its role as a world power in its own right. This chauvinist resurgence has sharply accelerated since the capitalist annexation of the East German (DDR) deformed workers state in 1990 led to a reunified Fourth Reich of German imperialism. As it extends its reach throughout East Europe, the Balkans and the Caucasus, seeking to fill the void left by the collapse of the USSR, the German bourgeoisie is hindered in its ambitions by the memories still vivid among its intended neocolonial subject peoples of the horrors of Nazi occupation.

Throughout the Cold War, U.S. imperialism amply assisted its now "democratic" German ally in deep-sixing the crimes of Hitler's Third Reich. Immediately after World War II, U.S. intelligence agencies and the Vatican set up the "rat line" to spirit out Nazi mass murderers to safety in order to serve in the anti-Soviet war drive. Seeking to resurrect its former imperialist enemy as a front-line bastion in the Cold War, Washington financed the reconstruction of the shattered German economy under the postwar Christian Democratic (CDU) regime, while cultivating the Social Democracy (SPD) as an instrument for its anti-Communist designs against the West European workers movement. To a man, the industrialists who had bankrolled Hitler's rise to power and presided over the Third Reich were "rehabilitated." Under the Third Reich, the Deutschebank (which was initially Bismarck's instrument for foreign trade) was Hitler's partner in the genocidal business of slave labor; today it is the country's largest bank. In 1985, U.S. president Ronald Reagan joined with German chancellor Helmut Kohl in "honoring" the memory of SS killers buried at Bitburg.

But since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the American media have been filled with accounts of German and Japanese World War II atrocities and—a half century after the fact—cynical memorials to the victims of the Holocaust have suddenly sprung up in one American city after another. (At the same time, the U.S. rulers could not even countenance a tame exhibit at the Smithsonian Institution on the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki!)

It is in this context that Harvard professor Goldhagen's book elicited such an enthusiastic response among bourgeois commentators in the U.S. By the time Goldhagen toured Germany in late 1996 to promote the German edition of *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, he was effusively greeted there as well. The following January, he became the first recipient in six years of the German bourgeoisie's prestigious Democracy Prize. The reason is simple: Goldhagen ***amnesties the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz*** for both its past and current crimes, blaming the horrors of the Third Reich not on the imperialist rulers but on the German people as a whole and joining in the chorus of hosannas to the "democratic" Fourth Reich.

Far from expressing opposition to resurgent German chauvinism, the embrace of "collective guilt" by German liberals ***serves as a cover*** for aggressively promoting imperialist military intervention to "stop genocide" in the Balkans and elsewhere. For their part, Zionists like Goldhagen seek to paint genocide as a uniquely German undertaking, not least in order to deflect criticism of the Nazi-like persecution of the Palestinian Arabs by Israel's rulers. It was for making this elementary observation that Finkelstein incurred the wrath of a sizable chunk of the American Zionist establishment.

A genuine reckoning with the causes and horrors of the Holocaust cannot come from ideologues for one or another imperialist ruling class—which have all perpetrated untold atrocities against working people, minorities and semicolonial peoples around the world—nor from the Zionist apologists for Israeli state terror against the Palestinian people. Nor can it be expected from the various pseudo-socialists who seek to prettify the Social Democratic face of resurgent German imperialism. Only Leninist internationalists, fighting to reforge Leon Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party

Deutsche Fotothek Dresden

"Democratic" imperialists' war crime: February 1945 firebombing of Dresden by U.S. and Britain slaughtered over 100,000 German civilians.

of socialist revolution, can draw the lessons of Hitler's rise to power and advance a strategy to defeat the growing fascist danger today. This is the task of the International Communist League and its German section, the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD).

Historical Roots of the Jewish Question

The history of the 20th century painfully underscores the Marxist understanding that the fate of the Jewish people hinges on the victory of the world socialist revolution. This understanding is rooted in the very history of Europe's Jews, as Abram Leon made clear in his incisive book, *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation*. A Belgian Trotskyist of Polish origin who was murdered in Auschwitz after his capture by the Nazis, Leon completed the book in 1941, even as he was organizing clandestine anti-Nazi resistance.

Leon built on the writings of Karl Marx and Karl Kautsky to rip away the metaphysical mythology shrouding the history of the Jewish people. Leon situated the continued existence of a distinctive Jewish people in Europe through the Middle Ages, and their brutal oppression under capitalism, in their social role as a commercial "people-class" in feudal and prefeudal society. With the rise of mercantile capitalism, the Jews were driven out of one West European country after another, only to face similar persecution in the lands of the tsarist empire as capitalism took root there several centuries later. As Leon wrote:

> "The Jews lived within the pores of feudal society. When the feudal structure started to crumble, it began expelling elements which were, at one and the same time, foreign to it and indispensable to it. Even before the peasant had left the village for the industrial center, the Jew had abandoned the small medieval town in order to emigrate to the great cities of the world. The destruction of the secular function of Judaism within feudal society is accompanied by its passive penetration into capitalist society....
>
> "The highly tragic situation of Judaism in our epoch is explained by the extreme precariousness of its social and economic position. The first to be eliminated by decaying feudalism, the Jews were also the first to be rejected by the convulsions of dying capitalism. The Jewish masses find themselves wedged between the anvil of decaying feudalism and the hammer of rotting capitalism."

Editions La Brèche

Jewish Trotskyist Abram Leon, author of Marxist analysis of the Jewish question, was murdered in Auschwitz after capture by Nazis. Trotskyist paper *Worker and Soldier* appealed to German troops in occupied France on basis of proletarian internationalism.

The Jews of Germany had been freed from the ghettos by a foreign conqueror, Napoleon, but continued to suffer decades of oppression following his defeat and were first granted legal equality, by the North German League, only in 1869. By the latter half of the 19th century, they were on the road to assimilation. Some had distinguished themselves in the revolutionary movement; others, like the Rothschilds, had become pillars of the financial establishment. Beginning in the 1890s, the influx of large numbers of impoverished, religiously backward *Ostjuden*—East European Jews fleeing tsarist pogroms—saw a renewed upsurge of anti-Semitic bigotry, often cloaked in "populist" rhetoric against "Jewish capital." It was such sentiment which led leaders of the Social Democratic workers movement like August Bebel to warn that anti-Semitism is "the socialism of fools." Bebel pointed out that in the countryside, the peasants' bitterness was directed not at the aristocratic Junkers who owned the land and held the power, but at the Jews who purchased the peasants' crops, bought and sold livestock and made loans.

In any case, as Heinrich Heine observed, Germany joined with the rest of Europe in reaction, but not in revolution. The democratic revolution of 1848 was betrayed by the German bourgeoisie out of fear of the nascent proletariat. The national unification of Germany took place not under the banner of "liberty, equality, fraternity" raised by the French Revolution, but under the reactionary Prussian Junkerdom. In direct counterposition to the internationalist ideals of the early socialist workers movement, German chauvinism gloried in "race," "blood and soil" and the "Christian German state."

Fascism is simply the most extreme, the most consistent expression of such chauvinism, despising anything which is transnational. In "What Is National Socialism?" (November 1933), Trotsky wrote of the Nazis' crazed anti-Semitism:

> "In order to raise it above history, the nation is given the support of the race. History is viewed as the emanation of the race. The qualities of the race are construed without relation to changing social conditions. Rejecting 'economic thought' as base, National Socialism descends a stage lower: from economic materialism it appeals to zoologic materialism....
>
> "Nationalism in economy comes down in practice to impotent though savage outbursts of anti-Semitism. The Nazis abstract the usurious or banking capital from the modern economic system because it is of the spirit of evil; and, as is well known, it is precisely in this sphere that the Jewish bourgeoisie occupies an important position. Bowing down before capitalism as a whole, the petty bourgeois declares war against the evil spirit of gain in the guise of the Polish Jew in a long-skirted caftan and usually without a cent in his pocket. The pogrom becomes the supreme evidence of racial superiority."

It was precisely the precarious position of the Jewish people which impelled its best thinkers and fighters to place themselves in the front ranks of the radical-democratic bourgeois Enlightenment and, subsequently, of the internationalist, proletarian struggle for socialism. The October Revolution of 1917, in turn, confirmed in flesh and blood that only through the proletarian seizure of power could the Jewish people find emancipation. In like measure, the forces of bloody counterrevolution raised as their battle cry the struggle against "Jew Bolshevism."

Bildarchiv Prussischer Kulturbesitz

Napoleon enters Berlin in 1806. His military victory over Prussian aristocracy led to 1812 Emancipation Edict freeing German Jews from ghettos.

Interwar Germany: Revolution vs. Counterrevolution

In December 1938, shortly after the Nazi *Kristallnacht* pogrom which was a harbinger of the Holocaust, Trotsky wrote:

> "It is possible to imagine without difficulty what awaits the Jews at the mere outbreak of the future world war. But even without war the next development of world reaction signifies with certainty the *physical extermination of the Jews*."

Trotsky was armed with a materialist analysis and a Marxist program. He understood that the Nazis were not merely an expression of anti-Semitic reactionary frenzy but an instrument of last resort of the German bourgeoisie to defend its *class rule* against the powerful workers movement. It was this which led to fascist dictatorships also in Mussolini's Italy and Franco's Spain. We observed in the introduction to *Documents on the "Proletarian Military Policy"* (*Prometheus Research Series* No. 2, February 1989):

> "After the military defeat in WW I of the most powerful European state, Germany, and especially after the failure of two successive proletarian revolutions in that country, the stage was set for Nazism, Germany's virulent nationalism, to place itself at the head of European reaction.... Since fear of Communism had not been accompanied by its spread, the growing Nazi party, with wide echoes of agreement, offered up the Jews as surrogate Bolsheviks."

The rise of Nazism can only be understood in the context of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and Germany's military defeat in World War I. The German bourgeoisie was determined to recoup its losses in World War I through a second installment of interimperialist war. Yet they feared the powerful, highly organized German workers, who they thought might follow the example of their Russian class brothers. The war's end found Germany in the throes of insurrection, as a mutiny by revolutionary sailors led to a broader proletarian upheaval and the January 1919 Spartakist uprising in Berlin. However, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht's Spartakists had only just formed themselves into the Communist Party (KPD) in the midst of the revolutionary situation, and proved unprepared to lead the workers to victory.

Spartakist uprising in Berlin, December 1918: Mass workers demonstretion demends "All Power to the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils." SPD regime drowned proletarian revolution in blood.

The SPD, which had definitively made its peace with the capitalist order in August 1914 when it signed on as recruiting sergeants for the imperialist war, confirmed its loyalty to the bourgeoisie by crushing the 1918-19 German Revolution. Despite its mass working-class base, the SPD became the chief bulwark of the bourgeois Weimar Republic which was installed following the abdication of the Kaiser. Vowing to be "bloodhounds of the revolution," the SPD leaders unleashed the murderous *Freikorps* paramilitary units to suppress the proletariat and assassinate Liebknecht and Luxemburg. Railing against Weimar as the "Jewish republic" and vowing to "dam the flood of Bolshevism," the *Freikorps* went on to become the core of Hitler's SA stormtroopers.

The onerous terms of the Versailles Treaty imposed on Germany by the imperialist victors continued to fuel political and economic turmoil. In March 1920, workers mobilizations defeated the Kapp Putsch, when right-wing army officers tried to overthrow the SPD government. A year later, the KPD attempted the abortive "March Action" rising. The burgeoning crisis came to a head in 1923, as the occupation of the Ruhr by French troops provoked uncontrollable inflation and mass strikes. The KPD's influence grew enormously. (The far smaller fascist movement also experienced rapid growth.) The situation was ripe for proletarian revolution. Trotsky urged the KPD and the Communist International to prepare for an insurrection. But Stalin preached passivity and his ally Zinoviev, then head of the Comintern, vacillated. And the KPD, saddled with a weak, indecisive and faction-ridden leadership, let pass the revolutionary opportunity which peaked in October 1923.

It was always the understanding of the Russian Bolsheviks that for the October Revolution to survive, workers revolution had to extend into industrialized West Europe, especially Germany. The defeat of the German October sealed the isolation of the young Soviet republic and produced widespread demoralization. This led directly to the consolidation of political power by a conservative bureaucracy headed by Stalin, whose nationalist, antirevolutionary program was soon made clear with the proclamation of "socialism in one country." In Germany, the 1923 defeat paved the way to a temporary restabilization of capitalist rule. But the German bourgeoisie remained determined to crush the proletarian movement and to prepare for a new imperialist war; even as the Weimar regime publicly repudiated rearmament, the giant Krupp works secretly "forged the new German sword" (*schmiedete das neue deutsche Schwert*; William Manchester, *The Arms of Krupp 1587-1968*).

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Young Spartacus

Reformists' Agenda at Black Radical Congress

New "Radical" Veneer for Old Betrayals

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Just as the increasingly brutal workings of American capitalism have started to engender a new fighting mood among the working class, seen in strikes from UPS to Flint GM, there is a new generation of black youth looking for an alternative to both the Democratic Party "lesser evilism" promoted by Jesse Jackson and Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan's reactionary black nationalism. This was seen in the more than 2,000 people, over half of them youth, who turned out for the Black Radical Congress (BRC) held in Chicago in June.

The BRC claimed to offer a perspective of struggle against the racist capitalist system, declaring in its manifesto, "A Black Freedom Agenda for the Twenty First Century": "What we want is an end to the exploitation of capitalism, white racism and every manifestation of human oppression, a revolutionary transformation of the state and society, and the realization of humanistic values." The road to black freedom *does* lie through the destruction of racist American capitalism, which from its origins has been characterized by the forcible segregation of blacks at the bottom of this society. But this was hardly the perspective of the BRC organizers. Behind their left-sounding rhetoric lies the same treacherous politics long used to channel black militancy into the confines of the Democratic Party.

Among the main movers and shakers behind the BRC were the Communist Party (CP), the Committees of Correspondence (CoC) and the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). The CP and CoC are virtually defined by their "fight the right" program of abject capitulation to the capitalist Democrats, while the DSA is an integral part of the Democratic Party. With the Democrats currently at the fore in dismantling welfare and other social programs for the working class, minorities and the poor, the CP, CoC and DSA feel the need for some "radical" verbiage in order to try to convince black youth to enter "progressive" coalitions—which are meant only to "progress" toward increasing the vote total for the Democrats in the year 2000.

The Spartacist League intervened at the congress to champion the perspective of revolutionary integration: the understanding that black freedom can only be achieved through a socialist revolution which places the multiracial proletariat in power, laying the basis for the full integration of black people in an egalitarian socialist society. The social power of the working class must be brought to bear in the fight against every manifestation of capitalist oppression and exploitation. But this can only happen if the proletariat is mobilized *independently* of and in opposition to *all* the parties and institutions of capitalist rule.

If many black youth do not today see the working class as a motor force in the fight for black rights, this is above all the responsibility of the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy, which has not lifted a finger against the escalating attacks on the black masses. And it is precisely the likes of the CP, CoC and DSA (which includes among its members AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney) which have done their share to prop up the pro-capitalist trade-union tops. Exposing the "socialist" pretensions of the BRC organizers as a subterfuge, we stressed that support to the Democratic Party has long served to retard any consciousness by the American proletariat that its class interests—and the interests of all the oppressed—are directly counterposed to those of the capitalist exploiters.

Our purpose is to win the working class to that understanding, to build a revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed. The fight to forge such a party is expressed, for example, in our efforts to mobilize labor to win freedom for black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty. This means a political struggle against the racist Democrats who push the speedup on death row and preside over intense repression of the ghetto masses, as well as against their black liberal front men and the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats.

Bankrupt Liberals Looking for a Home

In an article in *Black Scholar* (Spring 1998) building for the BRC, Manning Marable, co-chairman of the social-democratic CoC, noted the "crisis of confidence in the official representatives of the black establishment, and its traditional liberal integrationist, let's-work-within-the-system credo." Marable decried the fact that former leaders of the 1960s civil rights movement supplanted civil disobedience and community-based organization with "a blind adherence to electoral politics."

UPI

AP

Martin Luther King Jr. with Robert Kennedy, NAACP head Roy Wilkins and Lyndon Johnson in 1963. Liberal civil rights leaders looked to racist Democrats. In 1992 election campaign, Clinton dumped on Jesse Jackson to win "white backlash" vote.

But the mass marches led by Martin Luther King Jr. and the other liberals who headed this movement were always premised on electoral pressure and lobbying Democratic Party administrations for legislative redress. Indeed, the program of liberal integrationism is *based* on the chimera that black equality can be achieved within the framework of capitalism. At bottom, this means accepting the racist status quo, while seeking simply to alleviate some "excesses" through pressuring a "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie, particularly the Democrats.

By Marable's own admission, many BRC promoters came from "among the more affluent, the better educated, the politically progressive." This layer of the black population, the "talented tenth," were the main beneficiaries of the civil rights movement. Following the brutal suppression of the ghetto upheavals of the 1960s, the ruling class sought to quell the anger of the inner cities by co-opting civil rights activists and installing "black faces in high places."

Marion Barry, the first chairman of the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), went on to become mayor of Washington, D.C. Coleman Young, who came from an earlier generation of black and labor activists, was installed as mayor of Detroit. In Chicago and Atlanta, more mainstream black Democrats—Harold Washington and Maynard Jackson—were elected. The purpose of these black elected officials was to serve as front men for racist capitalist rule. But by the 1992 elections, their powerful and wealthy Democratic Party patrons made it clear that they had no need for the black politicians who had served to discipline the inner-city masses.

The Democrats' election strategy in 1992 was centered on winning back the "Reagan Democrats"—Southern whites and white ethnic constituencies in the North who had defected to the Republicans as part of a racist backlash against the minimal gains achieved by blacks in the 1960s. To this end, the Democrats ran a slate of two Southerners, Clinton and Gore. Clinton's election campaign promoted his "New Democrats" as the party of racist "law and order," as he returned to Arkansas to personally oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man. In the course of the campaign, Clinton also ostentatiously "dissed" Jesse Jackson, who for years had desperately sought influence in the Democratic Party by appealing to a broad range of "constituencies"—blacks, women, trade unionists, youth—with his "Rainbow Coalition."

In casting aside the loyal backing of Democratic black elected officials, Clinton expressed the contempt of the ruling class for the majority of the black population locked in the inner cities. With the slashing of industrial jobs, particularly in the Midwest, the ghetto masses who had long served as a reserve army of labor for the capitalist exploiters were largely deemed "expendable." Now the capitalist rulers present the unvarnished face of raw racist reaction, from the elimination of welfare to intensified police terror, an overflowing prison population and the speedup on death row.

In 1995, Jesse Jackson, the Black Congressional Caucus and black liberals like Cornel West embraced Louis Farrakhan's Million Man March. A reactionary mobilization calling on black men to

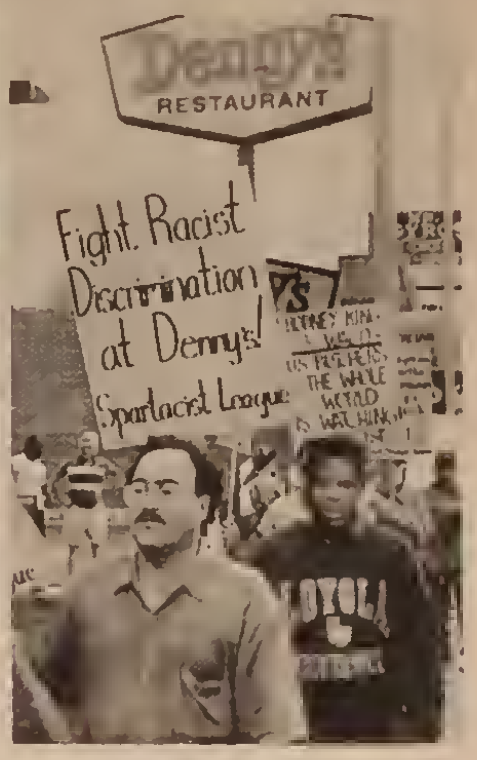
"atone," the Million Man March blamed the oppressed for their own oppression and amnestied the racist rulers for their enormous crimes against blacks, working people and the poor. Having no alternative to Farrakhanite black nationalism, Jackson & Co. hoped that the sight of a million black men in front of the Capitol would give them some hargaining power with the Clinton White House.

As Spartacist League supporter Don Cane wrote in an article in the Winter/Spring 1996 issue of *Black Scholar* (reprinted in *WV* No. 647, 7 June 1996):

> "Much is made of the march as a demonstration of 'black operational unity'—a million black men standing together. In the 1960s, 'I'm Black and I'm Proud' race consciousness, influenced hy masses in struggle, was defiant of the racist capitalist rulers. Today we witness 'I'm black and I'm not a criminal' race consciousness influenced by a desperate black middle class begging for 'understanding' from the racist rulers. The black misleaders, branded by race themselves, can barely conceal their contempt for the black masses on whom they call to 'atone.' I say ***black people have nothing to atone for!*** But the false prophets of the 'American Dream' blame the victim for not 'succeeding' and degrade the proud history of black working people who have struggled long and hard for freedom from the chains of racist oppression."

Now, two years later, Marable claims in his *Black Scholar* article that "it was only after the Million Man March's success that the serious limitations and demagoguery of Farrakhan became readily apparent to many African Americans who had supported and even attended the mass event." In the context of growing disenchantment with Farrakhan, black liberals and social democrats see the opportunity to advance their own political fortunes in calling, in Marable's words, for "a radical democratic third alternative."

The BRC's "Principles of Unity" pro-



WV Photos

Spartacist League initiated November 1982 labor/black mobilization which stopped Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. (above) and July 1993 protests against racist discrimination at Denny's.

Herb Robinson

People's Weekly World

Manning Marable (left), CP leader Jarvis Tyner. BRC reformists promote "unity" with capitalist Democrats, as seen in CP headline on 1996 elections.

fessed rejection of "Black patriarchy and Black capitalism as solutions to problems facing Black people." At the same time, these "principles" coyly added, "We cannot limit ourselves to electoral politics." What the liberals, reformists and radical has-beens who organized the BRC have in mind is an "alternative" modeled on Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition." In an article in *Color Lines* (Summer 1998), Marable harked back to Jackson's 1988 hid for the Democratic presidential nomination, which he lauded as "on the verge of becoming the most significant left-of-center force in national politics." He went on to complain that "the decline of the Rainbow left a gaping political vacuum" which opened the door to Farrakhan.

Left unsaid is that most of the same outfits that were behind the BRC *supported* Farrakhan's Million Man March. Despite all their various rationales, this reflected their own desperation and impotence in the face of a rising tide of racist reaction. Now, with Jackson serving as "spiritual adviser" to Bill Clinton and Farrakhan widely recognized as a black Reaganite, Marable & Co. see their chance to come in from the cold.

Old Hands at Betrayal

The preamble to the BRC "Principles of Unity" stated: "The Black Radical Congress does not intend to replace or displace existing organizations, parties or campaigns." Though never stated in so many words hy the congress organizers, it was obvious that the party they don't "intend to displace" is the Democrats!

Since the time of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" government of the 1930s, the CP has sacrificed labor struggles and the light for black rights on the altar of the Democratic Party. And the CoC was set up in 1991 as a *right-wing* split from the CP. Pushing for even more open support to Democratic politicians like Jesse Jackson, those who formed the CoC saw the troublesome "Communist" label as an impediment. Joining these ex-Stalinists in building the BRC was the virulently anti-Communist DSA, which has been firmly ensconced in the Democratic Party throughout its history as the "left wing of the possible." As U.S. imperialism was hip-deep in its dirty, losing war against the Vietnamese during successive Democratic administrations in the 1960s, DSA founder Michael Harrington was braintrusting the Democrats' "war on poverty" to defuse black militancy on the home front.

An article on the BRC by black CP leader Jarvis Tyner opined, "We must reach out to the mass of radicalized Black working class folks...the most consistent progressive voting bloc" (*People's Weekly World*, 20 June). Addressing a plenary session of the BRC, Tyner identified the desired goal of this "voting bloc" when he stressed the importance of the fall elections—in order to garner votes for the Democratic Party. The CP made this crystal-clear on the eve of the 1996 presidential elections, when it enthused in a front-page headline, "Democrats Unite to Fight the Right" (*People's Weekly World*, 31 August 1996). For its part, the CoC provided a handy list of Democratic legislative updates in its leaflet at the BRC.

Many of the BRC organizers wanted to forgo the "radical" label altogether. Salim Muwakkil, a columnist for the DSA house organ *In These Times*, wrote of concern that "the 'radical' label would scare people away" (*In These Times*, 12 July). But what really had them worried was that some of the youth might actually be serious ahout being radical. As Muwakkil put it, "Understanding that hlack youth, especially those influenced by hip-hop culture, are often attracted to images of cultural audacity and 'no sell-out' authenticity, the framers of the Freedom Agenda used some rhetoric so soaring that many movement veterans winced."

But even this "soaring language" was not enough to corral many of the youth at the BRC into the organizers' warmed-over version of Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition." Many even boycotted a party featuring a rap singer—"presumably booked for their benefit," as an offended BRC participant reported in the *Nation* (27 July), sneering that the younger activists instead went off to "hammer out their own, 'more radical' principles of unity." For their part, the BRC organizers flatly warned that anyone who didn't stand by *their* "principles of unity" were "invited to withdraw."

Lessons of the Civil Rights Movement

In articles building for the BRC, the organizers made a point of recalling various black movements and struggles of the past. At the congress itself, dozens of former 1960s black activists—who long ago sold their political souls to the very system against which they had once rebelled—were called upon to instill the "lessons" of these struggles to the youth who turned out. But the aim of these exercises was precisely to *obfuscate* those lessons.

Typical was an 18 June article by Marable posted on the "Black World" Web site, which purported to outline the "long and rich tradition of African-American radicalism in the United States." Marable cynically amalgamated the militant Black Panther Party of the 1960s with the tame liberals of the NAACP and 1980s Chicago mayor Harold Washington. This is of a piece with efforts in recent years by apologists for pro-Democratic Party pressure politics to identify militant black nationalist Malcolm X with Democratic Party liberal Martin Luther King Jr. by endlessly rerunning the one photo ever taken of the two together.

Malcolm X was the voice of black militancy, intransigently opposed to the "white man's puppet Negro 'leaders,'" as he called King, Bayard Rustin and other liberal civil rights leaders. He reviled their calls for "turn the other cheek" pacifism in the face of murderous racist attacks by the KKK and other agents of Southern Dixiecrat rule. He denounced their appeals to Democratic president John F. Kennedy and his brother Robert, the attorney general, who "came to the aid" of civil rights activists by sending in the FBI and federal marshals to *suppress militant black protest*. Malcolm X inspired a generation of young black radicals in the 1960s who came to repudiate the "moral suasion" and reliance on the federal government promoted by King et al.

While the mass of black and white activists who were the foot soldiers of the civil rights movement wrote a heroic chapter in the fight for black equality in racist America, the politics of the Kings and Rustins were those of liberalism. Their goal was formal, legal equality in the South, whose beneficiaries were to be primarily the black middle class. But no new civil rights bill could address the systematic racist discrimination and dehumanizing conditions suffered by the masses in the South—or in the Northern inner cities, where blacks already had "equality" under the law. As the bankruptcy and impotence of the liberals' strategy became increasingly clear, many young activists began to champion the call for "black power" prominently raised hy Stokely Carmichael (now Kwame Ture) of SNCC.

Initially, the "black power" movement was contradictory. As we wrote:

> "SNCC's empirical rejection of the more obvious brands of reformism advocated by white liberals and petty-bourgeois Black 'leaders' has taken the form of a call for 'Black Power,' a militant-sounding phrase which frighiens the white liberals and Uncle Toms. The concepts implied in the SNCC slogan of 'Black Power' are radical enough to have caused the hourgeois press and politicians to shower vicious abuse on it, precisely because the slogan is a groping for

continued on page 8

Doug Harris

Lowndes County, Alabama Black Panther Party, 1966. Radical wing of civil rights movement rejected liberal pacifism and advocated armed self-defense.

Reformists...

(continued from page 7)

> solutions *outside* the framework of the capitalist society."
>
> —"SNCC and Revolution," *Spartacist* No. 8 (November/December 1966)

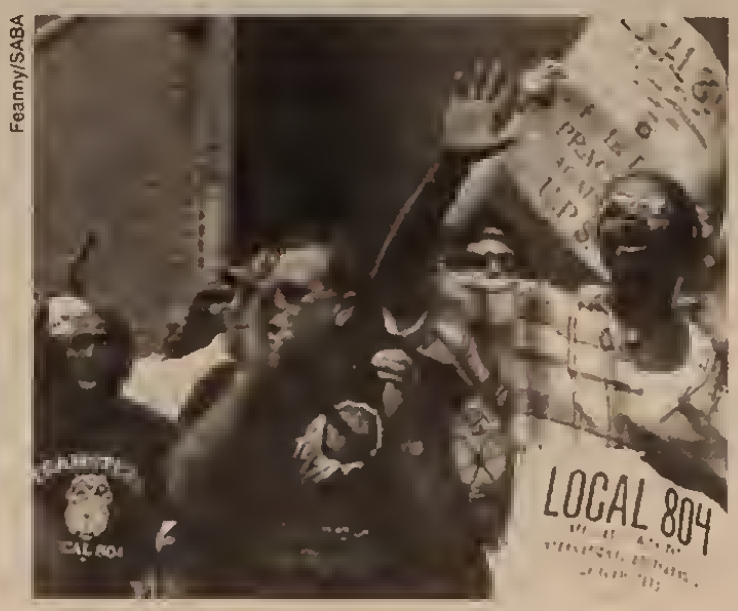
But we warned that "the slogan 'black power' must be clearly defined in *class*, not racial terms, for otherwise the 'black power' movement may become the black wing of the Democratic Party in the South" ("Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," *Spartacist* No. 10, May/June 1967). Today John Lewis, a militant SNCC leader in the 1960s, is a Georgia Democratic Congressman.

The most militant expression of the "black power" movement was the Black Panther Party. The best of a generation of young black radicals, the Panthers in their own contradictory way sought to challenge the entire system of racist American capitalism. Largely thanks to the treachery of the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy, which openly joined with the capitalist rulers in opposing any expression of black militancy, the Panthers rejected the multiracial proletariat as the agency for social liberation. Subjected to murderous repression by the FBI's "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO), the Panthers were also destroyed by factional feuding born of the contradictions inherent in their "revolutionary nationalist" program.

The Spartacist League was born in good part in a fight for a revolutionary intervention into the civil rights movement, aimed at winning the thousands of left-wing militants who rebelled against King's liberal pacifism. The precursor of the SL was the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which fought against the latter's criminal abstention from the struggle to win these activists to a revolutionary proletarian program. After our expulsion from the SWP, we sought to carry out this perspective. As we wrote in "Black and Red," one of the SL's founding documents:

> "The struggle of the Black people of this country for freedom, while part of the struggle of the working class as a whole, is more than that struggle. The Negro people are an oppressed race-color caste, in the main comprising the most exploited layer of the American working class.... Because of their position as both the most oppressed and also the most conscious and experienced section, revolutionary black workers are slated to play an exceptional role in the coming American revolution....
>
> "The victory of the socialist revolution in this country will be achieved through the united struggle of black and white workers under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard party. In the course of this struggle unbreakable bonds will be forged between the two sections of the working class. The success of this struggle will place the Negro people in a position to insure at last the end of slavery, racism and super-exploitation."

It is precisely such a perspective of revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system that the reformist and liberal organizers of the BRC oppose. In his *Black Scholar* article, Marable declared that a new "radical black political project" must by all means not be "a party based on a vanguard, cadre-type organizational mode." This is a direct echo of the imperialist rulers' triumphal proclamations following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union that "communism is dead." The lie that Marxism has "failed" serves the bourgeoisie in promoting its system of brutal exploitation and oppression as the best and only possible world. At bottom, this outlook is shared by the social democrats, ex-Stalinists and radical has-beens behind the BRC. Thus, they necessarily reject a proletarian, internationalist party modeled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky which led the 1917 Russian Revolution and opened the portals of emancipation to the oppressed peoples of the tsarist empire.



Feanny/SABA

Teamsters picket in New York City during 1997 UPS strike. Marxists fight to mobilize power of multiracial working class in struggle against black oppression.

The BRC organizers don't seek to destroy the system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression, but merely to give it a "human" face. While Mumia Abu-Jamal sent greetings to the BRC, the congress couldn't even bring itself to take up the fight for his freedom. About the only concrete proposal the organizers put forward was to appeal to the United Nations for "reparations" for American blacks. This appeal to the sponsor of numerous imperialist military occupations of black African and other semi-colonial countries epitomizes the liberals' impotent faith in the agencies of imperialism to serve the cause of the oppressed.

Liberals Unite with Nationalists in Redbaiting

Seeking to silence any revolutionary perspective at the BRC, the reformist organizers found a ready purpose for the black nationalists—whose politics they claim to oppose as "conservative"—as a battering ram against communists. Spewing the divisive venom of the capitalist rulers, the nationalists race-baited our comrades for championing integrated class struggle and the forging of a revolutionary workers party. This accompanied an anti-Communist diatribe against the Progressive Labor Party (PL), which distributed a leaflet calling to "smash the KKK" in Jasper, Texas, where James Byrd had been sadistically lynched only days before. Typical of PL's mindless bombast, the leaflet went on about "violent workers revolution" and the need for "armed revolutionary violence." But it was because of PL's posture as revolutionary communists that the reformist BRC organizers condemned them as a threat to the "unity" of the conference.

In response, PL complained in *Challenge* (1 July) that the BRC organizers had broken "their 7th principle of unity—'we must be democratic and inclusive in our dealings with one another'." This touching appeal to the democratic credentials of anti-communist reformists and nationalists reveals PL's own liberal underbelly. While idiotically proclaiming that the "essence" of the BRC is "to lure angry black workers farther down the road to fascism" (!), in the same article PL declares its objective was "to win the center people to our ideas." For decades, PL has alternated between "fight for communism" rhetoric and pushing the notion of a "center-left coalition," which is cut of the same class-collaborationist cloth as the CP's call for "progressive coalitions."

While in its leaflet on the Jasper lynching PL declared that "the struggle against racism is the key to the struggle for workers' power," this is an organization which has *condemned* the fight to mobilize against the assault on affirmative action as "divisive" and even echoes the "reverse discrimination" rhetoric of the racists. And when Mumia Abu-Jamal was under immediate threat of execution in the summer of 1995, PL refused to take up the defense of this eloquent spokesman for the oppressed. Moreover, as we noted in "How PL Caves In to Racist Bosses" (*WV* No. 645, 10 May 1996):

> "Acceptance of the most backward social consciousness bred by capitalism, however, has long characterized PL. You'll never find an article in *Challenge* defending gays—in fact PL claims homosexuals are 'sick.' Nor will you find much about the fight against women's oppression, defense of abortion clinics, etc. To this day, PL retains the reactionary Stalinist position that the family—the main institution responsible for the oppression of women—can somehow help in the fight for communism."

Another self-proclaimed socialist group at the Black Radical Congress was the International Socialist Organization (ISO). Not surprisingly, these social democrats were conspicuously passed over in the frenzy of redbaiting at the congress. Indeed, the ISO's own liberal politics, dished up with a patina of "unite and fight" rhetoric, fit in well with the prevailing theme at the congress. From its inception, the ISO's hallmark has been rabid anti-Communism. In the name of fighting "Stalinist totalitarianism," this outfit embraced "democratic" imperialism, supporting virtually every counterrevolutionary movement sponsored by the American bourgeoisie in its drive to destroy the Soviet Union. Yet at the BRC, ISO spokesman Ahmed Shawki shared the platform at the "Socialism and Black Liberation" workshop with CPer Joe Sims.

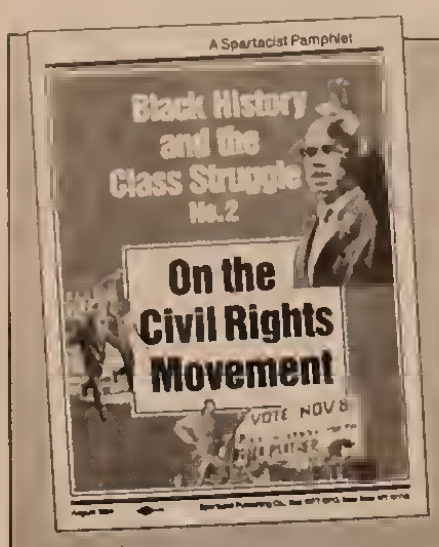
Neither Shawki nor Sims breathed a word against the Democratic Party in their presentations. This is not surprising, as the "anti-Stalinist" ISO seeks to follow in the footsteps of the Stalinist CP in its heyday, i.e., when it wielded mass influence in support of Roosevelt's "New Deal." Consonant with this, the CP, DSA and the more left-posturing ISO slavishly tail the labor bureaucracy, whose allegiance to the Democratic Party is the chief obstacle to successful class struggle in the U.S.

In opposition to the reformists, the Spartacist League intervened at the BRC to stress that breaking with the Democratic Party is central to any genuine fight for black freedom, which can only come through the seizure of power by the integrated working class. Through its numbers, organization and above all its role in producing the wealth in this society, the working class has the social power to sweep away the capitalist oppressors. This power was seen at the time of the Black Radical Congress in the United Auto Workers strike at Flint GM, which crippled the largest corporation in the world. But this power will only be fully realized through the forging of a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement which actively champions the cause of black liberation and mobilizes in defense of the rights of immigrants and all the oppressed. The key to unlocking the chains that shackle labor to its exploiters is a political struggle against the pro-capitalist trade-union misleaders.

In the course of the class battles and social struggles to come, the Spartacist League seeks to build a revolutionary workers party which will serve as a tribune of the people. A sense of what such a workers party will look like can be seen in the exemplary actions we have initiated over the years to combat Klan terror and racist discrimination. From Washington, D.C. in 1982 to Atlanta in 1989, the SL and the Partisan Defense Committee have initiated united-front labor/black mobilizations drawing in sections of the trade unions against KKK race-hate provocations. As we wrote in "Unchain Labor's Power" (*WV* No. 673, 5 September 1997) after last year's Teamsters strike against UPS:

> "In these mobilizations could be seen the powerful combination of black and red: labor united in its own defense and in defense of all the oppressed under a communist leadership. At the time of the Civil War, Karl Marx captured a fundamental truth of American society in his statement that 'Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded'."

The Civil War was a social revolution which smashed the system of chattel slavery. But the promise of black freedom was betrayed by the Northern capitalists. It will take a third American revolution to smash the system of wage slavery. The road forward lies in an aroused and struggling labor movement, imbued with the class consciousness and understanding that it must champion the cause of black liberation and the rights of all the oppressed in the fight to shatter this racist capitalist system through proletarian socialist revolution.■



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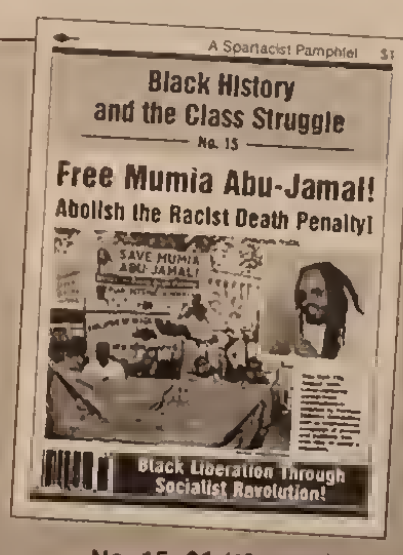

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Clinton...

(continued from page 1)

London *Independent* (17 September) noted, the polls increasingly show a "class divide," with opposition to Clinton strongest "at cocktail parties, dinners and gatherings of the smart in Washington and across America" and support for the president strongest among the black population and those with incomes under $15,000 a year.

This in part reflects the illusions in the Democrats as a "lesser evil" to the Republicans promoted by the procapitalist labor bureaucracy and petty-bourgeois black "community leaders." At the same time, working people and minorities are far more likely to come up against the increasingly augmented repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state. Black people in particular are keenly aware of how black spokesmen from Martin Luther King Jr. to Washington, D.C. mayor Marion Barry were hounded and vilified as a result of FBI sting operations and snooping. In an op-ed piece titled "What Is Freedom Without Privacy?" (*New York Times*, 15 September), black Harvard academic Orlando Patterson observed:

> "One reason African-Americans have so steadfastly stood by the President, in spite of his having done so little for them, is that their history has been one long violation of their privacy. Long after slavery was abolished, blacks were keenly and humiliatingly aware that whites could invade their lives in countless ways and with total impunity."

At the same time, it is a real reflection of the racial divide in this country that a president who has done more to devastate the lives of blacks than any of his Republican predecessors has won their admiration in part because he numbers Vernon Jordan among his closest friends.

Puritanical Hypocrisy Run Amok

The "national discourse," such as it is, has taken on the character of an evangelical tent meeting or Catholic confessional, replete with talk of shame, sin, contrition and sexual "perversity." When Grand Inquisitor Kenneth Starr, himself the son of a Christian fundamentalist family, released his report of 400-plus pages filled with a raft of details about every single encounter between Clinton and Lewinsky, porn video star Nina Hartley commented to the *San Francisco Chronicle* (12 September): "Ken Starr's investigation is the biggest publicly funded porn production I've ever seen." Or, as drag queen "Sister Boom-Boom" aptly put it in the same article, "I don't care if Clinton is doing a three-way with Janet Reno and a monkey. It's his private business."

What is taking place is a monumental exercise in public hypocrisy, in which the guiding "moral" is: don't get caught! As the snoopers are themselves snooped upon, right-wing Republican Congressmen Dan Burton, Helen Chenoweth and Henry Hyde are among the most recent to be "outed" for sexual "indiscretions." Hyde, who now presides over the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment inquiry, dismisses his four-year extramarital affair (when he was in his mid-40s) as "youthful indiscretions." And the hypocrisy cuts many ways. Gay Massachusetts Democrat Barney Frank exclaimed, "They're trying to impeach this guy for lying about his sex life. But you're talking to a guy who's been criticized for *not* lying about my sex life" (*New Yorker*, 14 September).

Starr and his backers hypocritically assert that the only thing at issue is that Clinton committed perjury and an "abuse of power" in trying to cover up the affair. No doubt, Clinton used the considerable powers at the disposal of the imperial presidency to try to hide his affair with Lewinsky, though clearly without much success. And he is a truly unappetizing character. But the bottom line here is that it's nobody's business who people screw, and so it's nobody's business that they lie about it. For Marxists, opposition to government interference in people's personal lives is a matter of principle, regardless of who is on the receiving end. That is why we also defended Air Force Lieutenant Kelly Flinn when she was thrown out of the military on nominal grounds of lying about a sexual affair.

WV Photos

SL contingents at abortion rights protests denounce Democrat Clinton for his crimes against working people and minorities, oppose government sex snoops.

When Republican president George Bush nominated black anti-abortion bigot Clarence Thomas for the Supreme Court in 1991, the feminists and liberal Democrats went after Thomas for his predilection for pornography and his alleged sexual harassment of law intern Anita Hill. While opposing Thomas for his anti-abortion stance and his support to the racist death penalty, we condemned the ensuing "orgy of prudery and prurience in the service of racism and sexism" as a "Moral Majority morality play" ("Sex, Race and Reaction," *WV* No. 537, 25 October 1991).

Now bourgeois feminists like the National Organization for Women have rallied behind Clinton because of his supposedly "progressive" stance on women's rights. Clinton won the presidency in 1992 largely because millions of women were repulsed by the Republicans' anti-abortion platform. But the reactionary "family values" crusade has been amply promoted by Clinton and his party—from the "don't ask, don't tell" sham which has led to even wider persecution of gays in the military to the ever more ominous censorship laws justified in the name of "protecting" children from pornography. And access to abortion for poor and rural women in particular has actually decreased during Clinton's reign.

The capitalist rulers foster "family values" religious moralism as a conservatizing ideology to regiment the population and bolster the family, the key institution for the oppression of women in class society. The feminists have played no small role in helping to fuel a climate of anti-sex hysteria. In portraying sexual harassment as everything from the real victimization of women in the workplace to any sexual innuendo or consensual sex between an employee and a superior, they reinforce the sexist view that the woman is always the victim in any relationship with a man—especially an older, more powerful one. Here they again find common ground with the Christian right, which argues that women are in need of "protection" because they are incompetent in controlling their sex lives. Maybe next they'll propose forcing women to apply for licenses with different classes and restrictions, like driver's licenses, delimiting who can screw whom, when and at what age!

Demolishing this reactionary outlook, Katie Roiphe, author of *The Morning After: Sex, Fear and Feminism on Campus*, noted in a commentary in the *New York Times* (15 September), "If there are any lingering doubts about Monica Lewinsky's ability to take care of herself, any lingering perceptions of her as a victim, an innocent used for sexual purposes, a careful reading of the Starr report should put them to rest." Lewinsky showed the staying power and drive of a hawk going for a bunny in her steely pursuit of Clinton, including angry, hour-long, late-night phone calls demanding the president secure her a high-paying prestige job she "didn't have to work for" in exchange for keeping quiet about their affair.

Now former Reagan legal adviser Peter Wallison tries to make the case for impeachment by comparing Clinton's affair with Lewinsky to a president who "engaged in child abuse while in office" (*New York Times*, 14 September). Leaving aside that Lewinsky was hardly a child, "child abuse" can mean a host of things in this brutal, anti-sex society: from a 19-year-old man screwing a 17-year-old "underage" woman to spanking a child as punishment to actual rape and physical attack. We oppose reactionary "age of consent" laws and the view that children are asexual beings. The key criterion for determining whether a sexual relationship is abusive must be *effective consent*—as long as it is genuinely consensual, it's nobody's business and certainly not a matter for the courts.

Impeachment and the Imperial Presidency

A number of commentators have compared the Clinton cover-up with the Watergate affair that brought down Republican president Richard Nixon in 1974. However, what Nixon covered up was a break-in he had ordered at the offices of the Democratic National Committee. While Nixon was a certified war criminal who presided over the slaughter of millions of Vietnamese workers and peasants, Marxists did not *call* for his impeachment, as this would have sown illusions that another imperialist chief could be any less an enemy of workers and the oppressed. But when Congress moved to impeach Nixon, we supported this while insisting: "Impeachment is not enough!" We raised a series of demands aimed at mobilizing the proletariat in struggle against both the Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism: "A class-struggle answer to Watergate must shift the axis of struggle. ***The fight to remove Nixon must became a fight not to reploce Nixon with Gerald Fard, but a fight to reploce the rule of capitol with a workers government!***" ("What Labor Should Do About Watergate," *WV* No. 34, 7 December 1973).

Historically, the possibility of impeachment was written into the Constitution precisely in order that Congress be able to rein in the powers of an overly strong president who might tend toward dictatorship. But America's emergence as a world power created the need for a strong, imperial presidency, particularly in times when it is deemed necessary to launch a war or invasion without the bother of Congressional approval as mandated in the Constitution. Thus, the bourgeoisie has been loath to wield the impeachment mandate. In the end, Nixon was not impeached but forced to resign.

Now liberal columnist Anthony Lewis warns in the *New York Times* (15 September) that forcing Clinton out of office "would do terrible damage to the role of the Presidency in our constitutional structure. It would move us toward a parliamentary system." In fact, a parliamentary system would be more democratic, but it would still be an instrument for enforcing what Marxists call the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the rule of capital over the vast majority of the dispossessed and exploited.

For Workers Revolution!

In the period immediately following the Civil War which smashed the Southern slave system, when the American bourgeoisie was still in its progressive phase, there was an impeachment attempt which posed questions of real social significance for the population. When Tennessee's Andrew Johnson became president after Lincoln's assassination in 1865, he sought to conciliate the former slavocracy and curtail the Reconstruction effort aimed at ensuring full equality for the newly freed slaves. Johnson handed out mass pardons to representatives of the defeated Confederacy, allowing them to set up state assemblies known as the "Johnson governments" to defy the Union Army and drive the black freedmen protected by the military occupation of the South out of local and state administration. In 1866, Johnson unsuccessfully tried to veto the Civil Rights Act which conferred citizenship on the black freedmen. He also attempted to undercut the Freedmen's Bureau which had been set up by Congress to help the emancipated slaves in securing access to food, medical care, work, property and basic education.

Finally, when Johnson tried to remove radical Reconstructionist Secretary of War Edwin Stanton from the Cabinet, Congress moved to bring him down. The House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly for Johnson's impeachment, which lost by only one vote of the needed two-thirds majority in the Senate. Afterward, Congress operated around Johnson, casting him aside as an obstacle to the pursuit of Radical Reconstruction. But the Northern bourgeoisie increasingly undermined this great democratic effort, culminating in the Compromise of 1877 which formalized the end of Reconstruction and sealed the betrayal of the aspirations of the black masses.

The American capitalist class long ago ceased to be a force for social progress. Today, the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie is the foremost enemy of workers and the oppressed around the world. In the U.S., this is expressed not only in the burgeoning attacks on the black and working masses but in the growing influence of Dark Ages attitudes toward sex and women. As we noted in "Race, Sex and Reaction":

> "As far as we're concerned it's not the peccadillos of the bourgeoisie that we care about, but their crimes against the working people, against women and blacks, against Vietnam and Iraq.
>
> "It says something about the end-of-the-20th-century American social climate that we Marxists are fighting to defend many tenets of the *bourgeois* revolution—the separation of church and state, rights of privacy, etc."

To justify its increasingly brutal class rule, the bourgeoisie repudiates the most progressive aspects of its own origins. The stench of hypocrisy and moralism emanating from the bourgeoisie is a measure of the decrepitude of this outmoded capitalist system. For our part, we seek to do away with the imperial presidency, and all the institutions of the bourgeois state, as part of a thoroughgoing socialist revolution which will place the only progressive class, the proletariat, at the helm of society.■

Ireland...

(continued from page 1)

atrocity carried out in Omagh hy a group called the "Real IRA"—which followed the Loyalist arson murder of three young children in a Catholic home in Ballymoney—as a pretext to impose new police-state measures which even Blair and Ahern described as "draconian."

In all but name, the new "anti-terror" laws amount to intemment—imprisonment without trial or even criminal

charges. The word of a "senior police officer" will now constitute *evidence* that someone is a member of an "unlawful organisation," bringing with it the possibility of a life sentence. Remaining silent under interrogation will be treated as "corroborating" evidence. Any opponent of British imperialism, the Orange statelet in the North and the clericalist state in the South is liable to be labelled an "enemy of peace" and potential terrorist, set up to be dragged off in the small hours or blown away by the state—as happened to Diarmuid O'Neill in London two years ago, or to Ronan McLoughlin, a supporter of the Real IRA shot dead by Irish cops in May.

It is in the direct and absolute interest of the working class in Britain to mobilise against Labour's repression, against the imperialist "peace" fraud and for British troops out of Northern Ireland now. The Blair government is whipping up chauvinism over Northern Ireland to launch a sweeping attack on the multiracial working class and all of the oppressed. In particular, sweeping international "conspiracy" clauses in the new legislation will serve to incite racist attacks against Muslims under the guise of countering "Islamic terror" and will provide the legal basis to ban Turkish leftists, Tamil and Kurdish nationalists and other exile political organisations.

We refused to give one iota of support to Labour in the last election. We seek to split Labour, which is what Lenin called a "bourgeois workers party," winning its working-class base to a revolutionary party and programme. The Labour government is a capitalist government: anti-working-class, racist to the core and totally committed to the monarchy and British imperialism. It was an earlier Labour govemment which introduced the 1974 Prevention of Terrorism Act, leading to the notorious frame-ups of the Guildford Four and the Birmingham Six. The working class mus' defend itself and all of the oppressed against attacks by the capitalist state. Black, Asian, Turkish and Irish workers are an integral part of the proletariat in Britain. We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, as a necessary part of the struggle to forge a multiracial revolutionary vanguard party.

Not Orange Against Green But Class Against Class!

The Real IRA's Omagh bombing, which killed and maimed both Protestant and Catholic civilians in an integrated shopping area, was a hideous crime from the standpoint of the working class and in no conceivable way a blow against imperialism. Marxists oppose the tactic of individual terror because it is antithetical to the necessary task of mobilising the working class—Protestant and Catholic—against their imperialist/capitalist oppressors. Nonetheless, when Irish nationalist groups strike a blow against the forces of British imperialism, the RUC or Loyalist fascistic killers, we defend the perpetrators of such acts against state retribution.

We have always taken a fundamentally different attitude toward indiscriminate terror directed against civilians. From a proletarian standpoint, the bombing in Omagh and similar attacks on British shopping centres and pubs are criminal acts which serve only to deepen hatred between Protestant and Catholic, English and Irish workers. This was evident in the 1993 IRA Shankill Road bombing which killed nine Protestant shoppers in Belfast. Only weeks earlier, Protestant workers at Shorts aerospace factory had walked off the job and marched in protest against the murder of a Catholic worker by the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF). This proletarian unity was wilfully destroyed by the bombing, and led to the same workers demonstrating against the IRA and all Catholics.

The SL/B and DSG are dedicated to building Leninist-Trotskyist parties to fight for the revolutionary overthrow of all the capitalist powers on these islands—British imperialism, the Orange statelet in Northern Ireland and the Catholic clericalist state in the South. We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland. This would not automatically ensure advance in a revolutionary direction but is a necessary starting point which must be linked to a revolutionary proletarian and internationalist perspective for both islands.

AP

Birmingham Six leave prison in 1991 after 16 years behind bars, framed up under Prevention of Terrorism Act introduced by a Labour government.

Northern Ireland is a situation of interpenctrated peoples sharing a common territory. The Catholics are an oppressed minority in the North and part of the Irish Catholic nation which dominates in the South. At the same time, the privileges historically enjoyed by Protestants in the North over Catholics in jobs and housing have always been pretty marginal. With the decline of British capitalism, Northern Ireland has some of the worst wages and unemployment in the British Isles. While championing equality for the oppressed Catholic minority and opposing all forms of discrimination, we fight for jobs for all, as part of a programme for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. We fight for programmatically based workers militias including both Protestants and Catholics—which would have to be organised on an internationalist basis under communist leadership—to combat sectarian terror, both Orange and Green. This is necessarily linked to the forging of a Leninist vanguard party.

We oppose the call for an "independent Ulster," which means supporting Orange supremacy. We also oppose the demand for "self-determination for the Irish people as a whole" (including when it is dressed up as a "socialist united Ireland"), which is a call for Irish Catholics to "self-determine" at the expense of the Protestants. This would reverse the terms of oppression against the Protestants, who form a distinct community and would forcibly resist incorporation into an Ireland dominated by the Catholic church. The Irish capitalist state is notorious for brutality toward Travellers and immigrants and for repression of women. Abortion is illegal, and vigilante mobs attack women's health clinics and Travellers halting sites.

Any attempt at a bourgeois "solution" is a recipe for increased communalist terror and forced population transfers. We fight for an Irish workers republic as part of a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles. Under workers rule, the Protestants may yet be incorporated into a common Irish nation, they may develop a more distinct identity, or they may find other democratic forms of accommodation with the Catholics.

British Fake Left Tails Blair's Labour

From 1993, when it was first mooted, the imperialist "peace" deal was always premised on the British Army presence to reinforce repression by the RUC. British imperialism regards Northern Ireland as an economic liability, but is totally committed to Orange rule. Contrary to Sinn Féin's preaching about "demilitarisation" and "reforming" the RUC, the only force to be "de-commissioned" in Northern Ireland is the IRA and other Republicans. We say the RUC must be smashed in the fight for working-class rule.

Karl Marx insisted the working class in Britain must oppose imperialism in Ireland. In 1870, he wrote that the "ordinary English worker," influenced by anti-Irish chauvinism, "feels himself a member of the *ruling nation* and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country *against Ireland*, thus strengthening their domination *over himself*." The policy of the fake-socialist groups in Britain today, who welcomed the election of Labour and are shameless supporters of the imperialist "peace" fraud, is in flat contradiction to what Marx fought for.

Tony Cliff's reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), affiliated to the International Socialist Organization in the U.S., supports the imperialist "peace process." Since the "peace process" began, segregation has increased under threat of murderous terror—"ethnic cleansing." The killing of the three Quinn children in Ballymoney was only the most horrific of Loyalist outrages in a campaign of driving Catholics out of mixed areas in Ballymoney. Around 35 Catholic or mixed-marriage families have been forced out of the town. In Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim, 22 families were forced out, mostly with firebombs. Several formerly integrated housing estates were completely cleared of Catholics. In 1968, there were 40,000 Catholics in East Antrim, but today there are only about 2,000.

A few weeks after the Orange siege at Drumcree which led to the Loyalist arson attack in Ballymoney, the SWP complained that "the British government could have stood up to them long before this" (*Socialist Worker*, 25 July). The SWP's lie that the British government "stands up to" Orange pogromists is of a piece with the Cliffites' line in 1969, when they supported the introduction of troops into Northern Ireland by a previous Labour government with the argument that it would provide a "breathing space." Despite illusions among the Catholic community that the British Army would be the lesser evil to Loyalist mobs, the outcome was Bloody Sunday in 1972, when British troops shot and killed 14 marchers in Derry.

Today the SWP whines that the new "anti-terror" legislation is excessive because "the security forces admit there are no more than 100 members of the real IRA. It is a small, isolated group. So why are such draconian measures needed?" (*Socialist Worker*, 5 September). This is a straight echo of bourgeois criticism of the new laws, that repression by the "security forces" should be more "surgical," using the existing mechanisms of repression.

The Socialist Party (SP) of Peter Taaffe is notorious for its chauvinist opposition to the call for British troops out, and as publicity agents for *fascistic Loyalist killer* Billy Hutchinson of the Progressive Unionist Party (PUP), "political wing" of the UVF scum. Like an echo of David Trimble, the Socialist Party defends the pogromist Orangemen's "right" to march in Catholic areas, such as Bogside and Garvaghy Road. In Omagh, the SP actually took part in a prayer vigil along with Trimble and Ahern, sympathetically noting that "many in the crowd went across to shake hands with the RUC men, just one indication of the deep sea change in attitudes brought about by this bomb" (*Socialist*, 28 August). Such expressions of solidarity with the RUC are typical of the reformist SP's longstanding embrace of the bourgeois state's armed thugs as "workers in uniform" (see *Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State*, Spartacist Pamphlet [August 1994]).

The centrist Workers Power (WP) group has for years supported the social-imperialist British Labour Party *and* capitulated to Green nationalism. Now they complain that Sinn Féin/IRA has "abandoned the revolutionary armed struggle for a united Ireland" (*Workers Power*, September 1998). Far from being "revolutionary," the Sinn Féin/IRA nationalists have always looked to the Irish Catholic bourgeoisie, of whom they wish to be part, and ape their social values. Following the destruction of the Soviet Union through capitalist counter-revolution in 1991-92, petty-bourgeois nationalists like the IRA quickly came to terms with the "New World Order" by placing their hopes in U.S. imperialism. But the "armed struggle" and the "ballot box" have always been twin parts of the same nationalist strategy to pressure British imperialism to grant a 32-county capitalist Irish republic incorporating the North. Notwithstanding lip service to the need to reach out to Protestant workers, WP *supports* the IRA's nationalist perspective, which serves to compact the Protestants behind the Loyalist bigots and is directly counterposed to the Leninist fight for working-class power.

Workers Power now says: "The indiscriminate and reactionary bombing of Catholic and Protestant workers in Omagh...must be condemned" and describes it as "a crime against the Irish working class." This is true, but so were IRA bombings such as Enniskillen in 1987, which WP in Britain justified, saying "We defend the right of the Provisionals to struggle by any means to end Britain's rule" (*Workers Power*, December 1987). Now that the IRA has itself become a prop for continued British rule, WP pontificates that "the attempt by the Real IRA to carry on the guerrilla struggle...in 1998 is utterly stupid and counter-productive" and admonishes "all those Republicans who reject the pro-imperialist peace deal" to "find a better way." Workers Power's "way" was campaigning for Tony "I believe in the United Kingdom" Blair in the 1997 general election.

The bloody spiral of imperialist repression and communalist terror can only be broken by uniting the proletariat—Protestant and Catholic, English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish—across national and religious lines against British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie. For workers revolution on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea!■

Teamsters...

(continued from page 12)

control the vast union. Better to put the Teamsters in the hands of those *within* the union who were loyal and trusted agents of the state. The following year, the Justice Department adopted the TDU proposal.

Forge a Class-Struggle Leadership!

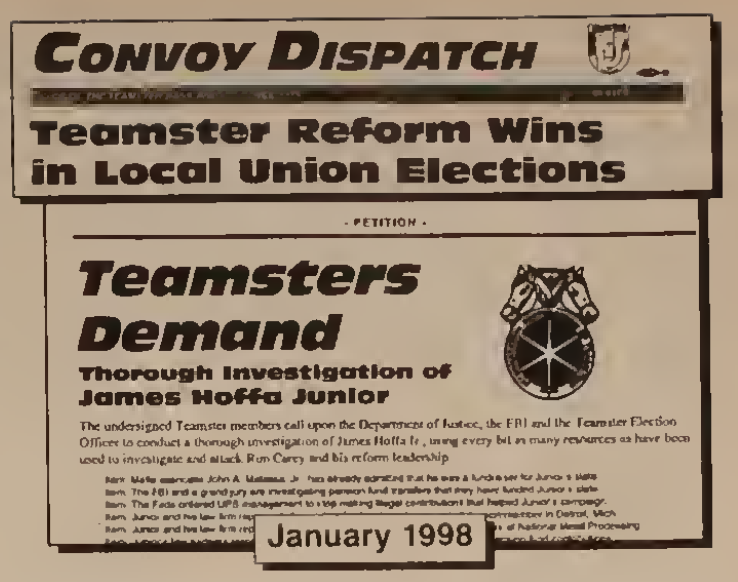
The reformist left has a long history of championing "reform" bureaucrats, going back to Arnold Miller's campaign which captured the presidency of the United Mine Workers (UMWA) through Labor Department-run elections in 1972. Miller, a Democratic Party politico, subsequently joined hands with the courts and Democrat Jimmy Carter's White House to smash wildcat strikes and then flatly sold out the militant 1977-78 national coal strike. These class-collaborationist policies gutted the ranks of the UMWA and brought the once mighty union to its knees. Miller was one of a slew of union "reform" candidates in the 1970s, such as Ed Sadlowski in the United Steelworkers of America, who prated about "union democracy" while appealing to the Justice Department and the bourgeois courts. In his 1991 book, *Which Side Are You On? Trying to Be for Labor When It's Flat on Its Back*, Thomas Geoghegan, a yuppie labor lawyer who built a career advising Miller, Sadlowski and the TDU, wrote that now "the entire labor movement is like a giant bar association of nonlicensed attorneys."

The Spartacist League stood out on the left in refusing to support Miller, Sadlowski and their like. Our opposition to any intervention by the capitalist state into the affairs of labor is a fundamental part of our principled fight for the political independence of the working class from the exploiters, their political parties and their state. It is only on such a basis that labor can be mobilized in *class struggle*. As Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky noted in his 1940 article, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," the fight for trade-union democracy "presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state." Trotsky observed that the imperialist ruling class demands that the reformist labor bureaucrats "become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class."

This was clearly borne out in the case of the Teamsters. Carey's embrace of the bosses' government as a vehicle for his own installment as union president is simply reflective of the labor bureaucracy's worldview which is premised on the maintenance of capitalist exploitation. Thus the role of these "labor lieutenants" of capitalism is to police the workers on behalf of the American rulers. Once in office, Carey proceeded to organize racist rallies against Mexican truckers in the Southwest and to abjectly capitulate to UPS bosses *after only ten hours* in the 1994 strike. The Carey team went on to knife the 1994 national freight strike while abandoning strike militants like Jesse Acuna, who was imprisoned for five years for the "crime" of defending a Teamsters picket line.

Raia/NY Newsday

One year after TDU "reformers" urged feds to use anti-labor RICO law to "clean up" Teamsters, then U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giuliani announced 1988 RICO suit against the union. TDU paper now appeals to FBI and Justice Department to investigate James Hoffa Jr.

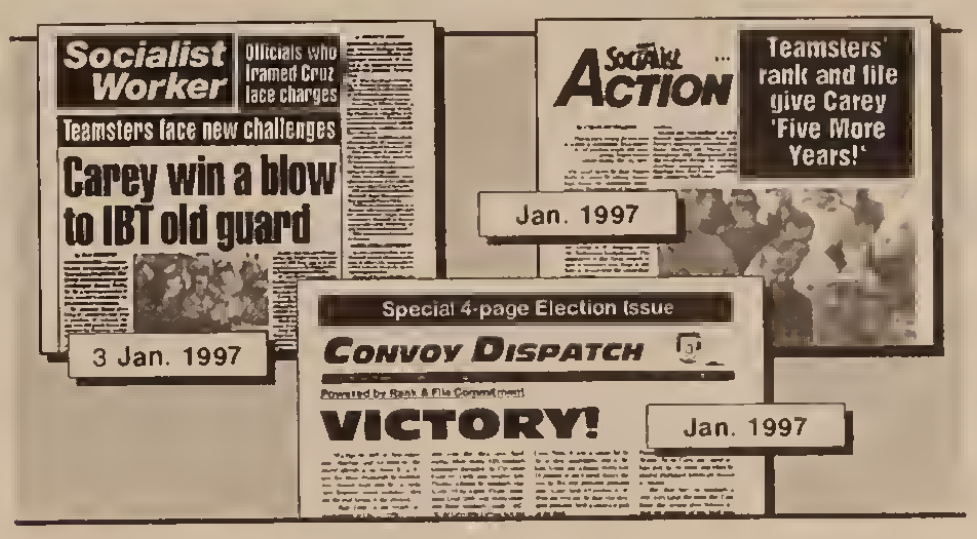


In trumpeting Carey, both the ISO and Socialist Action have covered up this history of betrayals. Similarly, neither group raised a word of criticism of Carey's refusal during the UPS strike to tackle the issue of rampant racism at the company. In this the ISO and SA starkly revealed how their economist cheerleading for "militant" bureaucrats like Carey is counterposed to the fight to mobilize union power against racist discrimination, which requires breaking from the class-collaborationist politics of all wings of the union bureaucracy.

Occasional "militant" rhetoric notwithstanding, the ISO and SA act only to lawyer for the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. Both ignore the bureaucracy's ties to the Democratic Party, the main war party of U.S. imperialism and the historic party of Jim Crow racism. Both continue to forgo criticism of the "America First" protectionism which is the primary expression of the labor tops' ideological alignment with U.S. imperialism. Although the ISO and SA have deplored the United Auto Workers tops' meekness in the face of the threat of binding arbitration in this summer's Flint GM strike, both covered up the fact that the Solidarity House bureaucrats *voluntarily* agreed to arbitration—that is, essentially requested government intervention—in fear of waging a hard class battle to defeat GM.

What binds these groups to the labor bureaucracy is that they, too, share a fundamental belief in the "democratic" credentials of the U.S. capitalist rulers. The ISO's support to government intervention in the trade unions goes hand in hand with their championing of imperialist-sponsored forces of counterrevolution which were instrumental in the destruction of the former Soviet Union—a degenerated workers state. SA, too, was in the forefront of the anti-Soviet chorus, hailing Polish Solidarność—company union for Wall Street and the Vatican—and every other reactionary movement backed by the imperialists. Trotsky drew an analogy between the bureaucratically controlled unions in the West and the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state, calling for defense of both against the capitalists while fighting to oust the bureaucratic misleaders. Those like the ISO and SA who cannot defend past gains of the working class are incapable of conquering future ones.

With their support to Carey and other "reform" bureaucrats, the ISO, Socialist Action and others assist in forging the chains which bind the working class to the rule of capital and block the road to proletarian class struggle. The fight for the political independence of the working class from the capitalist exploiters and their state is the most elementary starting point to unlocking the social power of the multiracial working class. Bringing that power to bear in a struggle to eradicate a system based on exploitation and oppression requires a political fight against all wings of the labor bureaucracy. Out of the coming class battles, a new class-struggle leadership of the unions must be forged as part of the fight for a revolutionary workers party necessary for the final victory of the proletariat as the rulers of a socialist America. ■



Reformists hailed 1996 re-election of feds' man Ron Carey. Spartacist League opposes capitalist government intervention into the unions on principle.

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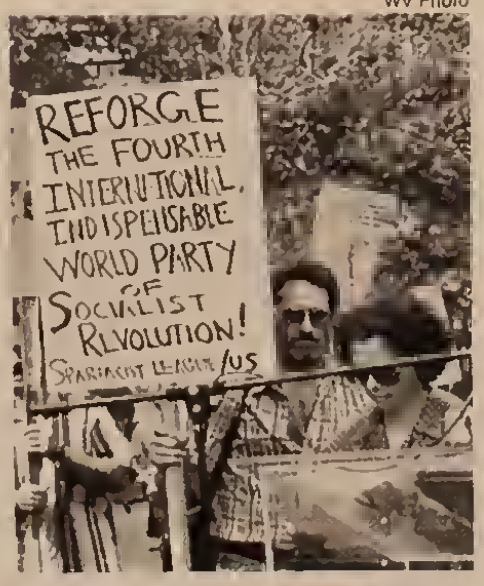

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Carey Expulsion—Bitter Fruit of Government Intervention

Fight Feds' Vendetta Against Teamsters Union!

Ending nearly two decades of defeated strikes, last summer's UPS Teamsters strike has sparked a series of strikes indicating that American workers are fed up with years of eroding living standards, second-class and second-tier jobs and a future that promises even less. Predictably, the capitalist rulers, bloated with years of record profits and concerned that these may soon go pop in a worldwide depression, have counterattacked against the labor movement. Only weeks after the UPS strike, the government moved to order new elections in the 1.4-million-strong International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). Then they barred Teamsters president Ron Carey from running for re-election while seizing the union treasury. Now they have thrown Carey out of the union entirely.

Dictating who can be a union member, the feds' purge of Carey is the latest chapter in a decades-long campaign by both capitalist parties, and especially the liberal wing of the Democrats, to gut the power of the Teamsters, one of the strongest unions in the country. The favored weapon in this anti-labor offensive has been government intervention in the name of fighting union "corruption." Carey himself owed his ascendancy to the Teamsters presidency in 1991, and his re-election in 1996, to union elections that were totally controlled by the Justice Department. Carey then threw out scores of local Teamsters leaders fingered by the feds as "corrupt." Now the government has struck back against its own accomplice.

This is an attack against the entire labor movement, fundamentally against the ability of unions to wage class struggle—i.e., against the right to strike. Virtually alone on the left, the Spartacist League has unconditionally opposed on principle any intervention by the bosses' government into the labor movement. As we wrote in "Government Hands Off the Teamsters!" (*WV* No. 673, 5 September 1997) following the UPS strike:

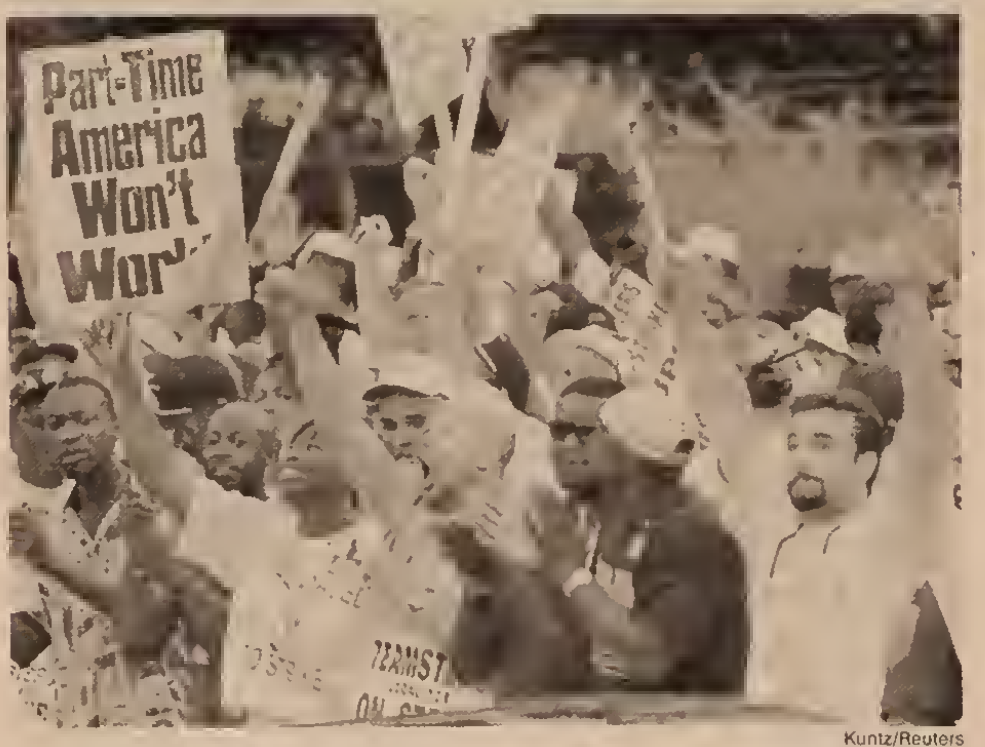
> "The capitalist state, which represents the interests of the corporations, fears the potential power of the Teamsters to shut down the country, from in-city and national trucking to the major ports and airports. The government's only interest in intervening into the affairs of the Teamsters or any other union is to cripple their ability to fight for the interests of their members by directly subordinating the unions to the government and dictating how they are run."

We say: Labor must clean its own house, through a political fight against the venal, pro-capitalist union bureaucracy. ***Feds out of the Teamsters! Government hands off the labor movement!***

ISO, Socialist Action: "Justice Department Socialists"

No greater demonstration of the abject loyalty of all wings of the trade-union bureaucracy to the capitalist exploiters can be made than that all current candidates for Teamsters president *support* the government's raid on the union. The contenders are: James Hoffa Jr., seemingly preferred, at this time, by the Justice Department which drove his father out of the union; Tom Leedham, inheritor of Carey's "rank and file" movement who was endorsed by Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), self-styled "reformers" and Carey loyalists who have spent over two decades bringing anti-union lawsuits against the Teamsters; and John Metz, head of a spoiler slate of long-time bureaucrats who previously supported Carey.

All wings of the Teamsters bureaucracy, like their AFL-CIO counterparts, openly act to tie the workers to their class enemy, expressed politically through support to the Democratic Party (and sometimes the Republicans) and manifested in their cringing servility to the bourgeois state. This openly class-collaborationist program is given a "left" cover by avowed "socialists" like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Socialist Action (SA). Lacking any confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the proletariat, and therefore accepting the current pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, these reformists instead have been prominent in hailing the TDU and its strategy of inviting the capitalist state to "clean up" the unions and in acting for years as slavish press agents for Carey.



Kuntz/Reuters

Teamsters rally in Georgia during UPS strike, August 1997. In wake of solid, popular strike, capitalist government launched vindictive attack on Teamsters union.

But with Carey's ouster, the ISO and SA have now suddenly "discovered" the evils of government intervention into the labor movement. So the ISO has taken to inveighing against "relying upon elections and the government to transform the union from above" while calling for "shop-floor organization independent of the union bureaucracy" (*Socialist Worker*, 19 June 1998). And SA hypocritically proclaims that Carey's removal from office highlights the Marxist understanding of "the role of the government and state as a repressive instrument of the ruling class" (*Socialist Action*, April 1998). These bald-faced attempts at covering up their own support to the feds' intervention are utterly belied by the ISO and SA's calls for votes to Carey loyalist Tom Leedham in the next Teamsters election while omitting any reference to his own call for government intervention in the Teamsters.

Whatever their current empty declamations against government intervention, these organizations have always sought to be waterboys for "progressive" bureaucrats who act as agents of the bourgeoisie and its state inside the unions. Socialist Action—which made its debut by mobilizing a goon squad for the San Francisco labor tops during the 1983 Greyhound strike to keep militant workers from stopping scab buses—called Carey's re-election "an important victory for rank-and-file Teamsters and for the entire American working class" (*Socialist Action*, January 1997).

The ISO has a particularly lengthy record of support to Carey and the TDU, whose central strategy has *always* been to drag the union into the bosses' courts. In January 1991, *Socialist Worker* proclaimed: "In concert with the government—forced to curb the openly corrupt aspects of the union—the reform movement under TDU's leadership has gone a long way toward leveling the playing field for those seeking union offices." More recently, in a June/July 1997 special edition of its paper addressed to UPS workers, the ISO hailed the 1989 "consent decree," in which the IBT leadership turned over the union to the government, as a "breakthrough" and described the government-controlled 1991 election as "the Teamsters first-ever democratic vote for the union presidency."

The ISO's forebears in the International Socialists were directly involved in setting up the TDU. As one TDU founder boasted: "Over the years, TDU has repeatedly gone to the National Labor Relations Board, to the courts and to the Department of Labor (and to many government agencies) to seek justice for union members" (Dan La Botz, *Rank and File Rebellion* [1990]). In 1987, the TDU literally wrote the blueprint for the feds to take over the Teamsters, helping to make the draconian RICO Act the weapon of choice for government intervention in the unions. La Botz's pro-TDU history shows that the TDU was in bed with the feds all along:

> "In April 1987, even before the official announcement of the RICO suit against the Teamsters, TDU National Organizer Ken Paff sent a nine-page letter to Stephen Trott, assistant US attorney general, laying out in detail TDU's views at the time: '[W]e strongly urge the government to seek reorganization of the IBT under Section 1964(a) of the RICO Act'."

The TDU even served as witnesses for the prosecution in the 1989 "probe" by the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations—the same outfit that Robert Kennedy used as a weapon in his vendetta against Jimmy Hoffa in the 1950s aimed at crippling the Teamsters.

In its submissions in the RICO case in 1989, the TDU offered the capitalist union-busters a more efficient way to control the union than putting it in trusteeship, in which a handful of outsiders would face intractable problems trying to

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International Teamster

Ron Carey announces victory in government-run election for Teamsters president in 1991. Now feds have expelled him from union.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 698

9 October 1998

Jobless Rate Rises, World Economic Crisis Deepens

Fight Capitalist Ruin Unchain Labor's Power

For a Revolutionary Workers Party—For a Workers Government!

TWU

Der Spiegel

Philadelphia transit workers rally during combative 40-day strike last summer; black youth in Boston attacked by cops. Labor needs a class-struggle leadership that champions the cause of all the oppressed.

OCTOBER 3—As stock markets around the world continue to plunge, U.S. president Clinton yesterday convened a meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Washington, D.C. where he pushed for faster intervention to "ward off economic crisis" (*New York Times*, 3 October). For over a year, the U.S. imperialists have used their IMF tool to impose starvation austerity from Indonesia to South Korea, aiming in part to insulate the American economy from the effects of the Asian financial collapse. Now, however, there is no room for the illusion that American capitalism is somehow immune from the effects of the financial crisis. Fueled in good measure by the plunging of exports to Asia and Latin America, some 114,000 manufacturing jobs have been lost in the U.S. this year, while overall unemployment began to rise last month.

Less than ten years ago, the imperialist ruling classes proclaimed the "death of communism" as capitalist counterrevolution engulfed the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state. What ensued was a wave of attacks internationally on the working class and the oppressed, as the capitalists drove to maximize profits by intensifying the exploitation of labor. The racist American rulers arrogantly presumed that they could get away with starving the poor, killing the sick and aged and further impoverishing all of labor without provoking any social protest.

While the bourgeois rulers bray that Marxism has "failed," they cannot eliminate the class struggle born of the irreconcilable conflict of interests between labor and capital. People cannot stand having no future for themselves or their kids, or being oppressed like slaves, with poverty, disease and homelessness threatening millions. Today, as the mood of bourgeois triumphalism recedes out of fear of a world depression, the working masses internationally are being impelled into struggle. Recently in the U.S., a series of solid and popular strikes—from the UPS Teamsters strike in August 1997 to this summer's 54-day United Auto Workers (UAW) strike against General Motors in Flint—have demonstrated a

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Germany: Social Democrats Win Anti-Immigrant Austerity Elections

OCTOBER 4—The election of Social Democratic Party (SPD) candidate Gerhard Schröder as German chancellor last Sunday brought to an end 16 years of conservative Christian Democratic (CDU) rule under Helmut Kohl. As the rise in stock prices on the Frankfurt exchange in response to Schröder's victory made clear, the bourgeoisie expects an SPD government to push through a program of anti-working-class austerity and "rationalization" aimed at enhancing German imperialism's competitiveness against its major international rivals, the U.S. and Japan. And Schröder has amply confirmed his readiness to carry out this task. The German election outcome follows a pattern seen in much of West Europe in the last couple of years, as the bourgeoisies from Britain to France and Italy have installed governments headed by social-democratic parties to wage war against the unions and implement sharp cuts in workers' living standards.

Terror against immigrants and other minorities has served as the battering ram for the bourgeoisie in deflecting anger over high unemployment and in attacking social programs and other gains for all of the working class. Particularly in Germany, this has fueled the ominous, regular occurrence of thousands-strong fascist marches. Among the SPD's working-class base, including many workers of Turkish and Kurdish origin, there are widespread illusions that an SPD regime will safeguard jobs and social benefits and offer some measure of alleviation to minorities suffering pervasive discrimination and cop and fascist terror. Such illusions, promoted as well by a spectrum of self-styled revolutionary groups, will soon be brutally shattered.

The escalating attacks on the "social welfare state" and the rise of fascist terror are the direct result of the capitalist

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Down With La Migra Terror in Los Angeles!

The case of two Los Angeles women facing deportation starkly illustrates the brutality of the racist witchhunt against immigrants being carried out by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Maura Gomez's "crime" was to speak a single word—*dejenlo* (leave him alone)—when she saw four men beating a Latino man in the lobby of her friend's apartment building in L.A.'s Mid-Wilshire district last October. Gomez explained to the *Los Angeles Times* (7 May), "I thought, 'They have guns; a shot will kill my kids.' I called the police."

But it turned out the four thugs were themselves Immigration cops—the hated *la migra*. Gomez and a neighbor, Ziola Rodriguez, were taken into custody by the LAPD for "interfering" with the INS agents' efforts and "inciting" apartment residents against them. Although neither was ever charged with any offense, Gomez and Rodriguez were locked up at the INS' Terminal Island facility for nine days and now face imminent deportation.

A native of Honduras, Gomez has lived in the U.S. for the past nine years and has two children born here. Rodriguez, from Guatemala, has lived in this country for eleven years and has three American-born children. To justify the order for Rodriguez's deportation, Judge Isabel Bronzina vindictively accused her of being a burden to the public for having accepted government assistance for her children, one of whom is mentally handicapped and requires special care.

The two women are being victimized under provisions of the 1996 immigration "reform" signed into law by Democratic president Clinton, aiming to terrorize legal and undocumented immigrants alike. Along with the axing of welfare, this law epitomizes the capitalist rulers' offensive against immigrants and the poor. As part of this bipartisan campaign, Clinton also doubled the number of Border Patrol troops in his first term in office. Not satisfied with the record numbers of deportations brought about by these measures, the Clinton administration has escalated the war against immigrants to new levels of barbarity. Now the number of immigrants seeking welfare benefits they are entitled to has plummeted, while according to INS projections, by the end of this month the number of citizenship applications submitted in the past year will have declined by almost 50 percent.

The U.S. capitalist rulers have long relied on whipping up racial and ethnic hatred in furthering the exploitation of all workers. At the same time, immigrant workers have increasingly played a combative role in the struggles of the U.S. proletariat. All this underscores the crucial necessity for the integrated labor movement to mobilize in defense of the rights of immigrants and on behalf of all the oppressed. *No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!* ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Fight for Revolutionary Leadership

In its role as labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, the trade-union bureaucracy chains the working class to the bourgeois order, particularly through political support to the Democratic Party. Where the reformist left amnesties the labor misleaders and adapts to the existing consciousness of the working class, Marxists seek to win the proletariat to an understanding of its historic class interests as the gravedigger of the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression. In a 1932 polemic against the then-centrist Communist Party's call for "rank-and-file leadership" of the trade unions, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon stressed the need to fight for revolutionary leadership of the labor movement as part of the struggle to forge a vanguard party of the proletariat.

The working class under capitalism is not and cannot be a homogeneous body. The enormous pressure of the ruling-class ideology presses heavily upon it. Bourgeois ideas, disseminated through the press, the schools, the movies, the political parties, and in other ways, demoralize and corrupt the thoughts of the workers. Besides that, the working class under capitalism is divided into various economic categories, with different standards of living and, to a certain extent, different immediate interests. The upper stratum, the aristocracy of labor, which is the most conservative and at the same time the best organized, becomes a means of strengthening bourgeois influences over the class. The labor bureaucrats, with their high salaries and petty-bourgeois standards of life, act as the agents of capital in the labor movement.

As a result of all this, it is possible under capitalism for only a minority of the working class to free itself from bourgeois influences and ideas and to understand the historical class position of the proletariat. These are the conscious workers, the vanguard of the class. In order to influence the class it is necessary for these conscious workers to organize themselves and to fight unitedly against the domination of the capitalists and their agents in the labor movement. From this arises the Marxist idea of the centralized workers' party. It is the first letter of the Marxist alphabet on the question of working-class organization.

This principle of leadership by the most conscious and resolute elements applies to strikes and other daily struggles as well as to the class struggle as a whole. The agitation for "the leadership of the rank and file" negates this principle and sows confusion. By this it only makes the leadership of the reactionary agents of the capitalists more secure. This harmful and anti-Marxist slogan should be cast aside. Instead of it, the Communist workers in the unions, as in every other field of the class struggle, should frankly contrast their policy and their leadership to the policy and the leadership of the labor lieutenants of capital. This is the only way to teach the workers and help them in their struggle. There is no roundabout way.

—James P. Cannon, "Under Rank-and-File Leadership" (April 1932)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Jacob Zorn

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jane Patterson

EDITORIAL BOARD: Ray Bishop (managing editor), Bruce André, Helene Broslus, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co , 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007 Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions $10.00/22 issues Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is October 6.

No. 698 **9 October 1998**

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Imperialism and Class Struggle in Asia

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, October 10, 4 p.m.
Hollywood United Methodist Church
6817 Franklin Avenue
(Highland Ave. exit off 101 Freeway)
For more information: (213) 380-8239

SAN FRANCISCO

Saturday, October 24, 7:30 p.m.
Women's Building
3543 18th Street (near Valencia)
For more information: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

CHICAGO

Defeat of Reconstruction and the Great Rail Strike of 1877

The Shaping of Racist American Capitalism

Saturday, October 10, 7 p.m.
Ida Noyes Hall, Library Room
University of Chicago
(1212 E. 59th Street)
For more information: (312) 454-4930

NEW YORK CITY

The Fight for Revolutionary Marxism Today

Saturday, October 24, 3 p.m.
Vanderbilt Hall, Room 214
New York University Law School
40 Washington Square South
(between MacDougal and Sullivan streets)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

BOSTON

Anti-Labor Attacks, Cop Terror and the Capitalist State
Thursday, October 15, 7 p.m.

Revolution vs. Reform:
The Russian Revolution and How the Working Class Took Power
Thursday, October 22, 7 p.m.

College of Arts and Sciences, Rm. 220
725 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston University (near Boston Univ. East on the Green Line B Branch)
For readings and information: (617) 666-9453

NEW YORK CITY

Revolution vs. Reform:
The Russian Revolution—How the Working Class Took Power
Tuesday, October 13, 7 p.m.

Trotskyism vs. Stalinism:
The Revolution Betrayed
Tuesday, October 27, 7 p.m.

Loeb Student Center, Room 413
New York University
(LaGuardia Pl. & Washington Sq. South)
For readings and information: (212) 267-1025

TORONTO

The Revolution Betrayed
Thursday, October 15, 7 p.m.

International Student Centre
33 St. George Street
(north of College Street)
For readings and information: (416) 593-4138

International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

International Center: Box 7429 GPO, New York, NY 10116, USA

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Exchange on "Workplace Violence" Witchhunt

The following letters deal with our report in "'Workplace Violence' Witchhunt Targets Unions, Minorities" (WV No. 695, 28 August) on the victimization of AFSCME Local 444 member Randy Kim, an East Bay Municipal Utility District (EBMUD) auto mechanic who was fired and subjected to criminal charges for "terrorist threats" allegedly made while joking with a co-worker. The letters are published in full and exactly as we received them.

AFSCME Local 444
Oakland, California
September 25, 1998

Editor;

This letter, sent on behalf of AFSCME Local 444's Executive Board, is in response to the August 28, 1998 article on "workplace violence policies" and the union movement's role. In the section entitled "The Frame Up of Randy Kim", the author makes inaccurate and blatantly false accusations of AFSCME 444's leadership. You allege that 444's leadership "opposed taking strike action to defend Kim", encouraged our members to have "illusions in the EBMUD Board of Directors", "never lifted a finger" in Kim's defense until forced to by concerned and angry union members, and failed to file a grievance until after Kim was fired. You state that the "reason for this treachery" is because 444's leadership supports EBMUD's "workplace violence" policy.

Finally, you portray 444's president and chief steward as "docile" and "misleaders" because they "willingly allowed themselves to be scanned by metal detectors" on the way into Kim's Skelly hearing.

444's leadership never opposed strike action to defend Randy Kim. What we opposed was a motion made by your supporter to send a letter to our employer threatening to walk off the job if Randy was terminated. Managment is aware that a mood does not exist among our membership for the sort of job action threatened in the motion. The leadership and other members opposed the motion suggesting instead that intermediate steps be organized such as rallies or Board protests that would help generate support for such an action. This would require a huge amount of organizational activity within the local which many workers are not prepared to take on at this time, but which your supporter avoids like the plague. This motion was defeated; the only vote in favor was by your supporter; brother Kim himself urged the membership to vote against it.

We have no illusions in EBMUD's Board of Directors; however we also recognize that as politicians they are susceptible to pressure. We have and do advocate and organize our members attendance there in mass numbers on issues of critical importance. It is also a forum to gather our members. This is but one tool in our arsenal to fight our employer; we would be foolish not to use it. Your own supporters have asked this Local to send letters to various representatives of the state protesting the state's actions in regards to prisoners such as Geronimo Pratt.

Your allegations that 444's leadership "never lifted a finger" in Randy's defense until forced to by concerned and angry union members is outrageous, dishonest and offensive.

Randy was put on paid administrative leave the day after the alleged comments were made. 444's Chief Steward was specifically directed by Randy and his civil attorney NOT to file a grievance until further along in the legal proceedings. 444's leadership was in regular contact with Randy throughout this period; he insisted that any actions taken on his behalf by the local be guided by his attorneys, both civil and criminal. Because of the unprecedented nature of this situation and seeing no evidence of there being support for an immediate work stoppage, it was prudent to honor Randy's request.

444's leadership does not support or agree with the "workplace violence" policy at EBMUD as you falsely claim. We challenge you to provide any concrete evidence whatsoever that we support this policy. Furthermore, as your supporter knows (or would know if he were active in the union) the only reason that we have raised the issue of being excluded from the process of establishing this workplace violence policy is that under the terms of our Contract management must include us in the process of establishing any policy that affects hours, wages and working conditions. Given that they failed to include us in this process, the implementation of this policy (ig [sic] their termination of Randy Kim) is a contract violation.

Your reference in the article to the President and Chief Steward allowing themselves to be "scanned" by metal detectors in order to attend Kim's Skelly hearing is true. What does this have to do with being "docile"? Had the President and Chief Steward not subjected themselves to this, Randy would have had no Union presence at his hearing. Curiously enough, your own supporters, as well as other members of the Local have attended Randy's court proceedings, all of us being scanned by metal detectors in order to enter. There have been no sit down protests, objections or refusals by your supporters at this indignity.

Normally we would not waste our time responding to an article in a paper such as yours, but these outrageous statements mandated that we do so.

At our most recent union meeting we were treated to a lengthy denunciation of the union leadership by one of your paper's supporters, essentially repeating the allegations in the article. This individual played a most disgraceful role when the President of this Local, an Electrician in his department, was under attack for union activities and facing sexual harassment from her supervisors. Not only did this so-called socialist not help the Sister fight this harassment but blamed her for it, attributing the harassment to "psychological" problems between her and her boss. Such a position clearly undermines a person fighting victimization by management.

The truth of the matter is that this was nothing but an excuse on this individual's part to refuse to intervene on the side of a fellow worker against management. It was a perfect example of the real-life role the supporters of the Worker's Vanguard paper play in the day to day struggles between workers and their employers.

This individual never has the courage to either openly and directly say he supports your paper or to distribute it publicly. The case of Randy Kim is the only time he has ever participated in any discussion at a union meeting that directly pertains to an issue with the employer. The only—the only—times he comes to meetings is to seek money and/or other types of support for some cause which your paper is taking up. He has never done anything to strengthen the union in its direct battle with the employer. We thus find it somewhat hypocritical of him to suddenly find such an interest in the immediate class struggle.

Your supporters in our workplace avoid participating in the day to day work of the union; they refuse to take positions, particularly as stewards. They don't file grievances. They never confront the boss directly on the job. They have remained silent, refusing to speak up on issues they disagree with at meetings in order to not offend the membership so they can get money from the Local. In fact, the only time your supporters generally attend meetings is when they want money, or for opportunist reasons. This doesn't go unnoticed and weakens the ability to support issues as people often associate the messenger with the message.

We believe that the dishonest, immature and cowardly approach of your paper and it's supporters in our workplace is totally foreign to the best traditions of the struggle of working class people.

One final note; 444's president spoke to Randy Kim prior to the sending of this letter, and he stated that he had spoken to the individual who had interviewed him for the article, as well as your leading supporter in our union and asked for a retraction of the false portrayal of 444's role in his defense. He maintains this position.

We demand a written retraction of the falsehoods and an apology.

Cheryl Zuur
President, AFSCME 444

CC; Greg Best
Randy Kim

* * *

Alameda, CA
Octoher 2, 1998

Dear Workers Vanguard,

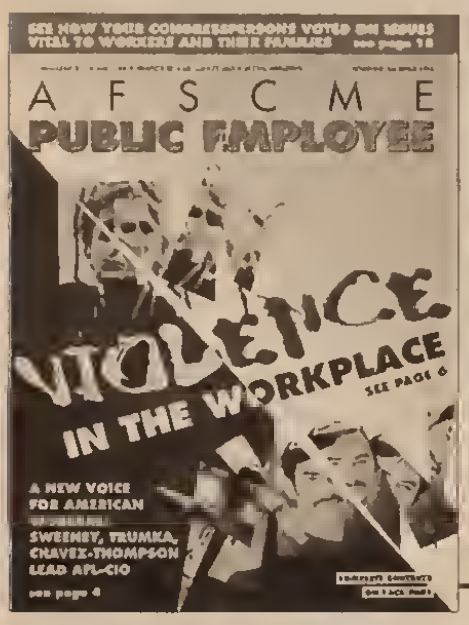
By now you've probably received a letter on official union stationery signed by my AFSCME Local 444 president Cheryl Zuur objecting to the article you wrote in the August 28 issue on "Workplace violence," particularly the section on the frame-up and firing of Randy Kim, a highly respected fellow worker who has worked for EBMUD for 23 years and who was active in the union as a steward and officer for many years. (I'm one of the guys she keeps referring to as your "supporters.") I've been reading Workers Vanguard for many years, hut now I thought I had hetter write to you hecause there are so many untruthful statements in this letter about matters that only members of 444 would know about.

The heart of Cheryl's letter is her statement that it is "blatantly false" that the union "never lifted a finger in Kim's defense until forced to by concerned and angry union members, and failed to file a grievance until after Kim was fired." On this basis she is demanding a "retraction" by your paper. Well your article happens to be the literal truth. Randy was suspended and ordered off the premises on April 9, barred from company property and had his house searched by the police. Yet no action was taken by Cheryl, or the people around her like the 2nd VP Richard Mellor or the chief steward Ron Barker, even after Randy gave a report on his suspension at the April union meeting later that month. Yet there were two articles by Richard Mellor in the April issue of the union newsletter "Mainline" reporting how the union had aggressively responded to other attacks on union officers, Richard himself and 1st VP Roger Martinez. Richard has had a reputation for many years for his "in-your-face" manner of standing up to management. So why not for Randy?

Another whole month went by and *still* nothing had been done. Not even had a grievance been filed which is standard practice when a union member is attacked by the company. By this time people in both Locals 444 and 2019 (the other AFSCME local here) were getting pretty worried and upset. Why wasn't the union doing anything? They understood that if the District got away with firing a shop steward on these trumped up charges then it would create an atmosphere of fear and intimidation. Which is in fact what has happened. You will think twice now before mouthing off at some supervisor.

This was the mood when a bunch of us went to the 444 union meeting on May 21 where there was a larger than usual attendance, about 70 people. A group of members from 2019 had come in solidarity to support joint action by both locals in defense of Randy, but they

continued on page 4



Cohen/Public Employee Press

AFSCME tops promote "workplace violence" campaign used by capitalists to victimize union militants, chain labor to bosses' Democratic Party. Al Gore fêted by AFSCME president Gerald McEntee (left) and secretary-treasurer William Lucy at August union convention in Honolulu.

Letters...

(continued from page 3)

were stopped at the door by Richard Mellor and Roger Martinez who told them they were not welcome and to go away. A number of 444 members were very upset about this.

During the meeting Cheryl didn't even mention Randy's case until I demanded it. I then put up the following motion, which passed *unanimously*: "The local shall send the following letter to EBMUD and the District Attorney and also circulate in petition form: 'Local 444 demands that the frame-up criminal charges against Randy Kim be dropped, that he be reinstated immediately and that his record be cleared.'" Someone from the floor yelled out and wanted to know why a grievance hadn't been filed. Everyone at the meeting agreed the chief steward Ron would file a grievance right away.

So here we were—*6 weeks* after Randy had been run off the job and suspended—and this was the *first time* that the union was doing anything to defend Randy and therefore the union as a whole. And it only happened because "concerned and angry union members" *forced* the leadership to finally take some action to defend all of us. Just like you said.

A similar motion was subsequently passed by Local 2019. But in both locals, elements of the leadership objected to the word "frame-up." In the 2019 meeting there was a split vote and the word was deleted. When Cheryl wrote a letter on May 26 to EBMUD management as directed by the membership, she too *omitted* "frame-up" from the motion that was passed. This omission is very telling because if you don't see Randy's case as a frame-up then the direct implication is that Randy *did* make threats and so was guilty as charged. Some people in fact refused to defend Randy on this basis.

So I don't know who Cheryl thinks she's fooling with her letter because the membership of both locals knew long before Workers Vanguard came out that her leadership team hadn't lifted a finger to defend Randy until that 444 local meeting in May.

Now I want to talk about what I and other union members who have seen this letter think is the most underhanded part of Cheryl's letter. At the end she claims that she spoke to Randy Kim before sending her letter and that he "asked for a retraction of the false portrayal of 444's role in his defense. He maintains this position." I happen to know from speaking to Randy that this is *totally untrue*. He specifically told her that he did *not* want a retraction but would like one small correction, which I'll get to.

As soon as your article started to get around the shops at work, both Cheryl and Richard Mellor called Randy (for the first time) to get him to sign a letter that *they* were writing, but he didn't want to get involved. What he told me was that he liked the article, that it was accurate, but he thought it could have used one more sentence stating that his lawyer had advised the union leadership not to file a grievance until Randy was fired. *But* he added, this applied to a limited time after the May union meeting, because even after the leadership knew he was being fired in late June when Randy was sent a "notice of intent to terminate" they still didn't file a grievance. Randy was fired on July 28 but a grievance was not filed until August 11—*four months after Randy was pulled from work*!

Cheryl's letter tries to blame Randy and his lawyer for not filing a grievance for him: "444's Chief Steward was specifically directed by Randy and his civil attorney NOT to file a grievance until further along in the legal proceedings." But it turns out that it was actually the other way around—it was the chief steward Ron Barker and Cheryl that came up with the excuse for not filing a grievance, *not* Randy's lawyer. This was revealed at the September Local 444 union meeting when a member speaking from the floor quoted from a message sent by Ron to Cheryl on May 29, a whole week after the May membership mandated that a grievance be filed on Randy's case *immediately*. In this message Ron says he was concerned about filing a grievance, because it might push the District's hand to charge Randy with something. He said he told Randy to talk with his attorney to suggest that filing a grievance now would be a bad idea.

In other words they hadn't filed a grievance from day one on Randy's case because it is AFSCME's policy to go along with "workplace violence" programs. So when the membership at the May union meeting forced them to defend Randy, starting with filing a grievance, they then came up with a reason for not doing this that they thought would appeal to Randy's lawyer! Now they brazenly say, "It was prudent to honor Randy's request."

WV Photo

AFSCME Local 444 endorsed and joined in July 1993 Emeryville, California protest initiated by the Labor Black League against racist discrimination at Denny's restaurants.

Because of them Randy has lost everything he has worked for for 23 years. It is outrageously rotten that Cheryl and her people now try to use Randy as a shield to cover their own betrayal of his case. What could be more despicable than to falsely say that Randy wanted a retraction of the article when it was their *inaction* that cost Randy his job?

Cheryl's letter claims that the 444 leadership does not agree with the "workplace violence" policy at EBMUD and challenges anybody to prove otherwise. Well in the same May 26 letter to management I mentioned above, Cheryl states: "We intend to grieve the District's so-called 'Violence in the Workplace' policy that is being used to harass and intimidate our members as well as Randy's treatment." That was four months ago and no grievance against EBMUD's "Workplace Violence" policy has ever been filed. So not only did they never file a grievance for Randy until two weeks after he was fired, but they never filed a grievance against the policy EBMUD used to fire Randy. Cheryl also said at the September union meeting that neither she nor anyone of our delegation said a word about AFSCME's support to "workplace violence" programs at the recent International convention in Hawaii. To me that says it all.

The leadership *did* oppose my July motion for strike action to defend Randy as they admit in their letter to you. Richard Mellor, who increasingly is playing the role of Cheryl's attack dog at union meetings, used almost identical language as in the letter by arguing that "the company would just laugh at such a notice from the union. The company knows the troubles the union has. We'd just get fired." This was clearly intended to let the membership know that the *leadership* did not support a work stoppage for Randy and was intended to demoralize members. In fact, one steward remarked afterward that he would have voted for my motion, but he was intimidated by the leadership's comments. In contrast to the leadership, a steward who voted for my strike motion said "Sooner or later, we must make a stand or we won't have a union... We need to stop them or no one will be safe."

This isn't the first time that Cheryl has used Richard Mellor with his reputation as a union "militant" to be her point man in arguing down proposals for strike action at union meetings. Nor are my efforts in defense of Randy Kim the first time I have played an active role in the union. For example during last year's contract negotiations I was repeatedly opposed by Mellor when I raised motions for strike action to back up our negotiations with District management.

In line with this Mellor doesn't hesitate to resort to red-baiting as a weapon against people that he doesn't agree with, which shows up in the language of this letter. He himself used to sell the paper *Labor Militant* at work (which I never thought was too smart) and he really hates "the Sparts." So during the contract period when he and I frequently banged heads at union meetings, he would say loudly, "Hey, why aren't you selling your paper with your comrades?" implying that anyone who reads Workers Vanguard must be a member of the Spartacists. Recently he posted a xerox copy of the "Workplace Violence" article on the bulletin board at work on which he had written, "Brother Best is a supporter of the Spartacist League who publishes the paper. If you have any questions about the article perhaps Greg can answer them." This is real dirty stuff that smacks of the McCarthyite witchhunt of the 1950's when people lost their jobs because of accusations of political affiliation.

There is one of those sneaky anonymous stories in this letter that I want to respond to directly because I know it is aimed at me. The whole story of not defending Cheryl against sexual harassment from her supervisors is a total fabrication including the incident itself. It never happened and no one I work with in the shop ever heard of it. The one time she asked everybody in the shop to sign a group grievance when she was being given a hard time for union activities by a supervisor, all of us agreed but she never filed it.

Another thing: no I don't go to every meeting and neither do most members. Usually there's only about 30-40 people at meetings. Like other members I attend meetings when it looks like something important is coming up like contract negotiations or Randy's case, which is what they are really reacting to here. But in this letter they seem to be saying that only a small group of regulars has the right to make policy and say what they think. I disagree with that. The union is *all* its members and not just whatever leadership happens to be in office and its supporters. It's a big tent that should be able to include all points of view.

You should know that Cheryl and Richard are literally working overtime personally distributing their scurrilous letter all over at work, particularly to workers who were active in Randy's defense. Too bad they *never* showed this kind of energy defending Randy. To make matters worse Cheryl is telling people in both locals that Randy "doesn't really want his job back." It's really disgusting. Copies of their letter were even being publicly distributed last weekend at a prison reform conference up in Berkeley, even before I had received it. I thought this was pretty far out!

I wanted to let you know that the negative opinions expressed in their letter do not, in my experience, represent the feelings of most of the people here. I actually think it's an embarrassment to our union. Not that everyone agrees with everything in Workers Vanguard, but a lot of our members really liked what you said about Randy Kim's case and workplace violence. One co-worker said it was the best thing he's ever read on the subject.

I think who they are really angry with are the union membership in both locals who turned out to force the union officers they had elected to defend a well respected union brother who was blatantly victimized by management. But since they can't attack the membership and get away with it, they are lashing out at Workers Vanguard and people like me who took some initiative to defend the union.

Gregg Best

cc: AFSCME 444
Randy Kim

WV Replies:

The letter from AFSCME Local 444 president Cheryl Zuur demands "a written retraction of the falsehoods" in our article "'Workplace Violence' Witchhunt Targets Unions, Minorities." We thank Brother Best for setting the record straight on Zuur's false allegations. There are times when *WV* articles have contained wrong or inaccurate statements. We always welcome and publish letters of correction. But as Gregg Best's letter makes devastatingly clear, what Zuur

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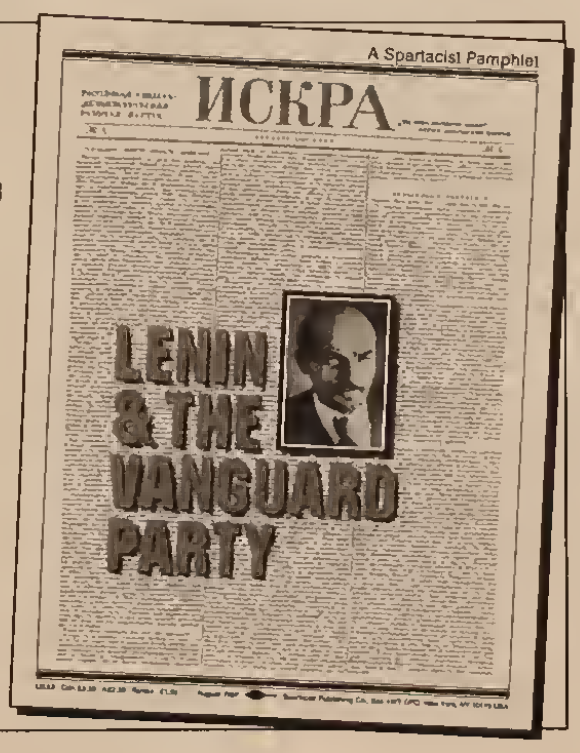

objects to is not the facts presented in our article about the company's victimization of Randy Kim, but our political characterizations and conclusions.

Behind the not-so-subtle anti-communist innuendo of Zuur's letter is another political agenda with its own factional purpose. Indeed, we first received a copy of this letter on September 26—not by mail, but at a conference on the "Prison Industrial Complex" at UC Berkeley, where it was handed out to people around a Spartacist League literature table. It was distributed not by a Local 444 member but rather by a political co-thinker of local vice president Richard Mellor. Both are active with the Labor Party group, an electoral shill for the Democratic Party.

Mellor and Zuur are, of course, entitled to their own political views, and we would defend them against any victimization by the company or redbaiting attacks by the higher echelons of the union bureaucracy. But they should not try to present their particular politics and animus toward the Spartacist League—which they maintained long before they occupied their current union positions—as representing the union as a whole.

"Workplace Violence": A New Union-Busting Tool

Our article on the "workplace violence" campaign by the employers and the capitalist state demonstrated how these programs are intended to gut the fundamental purpose of the unions—the defense of the workers against the bosses. Like the "war on drugs" which is used to victimize labor militants and minorities, "workplace violence" programs are aimed at criminalizing workers who stand up for their rights against the employers. That the top leadership of the American trade unions has embraced this deadly campaign—participating in joint committees with management and gutting contractual protections against company discipline—is another example of how the labor misleaders betray the interests of the working class in service to the capitalist exploiters.

In her letter, Zuur challenges us to "provide any concrete evidence whatsoever" that the Local 444 leadership "support or agree with the 'workplace violence' policy at EBMUD." The AFSCME International leadership avidly supports these programs, which have been in place at EBMUD since 1996. If the current Local 444 leadership doesn't support such policies, then Zuur should provide the concrete evidence of where she has ever opposed them. The *only* objection by the Local 444 executive board has been to complain, as Zuur does in her letter to *WV*, that the union was "excluded from the process of establishing this workplace violence policy." Why would the local leadership want to be included in a "process" they claim not to support?

A central political point of our article was to drive home the understanding that if the unions are to be instruments for the defense of the workers against the employers, they must stand completely independent of the capitalists, their state

Socialist Organiser

AFSCME Local 444 contributed to PDC campaign of solidarity with 1984-85 British miners strike, which raised over $20,000 from trade unions and individuals internationally.

and political parties, and all agencies of the bourgeoisie. Complaining that we took the AFSCME 444 leadership to task for sowing illusions in the company's Board of Directors, Zuur protests: "We have no illusions in EBMUD's Board of Directors." But in the very next breath she gives the game away, describing the members of the board as "politicians...susceptible to pressure."

The idea that instruments of the capitalist rulers and their political parties—especially the Democratic Party, which is supported by the union leadership—can be pressured to take up the defense of the unions is a defining feature of the worldview of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. This outlook is rooted in the material privileges that the labor bureaucrats derive for their services as the political agents for the bosses in shackling the unions to the interests of American capitalism. While Zuur & Co. hardly have such perquisites of office, they, too, oppose the militant class-struggle tactics which built the unions and are necessary to win any battles against the employers. The labor tops instead seek to channel any anger and combativity by the union ranks into pressuring company stockholders or pleading with other agencies of the bosses for redress.

Zuur protests our observation that she and the union's chief steward allowed themselves to be searched as if they were terrorists—without a peep of protest—at Kim's termination hearing. This meek submission to being frisked for weapons only served to lend credence to the bourgeoisie's outrageous slanders of not only Randy Kim but *all* union activists as "violent." The hearing was held at the offices of Investigative & Protective Services of America. This private outfit specializes in "workplace violence" cases and "hostile terminations," and its ex-cop executives brag about their role in persecuting the Black Panther Party. The very location of this meeting was itself an extension of the union-busting "workplace violence" policy of EBMUD.

As Marxists, we understand that the capitalist state is the executive committee of the ruling class, composed at its core of bodies of armed men—cops, prison guards, courts, the army—who serve to defend the system of exploitation based on the private ownership of the means of production. This state cannot be reformed to serve the interests of the working class. But the AFSCME International leadership believes otherwise, seeing the cops as "workers," and has organized *over 100,000 prison guards* into the union. As revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote, "The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker."

WV's "workplace violence" article prominently featured our demand "Cops and prison guards out of the unions!" In her letter, Zuur is mum on this question. But her ally on the local executive board, Richard Mellor, lamented in his *AFSCME Activist* "opposition" newsletter (July-September 1995) that the "union movement is weakened" by efforts of "correctional officers" in New York to leave AFSCME. Here he also ran a report sympathetic to prison guards in the South who were subjected to tiny doses of the same deadly pepper spray they routinely and massively use on prisoners!

Black Rights and Union Rights

Zuur's letter to *WV* complains that people she labels as our "supporters" in the workplace have never "done anything to strengthen the union in its direct battle with the employer." The authors condescendingly write, "Normally we would not waste our time responding to an article in a paper such as yours." In fact, what has them squealing like stuck pigs is that members of the union, supported and publicized by our paper, *fought* to strengthen the union through class-struggle defense of Randy Kim against the "workplace violence" witchhunt. Zuur's innuendos attempting to link union militants to the Spartacist League as "supporters" of *WV* are intended to portray efforts to defend Randy Kim as some kind of "communist plot."

Zuur sneeringly dismisses as "opportunist" attempts to "seek money and/or other types of support for some cause which your paper is taking up." What is Zuur referring to here? That Local 444 has contributed to the legal defense efforts and joined in labor-centered actions initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee for black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal? That union members joined in the fight that finally freed former Black Panther Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) from the prison hellhole in which he'd been confined for 27 years? That the union banner was proudly carried at a 1993 protest in Emeryville initiated by the Labor Black League protesting Jim Crow discrimination at Denny's restaurants? That the local contributed to the 1985 PDC campaign to raise funds for striking British miners and their families during their hard-fought class battle against the Thatcher government? That the local endorsed the November 1988 Philadelphia labor/black mobilization initiated by the PDC against the KKK and Nazi skinheads?

Being a newly elected president of Local 444, Zuur may not be aware of the long and honorable history of her union's efforts going back some 15 years on behalf of causes and cases in the interests of all workers and the oppressed. We are proud of this history of joint efforts, and Local 444 members should also rightly be proud of their role in these campaigns.

It is precisely through such support to broader political questions of fighting racism and government repression that the unions will become organs of class struggle against the capitalist system. Our perspective is to win union militants to our program and purpose of building a revolutionary leadership of the labor movement. The defense of class-war prisoners, the fight for labor/black mobilizations against fascist terror, opposition to any and every manifestation of racist discrimination are crucial to overcoming the racial divisions fostered by the capitalist rulers. That Zuur spits on such a perspective as "opportunist" and irrelevant to the "direct battle with the employer" reflects her view that working people are incapable of dealing with broader political questions and expresses the divide that separates our perspective of the revolutionary emancipation of labor from the chains of capitalist exploitation from those whose program is defined by the parameters set by the capitalist rulers. As we wrote in concluding our "workplace violence" article:

> "To rally behind it the forces to sweep away the capitalist enemy, the working class must champion the cause of all the oppressed. The lieutenants of capital who sabotage labor from within must be ousted and replaced with a class-struggle leadership of the unions—Break from the Democrats and Republicans! The key to victory lies in forging a multiracial revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government, which will take society's productive forces out of the hands of the bourgeoisie and consign the exploitation, oppression and violence inherent in capitalism to the scrapheap of history."

We again urge our readers to send a contribution, as the PDC has done, to Randy Kim's ongoing legal defense fund: Randy K. Kim Solidarity Fund, c/o Alan A. Dressler, Attorney-at-law, 633 Battery Street, Suite 635, San Francisco, CA 94111.■

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The Holocaust, "Collective Guilt" and German Imperialism

We reprint below the second part of an article, originally published in the German-language edition of Spartacist *(No. 20, Summer 1998), dealing with the controversy touched off by Daniel Goldhagen's* Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust *(Vintage Books, 1997) and a recent polemic against Goldhagen by Norman G. Finkelstein and Ruth Bettina Birn titled* A Nation on Trial: The Goldhagen Thesis and Historical Truth *(Henry Holt & Co., 1998). Part One appeared in* WV *No. 697 (25 September).*

SPARTACIST

The onset of the Great Depression in 1929 provoked a deepening *class polarization* in Germany. The Nazis became the second-largest party in the Reichstag in 1930 and the largest in 1932. The German Communist Party (KPD) also registered a dramatic increase in electoral support, a reflection of its growing strength on the streets and in the factories. As the country approached a situation of virtual civil war, with daily street battles between Nazi stormtroopers and KPD defense guards, the bourgeoisie installed a series of makeshift bonapartist regimes, while increasingly throwing its weight behind Hitler. The bourgeoisie could not continue to rule in the old way. The only real

PART TWO

alternatives were workers revolution or the fascists' "radical" solution to economic chaos and social disorder: militarization of the economy, smashing of the workers organizations, and preparation for another world war. The proletarian leadership was not ready to impose its class solution to the crisis, but the bourgeoisie did not hesitate to impose theirs.

The German bourgeoisie handed power to Hitler in pursuit of its fundamental aims, without any special attachment to the Nazis' demented plan to annihilate the Jews. Hitlerism was a *bonapartist* instrument (i.e., with a certain freedom to act independently of the immediate wishes of particular elements of the capitalist class, which remained the real masters). Such an instrument was needed to militarize society across the board and smash the organized workers. Neither the anachronistic, aristocratic militarism of the Kaiser nor the trappings of "Weimar democracy" could any longer bring "order" to the crisis conditions of Germany between the two world wars.

Thus, while the bourgeoisie eagerly accepted the Nazis as an instrument to save its class rule, the rulers and their instrument were not identical. With its base in the lower middle classes and the lumpenproletariat, the Nazi movement's ideology and especially its virulently racist anti-Semitism reflected the tortured past of the "lower orders," especially the peasantry. The Jews occupied a permanent place in the peasants' demonology after the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), when Central Europe was engulfed in a condition of general war: a third of the population died, either slaughtered at the hands of mercenary armies ravaging the land or killed by war-induced famine and disease. The role of the Jews as speculators (the *Kornjuden*) during these years of devastation and starvation was deeply etched in the consciousness of the peasantry, which endured unimaginable suffering.

Landesbildstelle, Berlin

"Red Front" militia of Stalinized KPD in early 1930s; Trotskyist newspaper, 1932. Left Opposition fought to win KPD to perspective of workers united front to smash Hitler's Nazis as part of fight for socialist revolution.

This heritage made the Jews a natural scapegoat in Germany and a lightning rod for the Nazis' virulent German nationalism. The Jews had a unique utility for this purpose because of the poisoned and explosive historically derived regional/religious division of Germany between the Protestant North and the Catholic areas. The national unification of Germany came very late and was not a settled question. Separatist currents persisted even into the 20th century, e.g. in Bavaria (and Konrad Adenauer, who headed the post-WW II CDU regime, began his political career in the 1920s in the French-backed Catholic Rhineland separatist movement). The German bourgeoisie, having already missed out on the division of the world among the other European imperialist powers which were strong nation-states when Germany was not, needed a centralized strong state. The Jews were a wonderfully convenient internal enemy, being neither Protestant nor Catholic.

Trotsky and the Struggle Against Fascism in Germany

In "Germany, the Key to the International Situation" (November 1931), Trotsky warned:

> "The moment has come when the prerevolutionary situation must be transformed into the revolutionary—or the counter-revolutionary. On the direction in which the solution of the German crisis develops will depend not only the fate of Germany herself (and that is already a great deal), but also the fate of Europe, the destiny of the entire world, for many years to come."

This outcome, in turn, hinged on the question of revolutionary leadership—an authentically communist party to lead the proletariat in crushing the fascist menace and seizing power in its own name.

Notwithstanding years of Stalinist degeneration, the KPD retained the support of millions of revolutionary-minded workers. As part of their struggle to oust the nationalist Stalin regime and return the Soviet Union and the Communist International to the path of Bolshevik internationalism, Trotsky and the Left Opposition fought to break the KPD from its centrist "third period" zigzagging between criminal passivity and sectarian adventurism. As part of downplaying the Hitlerite menace, the KPD baptized the Social Democratic Party (SPD) as "social-fascist." In his January 1932 article "What Next?"—which was distributed in the tens of thousands by the German Left Opposition—Trotsky argued:

> "In its present phase, German Communism in its struggle against the Social Democracy must lean on two separate facts: (a) the political responsibility of the Social Democracy for the strength of fascism; (b) the absolute irreconcilability between fascism and those workers organizations on which the Social Democracy itself depends."

In the social crisis then racking Germany, the Nazis represented an *immediate* mortal threat to the workers movement, which included those millions of workers organized in the SPD and the SPD-led trade unions. Trotsky explained:

> "At the moment that the 'normal' police and military resources of the bourgeois dictatorship, together with their parliamentary screens, no longer suffice to hold society in a state of equilibrium—the turn of the fascist regime arrives. Through the fascist agency, capitalism sets in motion the masses of the crazed petty bourgeoisie, and bands of the declassed and demoralized lumpenproletariat; all the countless human beings whom finance capital itself has brought to desperation and frenzy."

In article after article, Trotsky urged the KPD to force the SPD into a *united front*—under the watchword "March separately, strike together!"—to stop the Nazis, using this also to break the Social Democratic workers from their misleaders and lead them in a struggle for proletarian power. He warned:

> "It is the duty of the Left Opposition to give the alarm: the leadership of the Comintern is driving the German proletariat toward an enormous catastrophe, the essence of which is a panicky capitulation before fascism!"

The alarm went unheeded. "The Moscow leadership has not only proclaimed as infallible the policy which guaranteed victory to Hitler, but has also prohibited all discussion of what had occurred," wrote Trotsky in July 1933 ("It Is Necessary to Build Communist Parties and an International Anew"). "An organization which was not roused by the thunder of fascism and which submits docilely to such outrageous acts of the bureaucracy demonstrates thereby that it is dead and that nothing can ever revive it." The Left Opposition proceeded to the task of building a new Bolshevik party in Germany and a new, Fourth International.

As Trotsky had foreseen, the Third Reich immediately extirpated the workers organizations which had been built up over a half century of struggle, their leaders forced into exile, their best militants assassinated or thrown into Dachau and other concentration camps. (This is what Goldhagen describes as "by and large" a "consensual," "peaceful revolution willingly acquiesced to by the German people.") Thus was the road paved for the

Brian Hendler

Feanny/SABA

Daniel Goldhagen (far left), Norman Finkelstein

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mass extermination of the Jews and other minorities and the coming interimperialist slaughter. In "What Is National Socialism?" (November 1933), Trotsky wrote: "The compulsory concentration of all forces and resources of the people in the interests of imperialism—the true historic mission of the fascist dictatorship—means preparation for war."

The destruction of the domestic workers movement went hand in hand with the German bourgeoisie's drive to destroy the first workers state. Already in 1919, the same *Freikorps* gangs which were drowning the revolutionary German workers in blood were also rampaging through the Baltics to "defend the Fatherland from Russian Bolshevism" (quoted in Richard M. Watt, *The Kings Depart* [1968]). Under the banner of a crusade against "Jew Bolshevism," the Nazi regime prepared for war against the Soviet Union. Operation Barbarossa, the June 1941 onslaught against the USSR, also marked the beginning of the Nazi genocide, the horrendous "final solution of the Jewish question."

Meanwhile, Stalin had gone from one "panicky capitulation" to another—pleading for an alliance with the (no less anti-Soviet) "democratic" imperialists, killing off the core of the Red Army command structure on the eve of war, placing blind faith in Hitler's assurances of a "non-aggression" pact. Following the 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact, anti-fascist novels were removed from Soviet libraries and the very word "fascism" was expunged from the Soviet press. So thoroughgoing was Stalin's faith in Hitler's word that he rejected Soviet intelligence reports of the Nazis' impending invasion. Even after the invasion in June 1941, the self-anointed "commander in chief" paralyzed Soviet defenses for several critical weeks. It took four bloody years, at a cost of some 26 million Soviet lives, for the Red Army and the Soviet people to defeat the Nazi scourge and rescue what remained of European Jewry. And it was the Red Army that broke the back of the Nazi-led Wehrmacht, which suffered 80 percent of its casualties on the Eastern Front. The D-Day invasion of Europe by the Allied forces had less to do with mopping up the remnants of the German army than with racing the advancing Red Army to Berlin and restabilizing capitalist rule in West Europe.

Goldhagen, Zionism and German Revanchism

Today, capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and the East European bureaucratically deformed workers states has brought a return to immiseration and pogromism for working people and national minorities in those countries. It has also led to an enormous escalation in attacks on the workers of West Europe, including deportations and intensified racist terror against immigrants and workers of Turkish, Kurdish and North African origin. Facing growing competition from their imperialist rivals, the bourgeoisies slash away at the social welfare programs granted at the end of World War II to head off the spectre of red revolution and seek to salvage their anarchic profit system by qualitatively lowering the workers' living standards.

Emboldened by "official" state racism, the fascists—the spearhead of bourgeois reaction—are growing apace as they feed off the frustrations of large numbers of unemployed youth and channel this into bloody atrocities against ethnic and national minorities. Capitalist annexation of East Germany ushered in a rising tide of murderous assaults on immigrants and asylum seekers, arson attacks on Turkish and Kurdish families and outright pogroms, like the days-long siege and firebombing of a Vietnamese refugee hostel in Rostock by hundreds of Nazis in August 1992. In the last election the fascists rolled up 13 percent of the vote in Saxony-Anhalt in the wake of the Fourth Reich's vindictive devastation of industry in the East. Meanwhile, the social-chauvinist—i.e., social-democratic and ex-Stalinist—misleaders ape the fascists in seeking to scapegoat immigrants and "foreign" workers for the ravages inflicted by the capitalist system. The DGB trade-union federation tops' call for quotas for immigrants echoes the Nazis' slogan "Jobs for Germans first!"

Once again anti-Semitism is a handmaiden of imperialist reaction and resurgent national chauvinism. The fascists who carry out bloody attacks against dark-skinned people also deface Jewish cemeteries and set fire to synagogues, as in Lübeck in 1994 and 1995. In May 1997, the cops themselves invaded a synagogue in Halle, smashing windows and breaking down doors. Several months earlier, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, conservative organ of the big bourgeoisie, had written of Britain's then-foreign secretary as "the Jew Rifkind." An exhibit last year of the Wehrmacht's role in the Holocaust provoked a furor, as did a few years earlier the film *Nasty Girl*, based on a true account of a high school student who tried to explore the history of her town under the Third Reich.

Naturally, the initial reaction to Goldhagen's book even among "respectable" bourgeois voices in Germany was a vile chauvinist and anti-Semitic uproar. The arrogant Junker's daughter Gräfin Donhoff warned in *Die Zeit* (6 September 1996) that the book "could bring back" anti-Semitism, rehashing the racist lie that Jews brought persecution on themselves. Under a scurrilous headline, "The Sociologist as Executioner," Rudolph Augstein railed in *Der Spiegel* (15 April 1996): "The debate over whether Auschwitz was a unique atrocity has already been settled and cannot be rolled out anew every year." This "liberal" publisher of Germany's most prominent newsweekly has his own reasons to "forget" the past: he began his journalistic career in 1942 at the Nazi *Völkische Beobachter*, and for years after its founding in 1946 by British occupation forces, the pro-SPD *Spiegel* was a haven for "former" SS killers.

Yet only months after being denounced in the German press, Goldhagen was being fêted by much of the country's intellectual elite. At one of these gatherings, Social Democratic darling Wolfgang Wippermann enthused, "Goldhagen has done our country, and our culture, a great service" (*New York Times Magazine*, 26 January 1997). These ideologues for the Fourth Reich realized that Goldhagen was, after all, "good for the Germans." His warm welcome by Germany's ruling circles was, suggested Volker Ullrich, an editor at *Die Zeit*, the result of "Goldhagen's firm confidence in the democratic capacity of the Germans to learn." Indeed, Goldhagen's anti-German vitriol notwithstanding, he extends a clean bill of health to "democratic" German imperialism, noting in his foreword to the German edition: "In the Federal Republic of Germany, the political culture and most individual Germans have become genuinely democratic. Also, its antisemitic component has diminished enormously." His triumphal tour of Germany was itself "one more indication of how Germany has changed," Goldhagen told the *Jerusalem Post* (6 December 1997).

Goldhagen attributes this transformation largely to the "re-education" carried out under the postwar occupation by the imperialist Allies. In fact, that episode clearly demonstrated that ***the bourgeoisie which perpetrated the Holocaust continues to rule Germany today.*** Only in Soviet-occupied territory was any real justice meted out to the Nazi mass murderers.

By January 1951, every German industrialist who had been imprisoned for war crimes was free under a general clemency ordered by U.S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy (see Robert Wistrich, *Who's Who in Nazi Germany* [1984]). Steel magnate Friedrich Flick, who worked tens of thousands of Jewish slave laborers to death, was given back control of Daimler-Benz and the other companies in his enormous industrial empire. The same was true for munitions manufacturer Alfred Krupp, who killed up to 80,000 slave laborers, while his "super Nazi" father Gustav was not even imprisoned. Nor were thousands of "minor" Nazis, like Gestapo founder Rudolf Diels, who assumed a high-ranking position in the Interior Ministry after the war.

In Goldhagen's blinkered vision, it doesn't matter that today's "democratic" Germany is a nightmare of oppression and cop and fascist terror for millions of dark-skinned immigrants and asylum seekers. This Zionist doesn't "notice" because today's "Jews" are Turks and Kurds: German citizenship is determined by "blood," not birthplace, being denied even to people born in Germany, as well as those who have lived and worked here for years. In his book, Goldhagen barely even mentions the Nazi genocide of up to a half million Roma (Gypsies)—a people which suffered proportionately higher casualties in the Holocaust than even the Jews—and the slaughter of millions of Slavs and Communists.

The Zionist proponent of German "collective guilt" thus lends his imprimatur to the ideological rearmament of the Fourth Reich. The Goldhagen debate has been compared with the so-called *Historikerstreit*, when Third Reich apologists like historian Ernst Nolte sought to "relativize" the Holocaust and to excuse Hitler's "excesses" in the greater interest of the "crusade against Bolshevism." The aim was to fuel a revival of German "patriotism." But this aim is shared by right-wing apologists for Hitler *and* by the more far-sighted spokesmen willing to mouth regrets for the past to clear away an obstacle to Germany's revanchist imperialist appetites of the future. Historian Robert Wistrich observed: "Central to [Chancellor Helmut Kohl's] vision has been the desire to 'normalize' Germany's past and to legitimize a robust, healthy patriotism as the basis for a positive German identity.... [Germans today] want to feel pride in being German, to enjoy their history without guilt, and (more dubiously) to draw a definitive line (*Schlusstrich*) over the Nazi past" (*London Times Literary Supplement*, 7 June 1996). It is for helping to draw that *Schlusstrich* for the

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AP

Kohl and Reagan honor Nazi SS war criminals at Bitburg, 1985.

J Ficowski

Roma (Gypsy) prisoners at Belzec concentration camp. Nazis murdered as many as half million Roma in Holocaust.

Der Spiegel photos

Hitler with Gustev Krupp; heads of Daimler-Benz and Siemens (far right). German industrialists supported Nazis, were "rehebilitated" under postwar U.S. occupation.

Holocaust...

(continued from page 7)

bourgeoisie of Auschwitz that Goldhagen was awarded the "Democracy Prize."

Zionist Book-Banners Up In Arms

While denying that he subscribes to any such notion, Goldhagen promotes a crystalline expression of the "collective guilt" line which is common coin among Zionists and postwar German liberals. Stripped of its Harvardian "sociologese," his argument is astoundingly trite: "ordinary Germans" killed Jews because they hated Jews and wanted to see them dead. Per Goldhagen, the police and other "willing executioners" who staffed the Nazis' apparatus of mass murder were representative of a population which in its overwhelming mass welcomed Hitler and the Holocaust because the German people, uniquely, had been imbued over the centuries with a virulently "eliminationist" form of anti-Semitism. In short, he writes, "No Germans, no Holocaust." Actually this line goes right back to Allied war propaganda, which sought to justify the mass terror bombing of German civilians with the assertion that all Germans supported Hitler. British and American forces achieved massive civilian slaughter by attacking German cities like Dresden with successive waves of bombers, which dropped first high explosives, then incendiary bombs, then time-delayed bombs to kill the firemen. In the mouths of the Allied war criminals, the dead were all "Nazis."

Goldhagen's is truly a "Holocaust study" for the "death of communism" era. In a book of 600-plus pages which purports to explain the Nazis' rise to power, Goldhagen says nothing of the class conflicts which were tearing at the fabric of German capitalist society and barely notes the existence of mass Social Democratic and Communist parties. (Even the London *Economist* [27 April 1996], that mouthpiece for British finance capital, was constrained to comment that Goldhagen neglects "the class fractures of German society...in favour of a mysterious German-ness," aptly headlining its review: "If All Were Guilty, None Were.") Like Kaiser Wilhelm at the outbreak of World War I, Goldhagen might say: "I see no parties, I see only Germans." This is nonsense: German society was deeply *split*; the mass of the proletariat was opposed to Hitler, but they were ***betrayed*** by their Stalinist and Social Democratic leaders.

In his essay in *A Nation on Trial*, expanded from an article in *New Left Review* (July/August 1997), Norman Finkelstein, who teaches at New York University and the City University of New York, rips apart the "academic" façade for Goldhagen's recycled "collective guilt" line, charging: "Replete with gross misrepresentations of the secondary literature and internal contradictions, Goldhagen's book is worthless as scholarship." Finkelstein documents the history of the German workers movement in opposing anti-Semitic bigotry, points to the Nazi "anti-Bolshevik crusade" ignored by Goldhagen, and dismisses the notion that the German people before World War II were a seamlessly reactionary mass thirsting to exterminate the Jews, arguing that Hitler had to repeatedly tone down his anti-Semitic diatribes in order to gain electoral support.

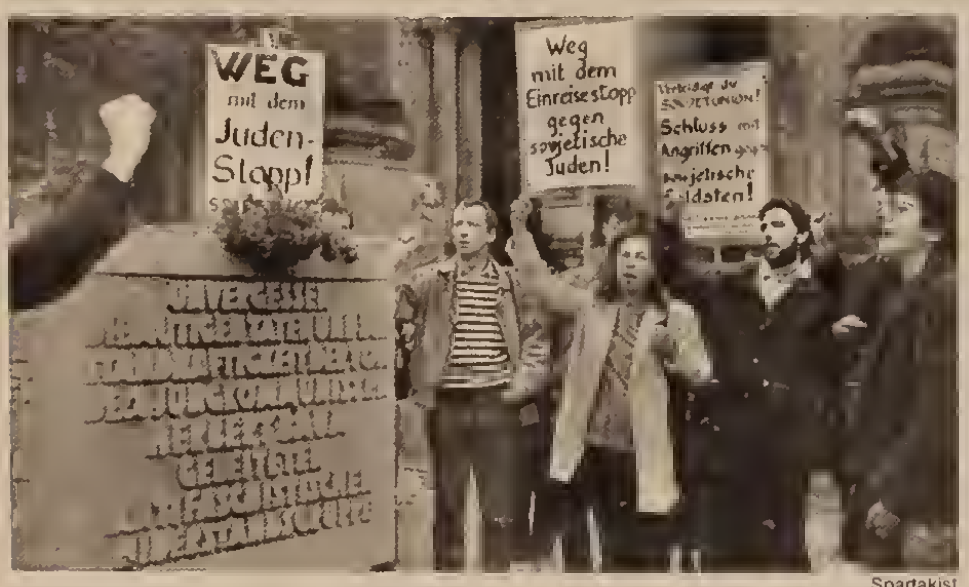
Finkelstein also punctures Goldhagen's metaphysical claim that German racism against the Jews was historically unique in its virulence, pointedly referring, among other examples, to Jim Crow racism against blacks in the U.S. and the vile anti-Japanese chauvinism which accompanied the 1941-45 Pacific War. Finkelstein's co-author, Birn, who is the chief historian for the Canadian Department of Justice "war crimes" division, notes in her essay (originally published in the Cambridge University Press *Historical Journal*) that the Baltic nationalists and others who served as accomplices to the Third Reich were often more bestial in their treatment of the Jews than their German overlords and scores Goldhagen for equating the "specific culture" of the police units he examines with German society as a whole. Indeed, the police battalions which slaughtered Jews and Communists on the Eastern Front had been trained in bloody battles against the German workers.

Goldhagen excoriated Birn for her "fallacious annihilative effort," even seizing on Britain's draconian libel laws to launch a suit against her! But it was Finkelstein's essay in particular which provoked the wrath of Goldhagen and his Zionist supporters. Anti-Defamation League head Abraham Foxman demanded that Henry Holt & Co. call off the book's publication, railing that the matter at issue is "what is 'legitimate criticism' and what goes beyond the pale"! World Jewish Congress chief Elan Steinberg called the book "garbage" and fumed that its author was "a well-known anti-Zionist," and a Canadian Jewish Congress spokesman denounced Finkelstein as "an anathema to the vast majority of Jews on this continent."

Der Spiegel

AFP

Theodore Herzl with Kaiser Wilhelm II in Palestine in 1898. Zionists sought imperialist patronage for a "Jewish state" created through expulsion of Arabs. Right: Israeli police terrorize Palestinian.



Spartakist

Spartakist protest against 1990 German ban on Soviet Jewish immigration, held at Berlin memorial to Herbert Baum, Jewish Communist murdered by the Nazis.

Goldhagen and his crowd are hardly up in arms simply because, as *Newsweek* (23 March) implied, Finkelstein systematically took apart "his use of scholarly sources." Finkelstein did something far worse in their eyes: his book addressed how these apologists for Israeli anti-Arab terror cynically use the Holocaust for their own purposes. He pointed to the logic motivating Goldhagen:

> "At all times and for no reason, Gentiles harbor homicidal anti-Jewish animus, while Jews always enjoy a priori moral impunity. That ahistorical conception is of evident utility to those who maintain that all critiques of Zionism are simply disguised forms of anti-Semitism. The Jewish state is accordingly immunized from legitimate censure of its policies: all criticism is and must be motivated by fanatical anti-Semitism."

What undoubtedly envenoms the Zionists against Finkelstein, who has written two earlier books exposing Israel's drive for *Lebensraum* against the Palestinians, is that they can't simply denounce this son of Nazi concentration camp survivors as an "anti-Semite."

Communism and the Jewish Question

The Zionists' affinity for German imperialism is based both on *Realpolitik* and a shared ideological outlook. Theodore Herzl and the other founding fathers of the Zionist movement borrowed heavily from the "*Blut-und-Boden*" (blood-and-soil) ideological arsenal of rising German imperialism at the turn of the century. In pursuit of their reactionary project of carving an exclusivist "Jewish state" out of the living body of the Palestinian Arab people, the Zionists sought the patronage of one or another great power—looking to British imperialism, Russian tsarism and even Hitler's Third Reich (see "Revolution, Counterrevolution and the Jewish Question," *Spartacist* [English Edition] No. 49-50, Winter 1993-94).

Among the numerous instances of collaboration between the Zionists and the Nazis was the infamous "Transfer Agreement" of the 1930s whereby German Jewish capital was funneled to Palestine. The fascistic Lehi group, then headed by future Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, explicitly espoused a "commonality of interests...between the aims of the New Order in Europe according to the German approach and the true national aspirations of the Jewish people." Before they went on to slaughter every Jew they could get their hands on, the Nazis, too, acknowledged a "commonality of interests," allowing the Zionists to function openly in Germany as late as 1938.

The Zionists' fascination with German fascism flowed from their own aims. Seeking to cohere a nation in an epoch when nationalism had outlived any progressive content, Zionism—whether bourgeois, "Laborite" or even "socialist"—was necessarily hostile to rationalism, internationalism and communism.

It was only through the destruction of the German workers movement that Hitler was able to embark on his horrendous "final solution." And it was only as a result of the Holocaust, which destroyed root and branch the once-vibrant pro-socialist Jewish workers movement in East Europe, that the Zionists were able to achieve their aim in the creation of the Israeli capitalist state. Zionist collaboration with German imperialism has continued to this day: Germany was instrumental in helping Israel build its nuclear arsenal. It was for exposing the scale of this arsenal that courageous Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu was vindictively sentenced to 18 years in a maximum-security Israeli dungeon. The ICL demands: Freedom now for Vanunu!

Far from resolving the Jewish question, Israel is a semi-theocratic deathtrap for the Jewish people as well as a slaughterhouse for the oppressed Palestinians. The "eliminationist mindset" which Goldhagen uniquely ascribes to prewar Germany is today palpable among Israel's capitalist rulers, in whose eyes Palestinians and all Arabs are *Untermenschen*. As proletarian internationalists who fight for a socialist federation of the Near East, in which the national rights of the Palestinian Arab, Hebrew-speaking and other peoples will be upheld, we say: Defend the Palestinian people—Israel out of the Occupied Territories!

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Germany...

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counterrevolution which eight years ago destroyed the East German (DDR) bureaucratically deformed workers state and created a reunified Fourth Reich of German imperialism. However grotesquely deformed by Stalinist misrule, the planned economy in the former DDR—based on the expropriation of capitalism—guaranteed a livelihood, free health care and education to all women and men, old and young. In order to whip up popular support for capitalist reunification, Kohl promised to make East Germany bloom. Instead the German bourgeoisie vindictively devastated industry in the East, turning the region into a wasteland, while extorting hundreds of billions from working people in the West to pay the cost of *Anschluss* (annexation).

In large parts of the former DDR, fully one in five are officially jobless while unemployment nationwide is higher than at any time since before World War II. And the official figures don't even pretend to count many youth, women, immigrants and other minorities. Finding fertile soil in the burgeoning ranks of the unemployed, the fascists have been emboldened by government attacks on immigrants and asylum seekers, leading to a chilling escalation of racist murders, pogromist firebombings and mass Nazi rallies across Germany. A week before the elections this September, some 5,000 Nazi skinheads rampaged through the eastern city of Rostock, the site of a 1992 pogrom in which a refugee hostel was firebombed.

As the Nazi gangs terrorized Rostock, the SPD city administration called out thousands of cops to "protect" the fascists and ride roughshod over anti-racist protesters. Joining with Kohl in eliminating the right of asylum for refugees in 1992, various SPD state governments in Germany have led the way in deportations, fanning the flames of racist reaction. In last year's city elections in Hamburg, the Social Democrats ran a racist "law and order" campaign against "foreign criminality" which was so virulent that the London *Independent* (22 September 1997) called it "one of the most xenophobic election campaigns conducted by the left in postwar Germany."

Similarly, the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS)—social-democratic successor to the former Stalinist ruling party in the DDR, which garnered some 20 percent of the vote in the East last week—has fostered a climate of chauvinism which feeds fascist terror. Seeking to capitalize on massive frustration and despair, the PDS appeals to "*Ossi* [East German] nationalism." PDS leaders have even held meetings with fascists and rail against "foreign colleagues" who work under "illegal conditions" while "every third construction worker in the East is unemployed" (*Neues Deutschland*, 30 April).

As we wrote in our article on the Hamburg elections, "Social Democrats' Racist Campaign Fuels Nazi Terror" (*WV* No. 682, 16 January):

> "To call for a vote today for either the SPD or the PDS is to betray the class interests of the proletariat and to bind it to its class enemy; it means enlisting in the campaign of racist anti-immigrant hysteria which is fueling the growth of the Nazis....
>
> "Today the West European bourgeoisies prefer to rely on their social-democratic lackeys and the popular front to keep their stranglehold on the working masses. They cultivate the Nazis as a reserve army, i.e., as an insurance policy in case of the resurgence of a revolutionary workers movement."

The proletariat, with its strategic immigrant component, has the vital interest and social power to organize the unorganized; to fight for equal pay for equal work and jobs for all through a shorter workweek at full union-scale wages, including for women and foreign workers; to demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants and their families. Mobilizing the proletariat to achieve these demands requires the construction of a revolutionary leadership—an internationalist vanguard party—forged through ***breaking*** the SPD's working-class base from its racist, social-democratic misleaders, the agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement. This is what our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) fight for.

Steche/Visum

Hamburg protest against unemployment, which has reached highest level since before World War II.

Melde Press

German troops are part of UN "peacekeeping" force in former Yugoslavia, where Nazis slaughtered more than a fifth of population in World War II.

SPD: Loyal Servants of German Imperialism

Schröder triumphed over Kohl amid promises of a "new awakening." But even bourgeois commentators noted that what differences existed between the CDU and SPD candidates were largely rhetorical. Schröder earned a reputation as the "bosses' comrade" for his cozy relations with the employers as head of the Lower Saxony state government. Now he is promoting an "Alliance for Jobs" bringing together government, business and trade-union representatives. The aim of this class-collaborationist scheme is to implement sharp cuts in wages and benefits. Jost Stollman, slated to be economics minister in the new regime, is a virulently anti-union former computer company magnate and Reagan/Thatcher-style "supply-sider" who openly calls for dismantling the current system of social security measures.

The SPD won support among ethnic minorities with its call for reforming the citizenship laws to bring them more in line with the other countries of the European Union (EU). But as elsewhere in the EU, this offer of token rights to a handful of immigrant residents would come with continued mass deportations and further draconian restrictions on immigration. While some 100,000 ethnic Turkish and Kurdish people born in Germany have recently been made citizens, citizenship remains primarily based on "blood right"—automatically granted to returning ethnic Germans whose families had not lived there for centuries, while denied to others who have lived and worked in Germany for up to two generations.

The proposed SPD "reform" would still impose an eight-year waiting period for citizenship. What it would mean in practice can be seen in neighboring France, where the June 1997 parliamentary elections ushered in a class-collaborationist coalition, a popular front, headed by Lionel Jospin's Socialist Party in alliance with openly bourgeois elements. Some 140,000 "*sans papiers*" (undocumented immigrant workers) registered with the police for residency permits promised by the new government. Just over half were granted papers, and Jospin has since threatened to deport the rest.

Meanwhile, Schröder joins with Kohl in demanding that even long-resident "immigrants" who are convicted of any criminal offense be deported immediately. Four days after the election, the SPD-Green city government in Hamburg ordered a massive "drug raid" by 300 cops on a hostel for black asylum seekers. The SpAD calls for full citizenship rights for all who have made it to Germany! Stop the deportations! For the right of asylum for all refugees from rightist terror!

The German Trade Union Federation (DGB) tops, who are linked organically to the SPD, echo the Nazi battle cry "Jobs for Germans first!" with their protectionist chauvinism. Faced with the Nazi march in Rostock last month, the DGB youth organized an SPD election rally for the same day hundreds of miles away in Frankfurt to head off any proletarian mobilization against the Nazis. In the wake of the Rostock anti-immigrant provocation, SPD chairman Oskar Lafontaine announced that his party would take immediate measures against "illegal" immigrant workers. Thus the SPD/DGB tops encourage further racist attacks.

This is a criminal betrayal of the interests of the multiethnic workers movement. In the face of a proletarian challenge to its class rule, the bourgeoisie will unleash the fascist terror gangs to crush the workers movement, as it did in the early 1930s. Where the reformist and centrist left looks to pressure the racist SPD to stem the fascist menace, the SpAD fights for worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash the Nazis as part of a struggle for the proletarian seizure of state power.

Schröder's talk of a "new awakening" is in fact aimed at promoting the interests of German imperialism, particularly in the Balkans, East Europe and the former Soviet Union. With its *Ostpolitik* (Eastern policy) in the 1960s, the SPD served as the advance guard for capitalist restoration in East Germany and throughout East Europe, acting for decades as a conduit for CIA intrigues there. In 1995, with the support of the SPD, the German bourgeoisie reversed the postwar ban on military operations abroad, deploying combat troops in Bosnia as part of NATO's "peacekeeping" forces. German troops are now stationed in the former Yugoslavia, where the Nazi Wehrmacht had murdered more than a fifth of the population during World War II. Now Schröder is clamoring for NATO military strikes against Serbia. The SPD also seeks to consolidate Germany's economic domination of the EU as a trade bloc against the U.S. and Japan. Down with racist "Fortress Europe"! For a Socialist United States of Europe!

Schröder is seeking to form a coalition government with the bourgeois Green environmentalist party. Despite occasional pacifist rhetoric, the Greens have long been the spearhead for resurgent German chauvinism and the drive to assert Germany's role as a world power, particularly against the U.S. This is what is behind their nominal call for

continued on page 10

Beinhard Rudolph

Racist Hamburg SPD administration ordered police assault on refugee home, March 1998.

Publication of the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutchlands

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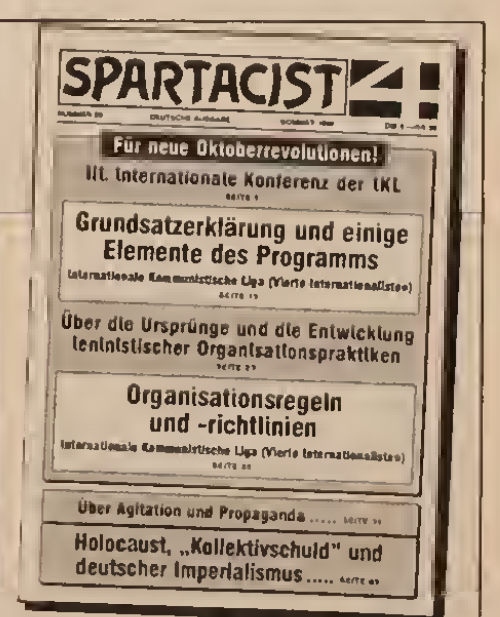


Spartacist (German edition)
Number 20, Summer 1998
$2 (64 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Labor...

(continued from page 1)

revived fighting spirit among unionized workers.

The mobilization of the proletariat in pursuit of its own class interests—and on behalf of blacks, immigrants and all the oppressed—requires a political struggle against the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy. As the "labor lieutenants" of capital, the union misleaders chain workers to the U.S. ruling class through political support to the capitalist Democratic Party, championing chauvinist trade protectionism and bowing before the bourgeoisie's anti-strike laws and "arbitration" boards.

The alternative lies in forging a new, class-struggle union leadership as part of the fight to build a multiracial workers party based on the program of socialist revolution: for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie and construct an international egalitarian socialist society. Below we print in edited form excerpts from a presentation by comrade Steve Behrens on this question at a Los Angeles Spartacist League forum last month.

* * *

A few weeks ago, an SL comrade was distributing our newspaper with the headline "Capitalist Rulers Rattled by GM Strike" (*WV* No. 694, 31 July) to a UPS workforce in New Jersey when a young worker came up and asked, "Do you think we started all of this?" In an immediate sense, the nearly 200,000-strong Teamsters strike last year signaled a modest but real turn in the class struggle in the U.S. We have embarked upon a period which poses increasing social struggles between the two primary classes in society: the bourgeoisie—the property-owning class—and the working class, whose interests are directly counterposed to those of the bosses.

While the economic gains of the UPS strike were modest, it broke a string of victories for the bosses particularly since the watershed smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union by the government in 1981. It was a hugely popular strike that generated a widespread recognition of the power of the organized, multiracial working class. Working people profoundly identified with the UPS workers' struggle against part-time work and two-tiered wages, which have become standard weapons of the bosses to drive down labor costs.

Then last summer, workers at Flint GM shut down the North American operations of the world's largest manufacturing company. This was the costliest strike ever suffered by American capitalism, with losses of $12 billion in sales and $3 billion in profits. It showed the ability of labor to bring the profit-making mechanisms of capitalism to a grinding halt. But it also showed the pernicious role of the labor bureaucrats, who derail class struggle in service to their capitalist masters. The UAW tops' voluntary acquiescence to government arbitration—a crucial tool of the bourgeoisie designed to demobilize union power—led quickly to the end of the strike, as the union bureaucrats feared an unfavorable ruling from the federal arbitrator.

The labor bureaucrats' affinity for binding arbitration directly reflects the deadly illusions they foster in the capitalist state. Far from being somehow a "neutral" body, the bourgeois state is the "executive committee" of the capitalists, whose purpose is to enforce and maintain their rule. When class battles erupt, the state has an arsenal of weapons to use on behalf of its class—from court injunctions to anti-labor legislation to the deployment of its strikebreaking cops.

But the working class has its own weapons, the kind of class-struggle tactics which can bring the capitalists to their knees: sit-down strikes, solidarity strikes and secondary labor boycotts. To employ these methods poses a break with the class collaborationism of the labor bureaucracy which hogties workers to the Democratic Party and the bosses' rules. We stand for the total and unconditional independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie, its state and its political parties. The proletariat must have its own party that fights on behalf of all the oppressed and brings to the working class the understanding that only by establishing its own class rule can the system of capitalist exploitation be ended once and for all.

In Russia in 1917, the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and L.D. Trotsky led the working class to state power and created a society where those who labored ruled—the dictatorship of the proletariat. The destruction in 1991-92 of the Soviet workers state, undermined by decades of Stalinist misrule, was a historic defeat for the international working class and has set back class consciousness, not uniformly, but in an overall sense.

Nevertheless, the imperialist chorus which yesterday was singing "Happy Days Are Here Again" has today changed its tune as the Asian economic crisis threatens to trigger a worldwide depression. Such economic crises are endemic to capitalism, and with them necessarily comes the drive by the capitalists to enormously intensify the exploitation of labor in order to sustain their share of an ever-falling rate of profit. This inevitably provokes resistance by the working class. The important strikes over the past year or so, both here and abroad—a two-day general strike in Puerto Rico against the privatization of the telephone company, plant occupations by workers in South Korea fighting IMF austerity—belie the bourgeoisie's smug assertion of capitalist stability and provide real opportunities for us as communists to forge a party which is revolutionary, internationalist and proletarian.

Against Chauvinist Economic Protectionism

The demise of the Soviet Union has also changed relations among the main imperialist powers—the United States, Japan and Germany—which are no longer linked by a common bond of class hatred for the USSR. Now the antagonisms among them are coming to the fore. At a time when all the world's markets are spoken for, any new market acquisition will come at the expense of an imperialist competitor. This has led to heightened tensions and the spectre of interimperialist war, this time with nuclear capacity from the start. The U.S. rulers continue to wield their military muscle around the world as a warning against the semicolonial peoples as well as America's imperialist rivals, seen most recently in the bloody terror bombing of Afghanistan and the Sudan.

In a confrontation last fall over an ongoing trade dispute, the U.S. government ordered the Coast Guard to seize Japanese cargo ships in American ports. While an agreement was reached, such a seizure would have been an act of war. The threatened embargo of Japanese shipping was the first since the American/British/Dutch embargo in 1941 which cut off vital oil shipments to Japan. This in turn led to the Second World War in the Pacific, which ended with the incineration of some 200,000 people through the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the bloody U.S. imperialists. The latest confrontation was a less-than-subtle message to the Japanese; the bourgeoisie has a memory, too.

Proletarian internationalism is critical at a time when the ruling class is fanning the flames of national chauvinism and, through the trade-union misleaders, bringing this poison into the working class. I'm sure that people in this room have seen the bumper sticker I saw the other day. It said, "Proud to be Union" and below it, "Do not display on an import." It is not a big step from complaining that "they" are stealing "our" jobs to the demonization of "them" as the enemy. In the end, trade wars lead to shooting wars, the ultimate means for rival capitalist states to secure a monopoly of foreign markets and spheres of influence.

The same chauvinist union leaders who scream for protectionism are the

Germany...

(continued from page 9)

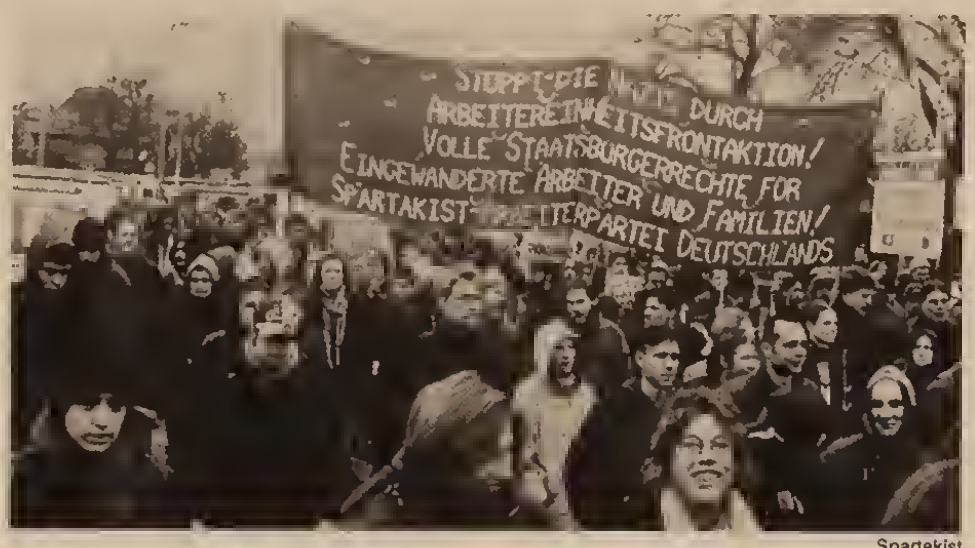
withdrawal from the U.S.-dominated NATO alliance. Former 1960s New Leftist and current Green spokesman Daniel Cohn-Bendit argues for military strikes against Serbia and has repudiated his former support for the right of asylum in Germany. The SpAD demands: Germany/NATO/UN out of the Balkans! Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist army!

The SPD and Greens seek to refurbish the image of German imperialism by removing the stigma of the Nazi past. Proclaiming that Germany must again be a "self-assured" nation, Schröder has denounced plans to set up a government fund for reparations for Jewish slave laborers under Hitler's Third Reich and even opposes the construction of a Holocaust Memorial in Berlin. Instead, Schröder's nominee for "culture minister" supports right-wing plans for rebuilding the Berlin palace of Kaiser Wilhelm, whose monarchy was swept away by a revolutionary upsurge of workers and sailors in 1918-19.

For New October Revolutions!

Formed as a result of proletarian struggle in the last decades of the 19th century, the SPD had by 1914 made its peace with German imperialism, voting for war credits at the outbreak of World War I. The SPD acted as the bourgeoisie's "bloodhounds" in organizing the suppression of the 1918-19 Spartakist uprising and presiding over the murder of heroic revolutionary leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

The SPD served as the classic example of what Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin termed a bourgeois workers party, organically rooted in the labor movement but committed to the defense of capitalist



Spartakist

United-front protest stopped Nazi provocation in Berlin, February 1997. SpAD fights for worker/immigrant mobilizations against fascist terror, for full citizenship rights for immigrants.

class rule. During the 1920s, the SPD served as the chief administrator of the Weimar Republic, paving the way for Hitler's rise to power. Since the end of World War II, the SPD has been one of the two principal parties of German capitalism (see "The Holocaust, 'Collective Guilt' and German Imperialism," page 6).

Today, the Social Democrats are offering to push through the "structural reforms" demanded by their capitalist masters: attacking the unions, dismantling what's left of social welfare programs and driving workers of Turkish, Kurdish and Slavic descent out of their jobs and out of Germany. Yet this did not stop the reformist Linksruck, affiliated with Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain and the International Socialist Organization in the U.S., from openly calling for a vote to the SPD. The centrist Gruppe Arbeitermacht, tied to Workers Power in Britain, supported both the SPD and the PDS.

Looking to strike a more "leftist" posture against the SPD loyalists, the Revolutionär Sozialistische Bund (RSB), offspring of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, called for a "critical vote" to the PDS (*Avanti*, June 1998). In fact, a call to vote PDS is nothing other than support for the SPD through the back door, as the former declared itself "unconditionally" for Chancellor Schröder. If anything, the PDS has been even more forward than the SPD or the Greens in fomenting national chauvinism. The PDS paper *Neues Deutschland* now features arguments for reclaiming Germany's "national identity" and has even opened its pages to Nazi spokesmen (*Der Spiegel*, 28 September). Taking the lead in this obscene "dialogue" with the fascists are adherents of the Communist Platform "left wing" of the PDS.

The so-called Social Equality Party, German group of David North's "International Committee," ran a slate in the elections formally counterposed to the SPD and PDS. But this "leftist" pose is a complete fraud. Throughout the Cold War, the Northites wallowed in the anti-Communism of the imperialists and their social-democratic lieutenants, supporting every movement aimed at the destruction of the Soviet Union, from the Afghan *mujahedin* to Polish Solidarność. Still marching in lockstep with the bourgeoisie as it gears up its assault on labor, the Northites today write off the trade unions as in any way workers organizations.

As the SpAD wrote in "No Vote to SPD, PDS!" (*Spartakist* No. 133, Autumn 1998):

> "What all the pseudo-leftist groups around the SPD/PDS reject is the necessity of workers revolution. Their conception consists of a purely parliamentary, reformist perspective, whereby the capitalist system of brutal exploitation, racism and imperialist war can be made to serve the interests of the working class and oppressed. We Marxists know that the capitalist system is an obstacle to the development of the productive capacities of humanity. After plunging humanity into two world wars, the bourgeoisie today threatens it with extinction by nuclear war. Only with a revolutionary perspective can the working class free itself and the rest of humanity from the scourge of wage slavery, racism and war. Capitalism cannot be reformed but must be destroyed."

Virtually to a man, the groups which orbit around the SPD and PDS supported the capitalist reunification of Germany in 1989-90. The SpAD/ICL was unique in its forthright, unambiguous opposition to capitalist reunification, as we fought for socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution to sweep away the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy which led the counterrevolution from within the DDR. Today, as then, we fight for a red soviet Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe. The SpAD has set itself the goal of building a revolutionary workers party modeled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, as part of the ICL's fight to reforge the Trotskyist Fourth International to lead the struggle for new October Revolutions worldwide.■

best promoters of "free trade" when it comes to the U.S. imperialists entering foreign markets. As Trotsky wrote of the reformist trade-union leaders in his 1940 essay "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay":

> "The intensification of class contradictions within each country, the intensification of antagonisms between one country and another, produce a situation in which imperialist capitalism can tolerate (i.e., up to a certain time) a reformist bureaucracy only if the latter serves directly as a petty but active stockholder of its imperialist enterprises, of its plans and programs within the country as well as on the world arena."

Struggle Against Black Oppression Is Key

What are the particular tasks in building a conscious proletarian struggle for power in the belly of the beast of U.S. imperialism? How do we bridge the huge gap between the growing and keenly felt immiseration of working people and all the oppressed in this country and forging the necessary consciousness to lead our class to victory? In his 1902 work *What Is To Be Done?*, Lenin made the point that "the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, i.e., the conviction that it is necessary to combine in unions, fight the employers and strive to compel the government to pass necessary labor legislation, etc." Revolutionary class consciousness must be introduced from the outside, by the communist vanguard party.

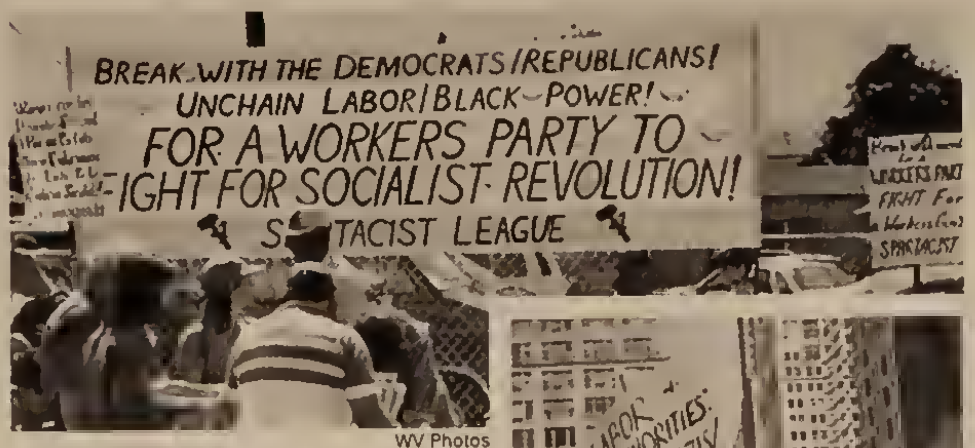
The obstacles before us in this task are both social—the poison of anti-black racism—and political, i.e., the class collaborationism of the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, expressed politically through its loyalty to the Democratic Party. The United States is the only advanced capitalist country where the working class has not attained even a minimal level of political class consciousness. In its mass, it has never supported a party which even claims to stand for the interests of workers against the bosses, let alone the declared goal of replacing capitalism with socialism. But at the same time, this country has seen its share of convulsive and often violent class struggle.

Class exploitation here has always been wrapped in the envelope of raw racism. American capitalism was built upon the special oppression of blacks, and its maintenance depends upon it. It took a bloody civil war to smash chattel slavery. But the brief promise of black equality during Reconstruction was betrayed by the withdrawal of Union troops from the South in the Compromise of 1877. With the rise of American imperialism in the late 1800s, highlighted by the seizure of the Philippines and Puerto Rico, racist U.S. colonial rule had its domestic reflection in the system of Jim Crow racist segregation in the South.

It was the militant, integrated labor struggles of the 1930s, often led by reds, that were critical to bringing black workers into the newly formed industrial unions. The labor battles of the '30s overcame in part the racial and ethnic divisions which the ruling class has used to cripple American workers' struggle and obscure class divisions. Today, in the population as a whole, the percentage of unionization is highest among black male workers (one out of five). This points to the objective basis for our program of revolutionary integrationism, which links the struggle for black equality to that for proletarian power. Blacks remain a race-color caste in America—segregated at the bottom of society yet, strategically, integrated into the powerful industrial proletariat. Black liberation requires integrated class struggle to abolish capitalism and achieve a socialist egalitarian society.

As the section of the working people with the most to gain from the destruction of the power of the exploiters and oppressors, the militant black proletariat will play a vanguard role as leaders and fighters for socialist revolution. There is no way forward for the working class in this country if the fight for black freedom is not taken up head on. The fight to develop revolutionary consciousness in the working class is not a matter of cheerleading for day-to-day economic struggles but of building a party that is a ***tribune of the people***, that reacts to every act of tyranny and oppression.

As an expression of this, for more than ten years the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle defense organization associated with the SL, have fought for the freedom of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal—a former Black Panther—as part of our fight to abolish the racist death penalty. As Mumia continues to struggle and speak out from death row on behalf of the oppressed, it is urgent that the power of the multiracial labor movement be actively mobilized to free this innocent man.



WV Photos

Defense of immigrants, minorities is key to fight for revolutionary leadership: SL banner at 1997 rally for strawberry workers in Watsonville, California (above); PDC-initiated anti-Klan protest in Chicago, June 1996.

Break with the Democrats! For a Workers Government!

Here in California, we have a large population of immigrant workers who are introduced into the proletariat at its lowest levels to satisfy the capitalists' need for cheap labor. These workers hail from poorer, less developed countries and have few if any rights. Both Clinton's Democrats and Governor Pete Wilson's Republicans are slashing any kind of social benefits for blacks and immigrants while massively militarizing the border with Mexico, forcing immigrants either to traverse freezing, rugged mountain terrain or face heat exposure in the desert areas. Reports are now common of finding groups who have died in desperate attempts to avoid the border police.

The capitalists, abetted by the union bureaucracy, try to poison class consciousness and solidarity among the workers by fomenting racial, sexual, religious, national and ethnic divisions. The struggle for the unity and integrity of the working class against chauvinism and racism is thus a vital task for the proletarian vanguard. Today the fight against anti-immigrant bigotry is an acid test for the workers movement and the left across the globe. The International Communist League and the SL/U.S. call on the labor movement to fight deportations and demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

Latin American and other immigrant workers often bring with them a rich history of class struggle, enriching American labor struggles with their experience. The growing immigrant component of the working class cries out for union organization. Any serious effort to organize the unorganized will *not* be taken up by the narrow bureaucracy that sits atop the unions and is chauvinist to its core, but requires a class-struggle leadership. Such a leadership would fight to mobilize the social power of labor in action to defend and organize immigrant workers here, and would pursue joint class struggle on both sides of the border against the IMF and Wall Street bosses, whose NAFTA "free trade" rape of Mexico is aimed at driving down workers' living conditions and wages throughout the continent.

If you have a one-sided view of the American capitalist system—an overestimation of its power, and with that an awestruck prostration before it—then you'll display a profound lack of confidence in the revolutionary potential of the proletariat and see no need to build the kind of combat party that is fit to lead the class to state power. If you don't see the revolutionary capacity of the working class, then you look elsewhere, and in this country that means pressuring the capitalist Democrats. This captures the role played by various fake-socialist outfits, which act as loyal apologists for the pro-capitalist labor leadership.

We are entering a period which has every indication of being a convulsive chapter in human history. The objective conditions for socialist revolution are more than ripe; the critical need is the forging of a leadership to realize the revolutionary potential of the proletariat. The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, seeks to build such a leadership, embodied in the revolutionary party, by engaging in the struggles of our class and doing political battle with its current pro-capitalist misleaders. We urge you to join us in the fight for the American revolution as an integral part of the international socialist revolution.■

CUNY...

(continued from page 12)

> union can play a pivotal role in sparking a fight by all city workers and championing the poor and homeless. Transit workers, who actually transport the labor that makes Wall Street run, have real social power if they use it. That means playing hardball, ripping up the strikebreaking Taylor Law with the militant class-struggle tactics that built the unions. Militant labor action in transit can smash this "budget of doom" and bring Giuliani to his knees with strikes, backed by the rest of city labor. The unions represent the unity of the multiethnic working class (as well as many CUNY parents and students). The multiracial working class has the power to expropriate the bosses, seize the wealth and take power and run society in our own interests!"

In contrast, during the 1995 CUNY protests, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) based its strategy on trying to corral student protesters into supporting the Democratic Party through "progressive" union bureaucrats such as 1199 head (and then state Democratic Party vice chairman) Dennis Rivera. In a recent issue of its paper, *Socialist Worker* (27 March), the ISO pleads: "CUNY students, faculty and staff must organize to defend CUNY's poor and working students' rights to education." But the agency to which these self-proclaimed socialists look to take up the fight for education is none other than the campus administration—the hired servants of the capitalist rulers! This is in keeping with their belief that if cops "rebel collectively" they could become anything other than paid thugs of the capitalists (see "ISO: Looking for a Few Good Cops," *WV* No. 664, 21 March 1997).

On the eve of the CUNY Board of Trustees vote to abolish remedial education programs, an ISO spokesman at Hunter College argued in the student newspaper (*Hunter Envoy*, 21 April): "Students should demand that [Hunter] President Caputo take a stand in words and action, by supporting Open Admissions and reinstating two semesters of remediation at Hunter." Administrators are hired in order to *enforce* austerity, not to fight it! The SYC calls to abolish the administration and to replace it with worker, faculty and student control. Those who work and study at CUNY should run it! Cops off campus!

Another group at CUNY, which emerged from the 1995 budget cuts protests, is the Student Liberation Action Movement (SLAM). SLAM's answer to the attacks on education—and everything else—is to mobilize students to plead with the powers that be for "more." Thus its strategy necessarily accepts the framework defined by the racist capitalist rulers. Correspondingly, SLAM's appeals for "more" are not insignificantly related to advancing their own petty interests and advantage—particularly those that come with running student governments, as they presently do at Hunter College. Despite its "liberation" rhetoric, the SLAM student bureaucrats at Hunter consider the college to be their own private fiefdom which they run like some urban street gang. These thugs put far more effort into trying to keep the Spartacus Youth Club—which counterposes our revolutionary perspective of mobilizing the power of labor to SLAM's strategy of pleading with the capitalist rulers—off their turf than into any supposed fight against the attacks on education at CUNY.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs, youth groups of the Spartacist League, seek to win students to the understanding that the social power to fight this decaying capitalist system lies in the hands of the working class. That power has been seen in recent strikes from the UPS Teamsters strike last summer to the more recent strike against Flint GM, which brought the North American operations of the world's largest corporation to a standstill. The SYC seeks to win a new generation of workers and students and to train them to be the future leaders of the multiracial revolutionary party which is necessary to lead the working class to end this system of capitalist exploitation and oppression. If you are looking for a real strategy to fight against the shredding of education for black, poor and working-class youth, then it's time to join in the fight for a communist future! Join us!■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

For Open Admissions, No Tuition!

NYC: Fight Racist Purge at CUNY!

Last May a meeting of the Board of Trustees for the City University of New York (CUNY) system voted to end remedial classes at the university's eleven four-year colleges. A squadron of city cops were on hand to stop any dissent against this move to further the purge of minority and working-class students from CUNY. Students and faculty who came to protest were forcibly evicted from the meeting and some two dozen were handcuffed and taken away in paddy wagons. Faced with a lawsuit charging that the meeting had violated New York State's "open meeting" law, the Board of Trustees has yet to implement its decision to ax remedial education programs. But as noted in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (10 July), "a coterie of fiscally and socially conservative politicians, trustees, and policy analysts" are determined to push through this plan. Leading the pack are racist New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani and New York governor George Pataki.

Young Spartacus

The threatened destruction of remedial education programs is the latest installment in the string of attacks on the CUNY system that has been waged by both Democratic and Republican city and state administrations. Coming on top of steadily increasing tuition at this once-free university, the new measure would totally gut the decades-long open admissions policy at CUNY by getting rid of programs that have provided the only chance at higher education for hundreds of thousands of New York City's working-class, minority and immigrant youth. They are seeking to pare down the student body to those deemed "worthy" of education—professionals, technicians, managers and ideologues needed to run capitalism profitably. These attacks are analogous to the slashing of affirmative action programs across the country. In California, following the passage of Proposition 209, which abolished affirmative action, barely more than 2 percent of this year's entering class at UC Berkeley was black.

Given the continued erosion of any real public education system, remedial classes are the only way that many students can prepare for college. Nearly two-thirds of entering freshmen at CUNY's four-year schools failed at least one placement exam, and according to one study, 12,000 students will be rejected in 1999 if remedial classes are abolished. This includes 55 percent of entering Hispanics, 51 percent of entering Asians, 46 percent of entering blacks and 38 percent of entering whites.

Inner-city "schools" in New York City—the financial capital of the American Empire—are increasingly nothing more than holding pens for ghetto and barrio youth. Students are warehoused in barbwired, deteriorating buildings, and overcrowded classes spill over to bathrooms and broom closets. More interested in social regimentation and control than education, the Board of Education voted this year to have the kill-crazy New York City Police Department control "security" at public schools. And it is not just at primary schools: recently the City College administration admitted that it has installed secret cameras in smoke detectors outside rooms where student activists meet, filming who attends these meetings.

The open admissions policy at CUNY was instituted following student protests in the late 1960s demanding increased access for minority students. As late as the early 1960s, City College was almost 98 percent white. In 1991, exactly half of the entering class was foreign-born—from 76 countries. The entering class in 1992 was 39 percent black, 28 percent Hispanic and 18 percent Asian. At the same time, open admissions—and essentially free education—at CUNY has been under attack for more than two decades now. In 1976, when New York City was on the verge of Wall Street-manufactured bankruptcy, CUNY's budget was slashed by a third. Tuition fees were imposed for the first time on New York City residents. Since then, repeated fee hikes have put higher education further and further out of the reach of working-class and minority youth.

Protester arrested outside May Board of Trustees meeting which voted to end remedial education at CUNY.

Helayne Seidman

Today, the dismantling of CUNY is being done under the rubric of improving "standards." Herman Badillo, vice chairman of the CUNY Board of Trustees, announced that "we're moving back to having academic standards that preserve the value of a CUNY diploma." It is true that between 1920 and 1970 more CUNY graduates earned PhDs than those from any other school except UC Berkeley—another public school—and eight of its graduates were awarded the Nobel Prize. But what is different today isn't that students are less "gifted" or "hard-working." The dismantling of CUNY is organically linked to the decay of American capitalism.

During CUNY's heyday, American capitalism needed skilled, literate workers. But the bourgeoisie only spends on education what it thinks it can realize back in profits. Or, as right-wing ideologue George Will put it in *Newsweek* (13 April), "Colleges are churning out more graduates than the job market really requires." As we wrote in "Education U.S.A.—Separate and Unequal" (*WV* No. 544, 7 February 1992):

> "Having taken the wrecking ball to the auto factories, gutted the steel mills and closed many of the mines, there are few jobs left for which to train the children of the working class and the poor. And if educating the sons and daughters of white workers has increasingly become an expendable overhead for decaying American capitalism, the children of black workers are deemed ***an expendable population***. Once a reserve army of labor to be maintained, albeit minimally, today for the racist rulers the black ghetto poor are not worth 'wasting' money on even to keep alive, much less educate."

While the ruling class has slashed funds for education to the bone, ***billions*** are poured into the prison system, which is one of the few growth industries in America today.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs and the Spartacist League demand free education, open admissions and state-paid living stipends for all students. Bastions of class privilege like Columbia and New York University should be nationalized and made accessible to working-class students. But even such a just and basic demand as quality, integrated education for all runs up against a capitalist class which controls the means of production, distribution and finance and which sees little reason for providing a decent education to most children. The fight against attacks on education is part of our program to smash this racist capitalist system, where everything is based on profit for the bourgeoisie, and replace it with an egalitarian socialist society, where production is carried on for human need. This can only be achieved by a workers revolution.

NYC rally against budget cuts, 1991. Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for free, quality, integrated education for all.

Young Spartacus

Students Must Ally with Labor

The New York SYC and SL have intervened into protests at CUNY to win student militants to the understanding of the need to ally themselves with the social power of the multiracial working class. This is hardly an abstract question. The fight for quality education for youth is a very real and felt issue for working people. In New York City, many working-class families either have children who go to CUNY or desperately want their kids to get a higher education so that they can have some future other than backbreaking exploitation. As we wrote in "Students and Labor: Unite to Stop the Budget Ax!" (*WV* No. 619, 24 March 1995), as tens of thousands of students and workers protested against budget cuts:

> "What workers and youth need is ***militant class struggle*** against our common enemy. A union like Local 1199, for example, with 117,000 workers in New York State has a multiracial membership with deep roots in the community because of the services it delivers. The

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 699

23 October 1998

Sadistic Killing in Wyoming

Anti-Gay Crusade: Incitement to Murder

Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals!

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

On the night of October 6, Matthew Shepard was kidnapped, sadistically tortured, lashed to a fence, ruthlessly beaten over the head with a .357 magnum pistol and left to die by his two tormentors on the frigid plain near Laramie, Wyoming. Only 21 years old, the gay University of Wyoming student died in a Colorado hospital six days later. In its chilling depravity, the murder of Matthew Shepard recalled last June's lynching in Jasper, Texas of James Byrd Jr., a black man who was dragged behind a pickup truck by two KKK killers until his body ripped apart.

The killing of the slight, personable Wyoming student was met across the country with horror and outrage. But the responsibility for this savage crime lies not just with the vermin who crawled out of the nether reaches of the American Rockies. The murder of Matthew Shepard was directly prepared and incited by a vicious crusade demonizing homosexuals as "diseased, predatory sinners." Promoted by Senate Republican leader Trent Lott, this reactionary vendetta was boosted in the national media this summer with ads by the Christian fundamentalist right screaming for gays to repent and "convert"—or else.

Even as Shepard's family and friends gathered at his funeral, a dozen religious fanatics turned out to spew their anti-gay vitriol, while gay advocacy groups in Colorado have been subjected to e-mail death threats saying, "I hope it happens more often." Immediately after the attack on Shepard, the right-wing Family Research Council announced plans to step up their "war against the homosexual agenda and fight to maintain the traditional meaning of 'family'." This war has meant a sharp escalation in terror across the country, including a 35 percent rise in attacks on homosexual youth between 1996 and 1997 and at least 18 murders targeting gays last year alone.

In the wake of the killing, there has been an outpouring of calls for more and stronger "hate crimes" laws to prevent attacks on gay people. To call on the capitalist state to protect the interests of the oppressed is not only futile but fosters deadly illusions. The bourgeois state is an apparatus of repression whose purpose is to defend capitalist class rule, from which every manner of racial and sexual prejudice springs. Only a day after Shepard's death, the Supreme Court spurred on the anti-gay witchhunt by rejecting a legal challenge to a Cincinnati measure enshrining discrimination against homosexuals. And last night, a march in New York in memory of Matthew Shepard was assaulted by Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's cops, who waded into the peaceful crowd on horseback and with nightsticks flailing, dragging off over a hundred people (see box, page 11). *Drop all charges against the arrested gay rights protesters!*

As Matthew Shepard lay dying in hospital, fellow students at University of Wyoming marched to express outrage over savage anti-gay attack.

AP photos

It is a measure of the ferocity of the Christian fundamentalist onslaught that Clinton's Democrats can posture as protectors of the rights of women and homosexuals. The Clinton White House has presided over a broader attack on civil liberties and social programs benefitting minorities and the poor than any administration in decades. The Democrats avidly joined with Congressional Republicans in the racist devastation of even minimal welfare programs for millions of women and children. Under the "pro-choice" Clinton presidency, access to abortion, especially for poor and rural women, has actually decreased. Clinton's "don't ask, don't tell" policy for gays in the military has led to a *67 percent increase* in the number discharged for homosexuality. And in New York, Democratic Party state legislators were instrumental in pushing through a bill demanding that doctors turn over the names of people who test positive for the HIV virus to the government, which can only intensify the persecution of people with AIDS.

Addressing an October 15 protest at New York University against the Wyoming murder, a spokesman for the Spartacus Youth Club declared:

> "From the racist death penalty to the reactionary 'family values' campaign, the Democrats are no friends of the oppressed. It is grotesque to look to these same rulers to draw up 'hate crime' legislation as some kind of redress for the heinous murder of Matthew Shepard. Such laws will not be used to defend oppressed people but to strengthen the repressive forces of the state, which are used in this country and in this city to terrorize minority communities and anybody who wants to stand up against the increasing immiseration in this society.
>
> "From the rollback of abortion rights to the anti-sex witchhunt going on right now against the White House—which threatens the right to privacy for all of us—the capitalist rulers are intent on regimenting youth and the population at large. We think that the government should get out of the bedroom and we say: Down with reactionary 'age of consent' laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! For women's liberation through socialist revolution!"

Democratic Rights Are Indivisible

As Marxists, we fight to forge a revolutionary vanguard party of the proletariat which will act as a "tribune of the people," as Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin put it in *What Is To Be Done?* (1902), "able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects." Indeed, one of the early decrees of the Bolshevik government which came to power in the October Revolution of 1917 abolished all laws against consensual sex including homosexual acts. This, like measures making divorce easy and granting the right to free abortion, was subsequently overturned by the Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped power in a political counterrevolution in 1923-24, ultimately paving the way for the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet

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Young Spartacus

Down With Jospin Government's Racist Repression!

High School Student Protests Sweep France

Page Four

Zionists Amnesty the Bourgeoisie of Auschwitz

The Holocaust, "Collective Guilt" and German Imperialism

Page Six

Feds Snare Leftists in Sinister Surveillance Web

Drop All Charges Against Kurt Stand, Theresa Squillacote!

On October 7, the "espionage" trial of Theresa Squillacote and her husband, Kurt Stand, opened in a federal district court in Virginia. Held without bail since their arrest last October, Stand and Squillacote face many years in prison on charges of conspiracy to spy for the former East Germany (DDR) and Soviet Union and for Nelson Mandela's South Africa. Jim Clark, arrested at the same time and threatened with life imprisonment for possession of a document concerning nerve gas production for the U.S. military, pleaded guilty. In exchange he was given a reduced sentence and has testified for the government at trial.

These longtime leftist political activists have been charged under the 1978 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), which virtually eliminates the Fourth Amendment prohibition against unreasonable search and seizure in going after leftists, immigrants and anyone else the feds deem undesirable. In contrast to other types of criminal investigation, FISA allows tapping into the phone lines of not only those under investigation but all those whom they may call. Recently, the Clinton government has met opposition in its efforts to expand the use of such "roving wiretaps" beyond "foreign intelligence" cases.

Hennessy/Washington Post

Court artist's depiction of October 1997 hearing for Kurt Stand, Theresa Squillacote. Jim Clark (far right) pleaded guilty, testified for government.

In the 1980s, those targeted by the FBI as "agents of a foreign power" included over 1,300 political and religious groups in the Central America solidarity milieu. More recently, FISA has been used to go after Arab immigrants caught in the cross hairs of the government's "anti-terrorist" hysteria. Under the 1978 law, seven *secret* courts were created to hear FISA wiretap applications. These have approved every one of the more than 10,000 such applications made over the past 20 years. Those targeted cannot even lodge a legal challenge, since they are denied information regarding either the source or substance of the allegations against them.

Stand, Squillacote and Clark have been active in leftist politics from the time they were leaders of the University of Wisconsin chapter of the Young Workers Liberation League, the Communist Party (CP) youth group in the early 1970s. This was at the height of the FBI's COINTELPRO (Counter-Intelligence Program) operation, which maintained files on thousands of leftists and under which dozens of Black Panther Party members were assassinated outright and hundreds more framed up and imprisoned. Nonetheless, Squillacote and Clark went on to pass FBI security clearance checks to obtain their jobs, she as a lawyer for the Pentagon procurement office and he for a Pentagon contractor.

The feds claim that the three were exposed as spies after the counterrevolutionary destruction of the DDR in 1990. The government's case is based on vague references in files seized from the former East German secret police to an agent codenamed "Junior" and his wife and another agent recruited by Junior named "Jack." In the absence of any evidence that the three ever passed any information to East Germany, the FBI placed them under round-the-clock surveillance, wiring their homes and offices. Knowing that Squillacote, born with a deformed hand and only one leg, was under treatment for a stress disorder, the feds even bugged her psychiatrist's office. In one of three searches of the Stands' home, government agents discovered a letter Squillacote had written to Ronnie Kasrils, a leading member of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and defense minister in the capitalist government of

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TROTSKY

LENIN

Leninist Party—Tribune of the People

In our fight to forge a revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed, we look to the model of the Bolshevik Party built by V.I. Lenin, which emerged as the revolutionary wing of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party and led the proletariat to power in the October Revolution of 1917. Lenin stressed that revolutionary socialists had to act as "tribunes of the people"—opposing every instance of oppression and tyranny—in order to make the proletariat conscious of its role as the gravediggers of the capitalist system.

Working-class consciousness cannot be genuine political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to *all* cases of tyranny, oppression, violence, and abuse, no matter *what class* is affected—unless they are trained, moreover, to respond from a Social-Democratic point of view and no other. The consciousness of the working masses cannot be genuine class-consciousness, unless the workers learn, from concrete, and above all from topical, political facts and events to observe *every* other social class in *all* the manifestations of its intellectual, ethical, and political life; unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of *all* aspects of the life and activity of *all* classes, strata, and groups of the population. Those who concentrate the attention, observation, and consciousness of the working class exclusively, or even mainly, upon itself alone are not Social-Democrats; for the self-knowledge of the working class is indissolubly bound up, not solely with a fully clear theoretical understanding—it would be even truer to say, not so much with the theoretical, as with the practical, understanding—of the relationships between *all* the various classes of modern society, acquired through the experience of political life. For this reason the conception of the economic struggle as the most widely applicable means of drawing the masses into the political movement, which our Economists preach, is so extremely harmful and reactionary in its practical significance. In order to become a Social-Democrat, the worker must have a clear picture in his mind of the economic nature and the social and political features of the landlord and the priest, the high state official and the peasant, the student and the vagabond; he must know their strong and weak points; he must grasp the meaning of all the catchwords and sophisms by which each class and each stratum *camouflages* its selfish strivings and its real "inner workings"; he must understand what interests are reflected by certain institutions and certain laws and how they are reflected. But this "clear picture" cannot be obtained from any book. It can be obtained only from living examples and from exposures that follow close upon what is going on about us at a given moment; upon what is being discussed, in whispers perhaps, by each one in his own way; upon what finds expression in such and such events, in such and such statistics, in such and such court sentences, etc., etc. These comprehensive political exposures are an essential and *fundamental* condition for training the masses in revolutionary activity.

—V.I. Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?* (1902)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jane Patterson

EDITORIAL BOARD: Ray Bishop (managing editor), Bruce André, Helene Broslus, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 316, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 E-mail address: vanguard@tlac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is October 20.

No. 699 **23 October 1998**

Spartacist Events

Spartacist League Forums

BOSTON

The Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom
Saturday, October 24, 7 p.m.
103 Harvard Hall
Harvard University
(Take the Red Line to Harvard)
For more information: (617) 666-9453

NEW YORK CITY

The Fight for Revolutionary Marxism Today
Saturday, October 24, 3 p.m.
Vanderbilt Hall, Room 214
New York University Law School
40 Washington Square South
(between MacDougal and Sullivan streets)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO

Imperialism and Class Struggle in Asia
Saturday, October 24, 7:30 p.m.
Women's Building
3543 18th Street (near Valencia)
For more information: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

VANCOUVER

The Fight for a Trotskyist Party
"Who We Are and What We Fight For"
Programmatic Theses of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste
Friday, November 6, 7 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre, Room L4
1661 Napier Street (off Commercial)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

BOSTON

Trotskyism vs. Stalinism: The Revolution Betrayed
Thursday, October 29, 7 p.m.
College of Arts and Sciences, Rm. 220
725 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston University (BU East/Green Line B Branch)
For readings and information: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

Capitalism Creates Its Own Gravediggers—The Working Class
Tuesday, October 27, 6 p.m.
Cobb Hall, Room 104
5811 S. Ellis
University of Chicago
For readings and information: (312) 454-4930

MADISON

Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism
Saturday, October 31, 3 p.m.
Memorial Union (see Today in the Union)
University of Wisconsin-Madison
For readings and information: (312) 454-4930

NEW YORK CITY

Trotskyism vs. Stalinism: The Revolution Betrayed
Tuesday, October 27, 7 p.m.
Loeb Student Center, Room 413
New York University
(LaGuardia Pl. & Washington Sq. South)
For readings and information: (212) 267-1025

TORONTO

Marxism and the National Question
Thursday, October 29, 7 p.m.
International Student Centre
33 St. George Street (north of College St.)
For readings and information: (416) 593-4138

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Selling Out Assata

"Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfill it, or betray it."

—Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1966)

On Sept. 14, 1998, the House of Representatives passed a resolution (CR H7653) calling on the Cuban Government to return former Black Political Prisoner, Assata Shakur. What makes this resolution remarkable (other than its obvious political hypocrisy) is the action (or lack of action) taken by Black politicians in the House.

There is something sickening about Black Congresspersons swarming to the defense of President Clinton, who has built his political career on the skillful manipulation and timely betrayal of Black interests to appeal to his party's (and the majority party's right-wing) so-called "centrists," while selling out one of Black America's most celebrated and respected fighters for Black liberation.

Assata Shakur, as a member of the Black Panther Party, and later as a member of the Black Liberation Army, fought for the freedom of Black people in the streets, in the prisons, and later in the Free Liberated Territory of America, in Cuba, as a proud and beautiful soldier for her people. That *any* Black politician could dare condemn her for fighting for her freedom against the most racist, conspiratorial, and deadly attacks in Black contemporary history, is an obscenity.

In the House Bill, (which refers to her by her "slave name," Joanne Chesimard), the resolution writers claim she killed a New Jersey State Trooper on May 2, 1973, along with "2 friends." The Resolution does not begin to tell the truth, that Assata, and her two companions were ambushed by State Troopers who were bent on killing several known Black Panthers, and that they indeed succeeded in killing one, and almost mortally wounding her. Deputy Minister of Information, Zayd Malik Shakur, was murdered by the state on that day, and Assata, his protege, was almost murdered, beaten, thrown into a morgue alongside of her brother Zayd, and later charged with killing Zayd! She was railroaded in a trial that is known by legal scholars as a miscarriage, and thrown into a hell-hole where she was the only woman in the entire prison. The only "justice" she has ever received, was her liberation from a state dungeon in 1979.

If one examines the signers of the Resolution, it is striking to find the names of such Black politicians as John Conyers, Sheila Jackson-Lee, Jesse Jackson, Jr., Chaka Fattah, Cynthia McKinney, Carrie Meek, and the like (Mercifully, Alcee Hastings, John Lewis, and Bobby Rush abstained from voting). Have any of these members of the Congressional Black Caucus read *Assata*? Have any of the CBC's lawyer-members ever read Evelyn Williams' *Inadmissable Evidence*?

If they had, there is no way they could have signed on to such a damnable congressional resolution!

Assata has rightly condemned this dastardly act as a contemporary, latter-day fugitive slave law. In 1850, Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act, which meant, in the words of early Black Nationalist Martin R. Delany:

> "By the provisions of this bill, the colored people of the United States are positively degraded beneath the level of the whites—are made liable at any time, in any place, and under all circumstances, to be arrested—and upon the claim of any white person, without the privilege, even of making a defence, sent into endless bondage. Let no visionary nonsense about *habeas corpus*, or a *fair trial*, deceive us..."

Delany was condemning an act that threatened the freedom of *all* Blacks, anywhere in the United States. Nearly 150 years later, and the U.S. Empire seeks to expand its reach to the entire globe.

The CBC recently made much about their role of "faimess cops" in the congressional process leading up to impeachment for Clinton. As a wealthy, Yale-trained, former law professor with millions at his disposal (not to mention the power of the presidency), he hardly seems to need their help. Instead, a Black, courageous woman who must face the monstrous might of the Empire, has not a single defender in Congress. Like their hero, Clinton, they seem to have mastered the politics of betrayal.

30 September 1998

© 1998 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

To join the fight to free Mumia and for the latest updates on his case, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252. E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Hands Off Former Black Panther!

Black Democrats Join Racist Vendetta Against Assata Shakur

On September 14, the House of Representatives passed a resolution demanding that the Castro government return former Black Panther Party activist Assata Shakur and others who were granted asylum by Cuba. Shakur fled to Cuba after her 1979 escape from a New Jersey prison, where she was serving a life sentence. Her frame-up was part of the U.S. government's deadly COINTELPRO terror operation against black radicals of the 1960s and '70s, in which 38 Panther members were assassinated and many more imprisoned, including Shakur's comrade Sundiata Acoli, who remains behind bars to this day. The Congressional resolution, which passed without opposition, caps an ongoing vendetta by the New Jersey cops and Republican governor Christine Whitman, who even placed a bounty on Shakur's head earlier this year (*WV* No. 692, 5 June).

As death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal—another victim of the COINTELPRO war on the Panthers—points out in his column published above, joining in the vote to drag Shakur back into a racist prison hellhole were members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC). For years, these types have drummed up black votes for Clinton's racist Democrats, who in tandem with the Republicans have condemned black women and children to starvation with the axing of welfare, poured kill-crazy cops onto ghetto streets, pushed the racist death penalty and waged war on immigrant rights. After all that, it should come as no surprise that 23 black Democrats would vote to imprison a heroic fighter for black rights like Assata Shakur.

When caught out in their support for this reprehensible motion, some members of the CBC started furiously backpedaling. CBC chairman Maxine Waters repudiated her vote on the floor of Congress one day later. In a September 29 letter to Fidel Castro, Waters "explained" that the Republican House leadership had "quietly slipped this bill" through a session "reserved for non-controversial legislation" and deceptively used only Shakur's former name of Joanne Chesimard. Three weeks after the vote, Chicago Congressman Danny Davis issued a similar statement and letter to Castro. To believe Waters and Davis, they either voted for a resolution they hadn't bothered to read or endorsed the extradition of black COINTELPRO victims other than Assata Shakur! Such "slip-ups" remind us of the old saying that if you're going to dine with the devil, you'd better bring a real long spoon.

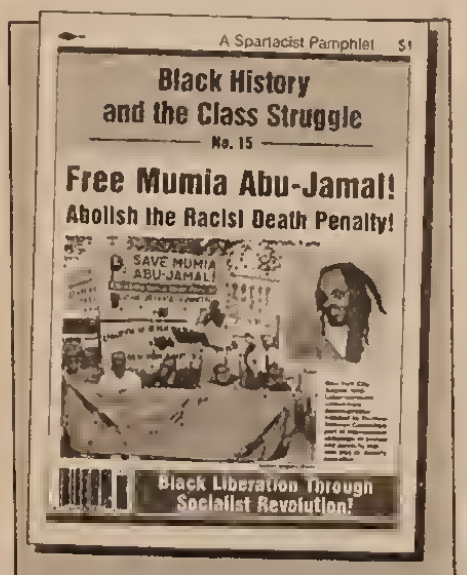
The Congressional resolution demanding Shakur's extradition is also part of the ongoing drive by U.S. imperialism to crush the Cuban Revolution and restore capitalist rule on the island, which remains subjected to a starvation embargo to this day. We call for unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution and for a working-class political revolution to oust the Stalinist Castro bureaucracy which is opening the road to capitalist restoration.

While posturing as a "friend of labor" and relying on black support, the Democratic Party of Waters, Davis & Co. is just as much a capitalist party as the Republicans, dedicated to upholding the class rule of the bourgeoisie which is maintained through the oppression of black people here and imperialist aggrandizement abroad. It was the Democratic administration of Lyndon Johnson, with liberal Ramsey Clark running the Justice Department, which escalated the COINTELPRO war of terror against black radicals. And it was Johnson's predecessor, John F. Kennedy, who ordered the failed 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

The fight for black rights and against capitalist repression requires a *break* with the Democratic Party of racism and imperialist war and the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party. Hands off Assata Shakur! Free Sundiata Acoli! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! For black liberation through socialist revolution!■

Elana Levy

Assata Shakur In Cuba.



No. 15 **$1** (48 pages)

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Young Spartacus

Down With Jospin Government's Racist Repression!

High School Student Protests Sweep France

Vink/Magnum

AFP

As high-school students in Paris took to streets to demand better schools, popular-front Jospin government unleashed cop terror.

OCTOBER 20—We print below a report written two days ago by our comrades of the Ligue Troskyste de France/ Jeunesse Spartaciste on the mass protests by high-school students which have erupted around the country. Today, some 25,000 students and others marched in Paris, and hundreds of thousands more in other cities. The popular-front government of Socialist Party (PS) prime minister Lionel Jospin, which includes Education Minister Claude Allègre and Communist Party (PCF) transport minister Jean-Claude Gayssot, has responded to the protests with cop repression particularly directed at youth of African and North African descent from the impoverished working-class suburbs. Today's protest in Paris was met with a violent cop attack, and more than 80 were arrested. Drop all charges now!

For weeks, the high-school students' demonstrations have been growing in strength. Starting in Nîmes and Montpellier, they spread throughout the country. Last Thursday, 500,000 demonstrated nationwide. High-school students are protesting against increasingly intolerable conditions and demanding smaller classes, more teachers and teachers aides and better equipment. Now the teachers are joining the movement with a call for a strike on October 20, the day of the next national student demonstration.

We sent teams selling *Le Bolchévik* to the October 15 demo in Paris and have sought to intervene in high-school general assemblies to express our solidarity with the students and to present our program. We fight for free quality education, open to all and free from social or racial segregation. But even such just and elementary democratic demands as quality education run up against a capitalist class which controls the means of production, distribution and finance. The capitalists see no good reason to provide a decent education for most children, especially those of working-class and immigrant backgrounds. Poverty and despair in the ghettos is the only future which capitalism can offer these youth.

Fighting against the attacks on education and on youth of immigrant descent is part of our program to smash this racist capitalist system, where everything is based on the bourgeoisie's profit drive. We seek to replace it with an egalitarian socialist society, where production is for human need. This can happen only through a workers revolution like the Russian October Revolution of 1917 when the working class took power under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

The response to the students by the Jospin-Gayssot-Allègre government was clear: police repression. In Lille on October 13 and then in Paris on October 15, the cops violently attacked youth from the immigrant neighborhoods, who were labeled with the racist code word "looters" [*casseurs*]. These youth were expressing their anger at an unbearable situation. They don't even have enough money for a subway fare; for them, especially for young women, the future is unemployment or at best—for a minority—temporary jobs or "youth jobs" [part-time and lower-paid government jobs]. Their schools are in terrible shape. Often, they cannot even go to high school. They have a right to nothing. They are victims of the capitalist system, which is really responsible for the violence. Our aim is to focus the justified anger of the youth in a revolutionary direction. This requires a leap in consciousness to understand that youth must ally with the power of the working class and organize along with it to put an end to the capitalist system.

We defend all those now facing prosecution by the government! More than 150 were arrested on October 15 in Paris. Those already sentenced have received stiff penalties, some up to ten months in prison. One young woman got a two-month suspended jail sentence for having picked up a pack of cigarettes off the sidewalk! The same cops who evict the *sans-papiers* [undocumented immigrants] and smash strikes will be unleashed against the high-school students as soon as they are seen as a threat to this racist government. We say: An attack on one is an attack on all—Free all the youth now! Drop the charges!

With its propaganda against "looters" and "violence in public transportation," the government serves up a full-fledged racist campaign to criminalize youth from the immigrant communities. It is in fact trying to line up urban petty-bourgeois white youth against them. After a strike by railworkers in Paris last week, Jospin—the self-proclaimed representative of the forces of order—went on television to call for merciless repression of ghetto youth. The government uses racism to divide the working class and prevent it from uniting in struggle against capitalism and oppression.

When we talk to high-school students, it is obvious that this racist campaign has had considerable impact, and it is passed along by all the other left groups. Thus, the "High-School Committee of the Paris Region" at Jussieu does not call—even on paper—for defense of the jailed youth. But youth must understand the need to defend the arrested students. The cops are the guard dogs of capital, implacable enemies of workers and the oppressed. When youth tell us they need more cops to "keep order," we urge them to think again and remind them of the cops' role in the May 1968 upsurge. We tell them that it means more of the same cops who killed Semira, Eric Ben-Tarima (a homeless man from Tarbes killed for a cigarette), Fabrice and Abdelkader—all of North African descent—last December. And indeed, at the same time they were arresting high-school students, the cops were also attacking a demonstration of *sans-papiers* in the Trocadéro area. It was with a denunciation of "looters" that [former interior minister Charles] Pasqua sent SWAT cops against high-school students in 1986, killing Malik Oussekine. For the same reason, when high-school students want more cops "against violence in the schools," the result can only be repression against everyone. We say: Cops out of the schools and colleges!

The high-school students want to protect themselves against "political cooptation." But isn't it politics when you go into the streets to protest against school conditions? At an October 17 protest meeting, marshals from the Communist Party youth organization and the JCR [Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire, youth group of the Take-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire] wanted to exclude our comrades. This is not surprising: these groups have supported the racist capitalist government of Jospin-Gayssot, even calling for a vote for it. In contrast our newspaper, *Le Bolchévik*, is well known for its hard opposition to this government. In fact, carrying out the government's racist line, these groups have also excluded ghetto youth: Youth from the working-class and immigrant 93rd Département [region] in the Paris suburbs told us that after the October 15 demo, a group of 12 technical school students from that area were kept out of the general assembly meeting at Jussieu that day with no explanation except that it was too crowded.

Many youth at the demo at Paris' La Nation plaza on October 15 told us we were right that this is a racist government. They also think the problem is broader—that there is a global crisis, wars. And that's right: the attacks against immigrants and youth are the spearhead of the bourgeois offensive against the working class and oppressed. The reformist Communist and Socialist leaders want to keep the existing system afloat. The government of the PS-PCF popular front—a class-collaborationist coalition with parties of the bourgeoisie—is a capitalist government. It can't be reformed, but must be swept away by the power of the working class.

Following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, "leftist"—i.e., social-democratic or popular-front—governments have been installed throughout Europe to implement anti-working-class austerity and to deport immigrants who were brought in earlier but are no longer needed as much. In Britain, Labour prime minister Blair is leading a draconian attack against education. In Italy, it is the [ex-Stalinist social-democratic] PDS which established concentration camps for immigrants in the South and militarized the borders last summer—with the support of Rifondazione Comunista. In Germany, Schröder's Social Democrats have waged a racist anti-immigrant campaign and have pledged to squeeze the working class to improve the competitiveness of German imperialism against its international rivals, mainly the U.S. and Japan. Our comrades of the International Communist League in these countries opposed a vote to these parties and continue to struggle against these governments.

Under capitalism, education is not a right but a privilege granted by the bourgeoisie according to its momentary, anarchic needs. But today, the bourgeoisie is preparing new imperialist wars—what it has in store for working-class youth is to use them as cannon fodder. The only alternative for youth is to fight alongside the working class, since students don't have social power. Only the working class, including its immigrant component in industry, has the social power to put an end to this rotten system, because the working class produces the wealth that the bourgeoisie appropriates. That is why those who fight for the rights of youth, immigrants, women and gays must be mobilized behind the working class in the fight against all forms of capitalist oppression and with the perspective of socialist revolution. But for that the working class needs a Leninist party—a multiethnic, internationalist vanguard party of the proletariat which brings together the most advanced elements of the working class as well as the best elements of the youth, whether they are workers, high-school or college students or unemployed. Join the Ligue Trotskyste de France and its youth group, the Jeunesse Spartaciste! We are fighting for new October Revolutions worldwide!■

Spartacus Youth Club Leaflet

Protest Nazi Holocaust Apologists at UCLA!

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club led hundreds in routing 1994 fascist rally in Berkeley, California featuring Nazi apologist David Irving.

We reprint below a leaflet which was issued by the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club last month. It was originally sent as a letter to the Daily Bruin, *the newspaper at the University of California at Los Angeles, which did not print it.*

The Spartacus Youth Club, youth group of the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League, protests the *Daily Bruin* (31 August) giving a platform to the fascist "Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust" (CODOH) to spew their genocidal filth. The images from Auschwitz, Treblinka, Babi Yar and the many other concentration camps where millions of Jews as well as Roma, communists, trade unionists and homosexuals were annihilated must be seared into the memory of the working class and all the oppressed. Groups like the CODOH who deny the horrors of the Holocaust are fascist apologists for Nazi terror who are planning the next holocaust, whether they dress their genocidal Hitlerism in academic garb or not.

A letter by one Julianne Sohn, who ran across the CODOH's fascist flyers at UCLA, in the 24 August issue of the *Bruin* reduces the entire question of fascist terror to one of "free speech." She writes that it is "comforting in a twisted, little way" that such groups as the CODOH and active Nazi recruiter David Irving's Institute for Historical Review (IHR) exist. Nazi apologist David Irving has been a star attraction at meetings of fascist terror gangs from the British National Party, to the Hitlerite "Nationale Offensive" in Germany, to the white-supremacist Heritage Front in Canada, to the Klan and Nazis in the U.S. The existence of such groups can hardly be "comforting" to the families of victims of Klan and Nazi terror, like James Byrd who was lynched just last June in Jasper, Texas.

Students, beware! What Nazis like the CODOH and IHR are trying to do is use an academic façade to gain "respectability" in order to have access to a larger audience from which they can recruit to their program of racist murder. This path was paved when liberal student bureaucrats at Cal State Northridge (CSUN) invited Klansman David Duke to "debate" affirmative action in 1996. As we wrote then, "Duke and his fascist stormtroopers are not about academic debate. They are vicious killers and a mortal threat to blacks, immigrants, Jews, homosexuals and anyone else who doesn't fit their idea of 'Aryan America'.... Their methods of 'debate' are the lynch rope and the burning cross." We also warned that this could spawn a "newly strengthened fascist movement in the state of California." It was no coincidence that one week after Duke's appearance, a Latino fisherman was brutally stabbed by skinheads in Huntington Beach. Emboldened by Duke's recruitment drive at CSUN, fascist outfits like the CODOH and IHR are currently testing the waters at UCLA in a drive to organize skinhead and Klan terror against minorities; and in racist America this means first and foremost the besieged black population.

Fascists are capitalism's shock troops, called upon by the state to defend capitalist property relations when threatened by mass unrest or proletarian seizure of power. The ultimate aim of the Nazi rabble is to utterly destroy working class organizations, like in Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy.

Encouraged by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states, the bourgeoisie has internationally been waging war on immigrants, racial and ethnic minorities, women and labor. This capitalist onslaught on the gains achieved by the working class and oppressed through hard social struggle has given rise to fascist threats and provocations across the world, including the U.S. It is no mere coincidence that these flyers have appeared at UCLA in the wake of the administration's racist purge of campus through the axing of affirmative action and imposition of huge fee hikes. In the U.S., fascist scum are emboldened by the racist ruling class' bipartisan attacks on blacks, immigrants and labor, and have stepped up their murderous activities.

When the Nazi Irving and his black-booted followers appeared in Berkeley in 1994, hundreds of anti-fascist militants, organized in a united front initiated by the SYC, ran them out of town! The SL and SYC have successfully organized thousands-strong labor/black mobilizations to stop Nazi and Klan mobilizations of terror from San Francisco to D.C. to Philly and Springfield. Our strategy is to mobilize the social power of the integrated working class leading behind it all the fascists' intended victims in a struggle to crush the fascists, especially now when they are still small. This is part of our broader struggle for socialist revolution and the establishment of an egalitarian, socialist society, where production is based on needs and wants rather than profit. The SYC fights to build the revolutionary, multiracial workers party, counterposed to both the Republicans and Democrats, absolutely essential to accomplish the historic task of smashing fascism and the capitalist system of exploitation and racial oppression that breeds and foments it. Join us!■

Surveillance...

(continued from page 2)

Nelson Mandela's African National Congress. In a classic entrapment scheme, the feds then forged a letter to Squillacote from Kasrils, leading to a series of meetings with an FBI agent posing as a South African official during which Squillacote allegedly delivered a Pentagon document and a CIA memorandum on the global arms market.

In pursuing their vendetta against Stand, Squillacote and Clark, the feds and their media mouthpieces unleashed an anti-Communist "red scare." This surreal attempt to revive the McCarthyite witchhunt of the 1950s is as deranged as it is sinister. As "evidence" that the three had become spies as a result of their socialist beliefs, the witchhunters claim that Stand was "recruited" by his father, a refugee from Hitler's Germany who went on to join the American CP. The feds furthered their bizarre claims by pointing out that the Stands named their two children after German revolutionary leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who were murdered by military reactionaries during the 1919 Spartakist uprising in Berlin. The bourgeois press has made a point of noting that Stand was the North American representative of an international food workers union and that he and Clark are members of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA).

Writing in the *Wall Street Journal* (21 October 1997), onetime New Leftist Ronald Radosh, who has carved out a career justifying the heinous 1953 frame-up execution of American Jewish leftists Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, resurrected the McCarthyite refrain that the CP was a "recruiting ground for Soviet espionage." Radosh even tried to redbait the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, noting that DSA leaders "now influential in John Sweeney's AFL-CIO, defend their comrade Mr. Clark and his associates in espionage." In fact, Sweeney's membership in the anti-communist DSA, which is an integral part of Clinton's Democratic Party, is fully in keeping with his role at the helm of the pro-capitalist labor misleadership. But the purpose of the *Wall Street Journal*'s redbaiting broadside against Sweeney was to grease the skids for the government's assault on the labor movement in the aftermath of last year's widely popular Teamsters strike against UPS.

In an open letter to the DSA, Stand laments that "the socialist experiment failed in the Soviet Union and elsewhere." It was not socialism which failed, but the Stalinist perversion of Marxism. In the guise of building "socialism in one country," Stalin and his heirs betrayed one revolutionary opportunity after another, undermining and ultimately selling out the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Europe. As part of our struggle for new October Revolutions around the world, the Trotskyist International Communist League fought down the line against capitalist counterrevolution in the DDR and USSR, seeking to mobilize the proletariat in political revolutions to sweep away the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies.

Opposing the fight for international socialist revolution, the Stalinists instead pursued the chimera of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, promoting class-collaborationist alliances with supposedly "progressive" elements of the bourgeoisie. This policy, which led to catastrophic defeats for the proletariat internationally, is implemented today by the SACP, which serves as a loyal component of the neo-apartheid regime defending the interests of the racist South African capitalist rulers.

In the U.S. this has translated into the CP's role as stalwart champions of the Democratic Party of racism, union-busting and imperialist war as a supposed "lesser evil." Indeed, the FISA law under which Stand and Squillacote are being prosecuted was brainstrusted by liberal Democrat Ted Kennedy and strengthened under Clinton's attorney general Janet Reno in 1995. Since he assumed the presidency in 1993, Clinton has carried out the most concerted assault on civil liberties this country has seen in decades. For the American capitalist class, the Stands' "crime" is their decades of opposition to the policies of the imperialist rulers. Free Kurt Stand and Theresa Squillacote—Drop all charges now!■

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The Holocaust, "Collective Guilt" and German Imperialism

We reprint below the concluding part of an article, originally published in the German-language edition of Spartacist *(No. 20, Summer 1998), dealing with the controversy touched off by Daniel Goldhagen's* Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust *(Vintage Books, 1997) and a recent polemic against Goldhagen by Norman G. Finkelstein and Ruth Bettina Birn titled* A Nation on Trial: The Goldhagen Thesis and Historical Truth *(Henry Holt & Co., 1998). Parts One and Two appeared in* WV *Nos. 697 and 698 (25 September and 9 October).*

SPARTACIST

It is a telling comment that the various fake leftists who have weighed in on the Goldhagen debate pretty much restrict themselves to ground covered far more effectively by academics like Finkelstein. Having tailed after the anti-Soviet Social Democracy for years, they now buy into the imperialist lie that "communism is dead." All of them accept the framework of the debate laid down by the bourgeoisie and its ideologues, either wallowing in "collective guilt"—like the fake-

PART THREE

Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec)—or leaping to defend the "honor" of the "German workers movement," i.e., the Social Democracy.

Typical of the latter are the political bandits of David North's Socialist Equality Party (SEP). While citing Trotsky's writings on fascism and the Jewish question, North devotes the bulk of his lengthy dissertation on Goldhagen's book to a historical account of the opposition by the Social Democratic Party (SPD) to anti-Semitism (*International Workers Bulletin*, 5 May 1997). He barely mentions the October Revolution of 1917, does not discuss at all the capitalist counterrevolution (supported by the Northites!) which has led to the current sharp rise in fascist terror, and reduces Trotsky's struggle in the early 1930s solely to the issue of the united front against fascism.

In fact, North's treatise amounts to little more than a panegyric to the parliamentary exploits of the SPD which, he ludicrously claims, "represented a revolutionary mass movement of the working class" right up until August 1914! Thus does this charlatan amnesty the Eberts, Scheidemanns and Noskes and liquidate Luxemburg and Liebknecht's years-long struggle against the reformist and centrist SPD leaders. Not surprisingly for an "equality" party which panders to anti-black, anti-woman and anti-homosexual bigotry, North "borrows" from the anti-Semitic stereotypes of bourgeois society, sneering that Goldhagen was motivated by the allure of "handsome monetary profits" and decrying the "crass economic self-interest" of the prewar *Jewish* bourgeoisie for refusing (unsurprisingly) to support the SPD.

Going further, Linksruck, affiliated to Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party [and the U.S. International Socialist Organization], is not content simply to defend the record of the Social Democracy. Buried deep inside the SPD's youth group for years, Linksruck is firmly wedded to Social Democratic politics. In rebutting Goldhagen's "collective guilt" thesis, the Cliffites feel compelled to rally to the "honor" even of young Nazi stormtroopers, posing the grotesque question: "Is the simple Hitler Youth equally as guilty as the industrialist who financed Hitler's rise to power?" (*Linksruck*, March 1996). This is what comes of years of enthusing over every anti-Communist movement on the face of the planet. In September 1997, Linksruck actively campaigned for the SPD, which waged the most racist election campaign seen in Germany in years and is up to its neck along with the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) in funding "youth centers" for Nazi skinheads.

SPD Spearheads Resurgent German Nationalism

With the exception of the centrist Revolutionär Sozialistische Bund (RSB—Revolutionary Socialist League), German supporters of the USec, not one of these groups even notices that the "ordinary Germans" Goldhagen speaks of were members of a Nazi *police battalion* or takes exception to his promotion of the "democratic" credentials of German imperialism. In fact, these pseudo-revolutionaries share such illusions. Virtually to a man, they joined the SPD in promoting the capitalist reunification of Germany in 1990 and in cheering on Yeltsin's counterrevolution in the Soviet Union the following year.

At bottom, the notion of "collective guilt" is not only compatible with but complementary to resurgent German chauvinism. As Israeli writer Amos Alon noted in the *New York Times Magazine* (26 January 1997), "Ritualized lip service to guilt serves to give the new nationalism and the new xenophobia a good conscience." The SPD and the "left" bourgeois Greens helped spearhead the revival of German nationalism in the 1970s and '80s, riding on pacifist opposition to U.S. missile installations to mark out an independent position for German imperialism against both its American ally/rival and its Soviet enemy. Marching in lockstep behind this nationalist "movement" was the SPD/Green-loyal fake left. In contrast, Trotskyists declared: Down with NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!

When an incipient political revolution erupted in the DDR (East Germany) in 1989-90, our party was unique in opposing the annexationist designs of the West German bourgeoisie. While the rest of the left tailed behind the SPD and its imperialist masters, we threw the forces of our entire international into the fight to defend the collectivized foundations of the East German deformed workers state and to place the proletariat at the helm of political power. In the course of this struggle to bring revolutionary, i.e., Trotskyist, leadership to the proletariat, the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) was forged out of a fusion between the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) and the newly formed Spartakist Gruppen.

In January 1990, after fascists had desecrated a memorial in East Berlin's Treptow Park to the Soviet soldiers who had died in the struggle to smash Hitler's Nazis, we issued a call to "Stop the Nazis Through United Front Action!" Fearful of our growing impact on the East German working class, the ruling Stalinist party was forced to take up the united-front call and 250,000 came out to protest at Treptow. At this mass rally, the speakers for the TLD and Spartakist Gruppen linked the fight against Nazi terror to the need for proletarian political revolution in the East and socialist revolution in the West, warning that resurgent fascism "would again threaten all mankind as soon as the first crises in a reunified Greater Germany appear." We opposed the drive by the German bourgeoisie, its SPD "Trojan horse of counterrevolution" and the DDR Stalinists to foment capitalist restoration, counterposing the call for *revolutionary reunification* of Germany: "For a red Germany of workers councils in the framework of a Socialist United States of Europe!" As an expression of our internationalist program, we issued literature in their own languages to Soviet soldiers and Cuban, Angolan, Vietnamese and Polish workers in the DDR..

Spartakist

Spartakists initiated 250,000-strong protest in January 1990 against fascist desecration of Red Army memorial in East Berlin's Treptow Park, contested elections two months later with call, "No to Capitalist Reunification! For a Germany of Workers Councils!"

Dietz Verlag Berlin

U.S. Trotskyists saluted May Day rally by survivors of Buchenwald concentration camp.

THE MILITANT
12 May 1945

HOW WORKERS CELEBRATED MAY DAY AT BUCHENWALD

While the Allied press does its utmost to whip up a poisonous lynch spirit against the entire German people, the prisoners of all nationalities released from the Nazi concentration camps express warmest solidarity with their German comrades who were the first victims to feel the barbaric whip of the Nazi oppressor.

At Buchenwald, one of the worst camps, the 15,000 prisoners organized an inspiring celebration of May Day, demonstrating the brotherhood of the world working class on this traditional holiday. Here is how PM's correspondent (May 2) described it:

"Many of these men . . . have been in Fascist jails or camps for 10 years or more. Their brothers have been murdec-

As we had warned, capitalist *Anschluss* led to a sharp escalation in racist and chauvinist terror. When a supermarket chain in Berlin imposed a disgusting ban on Polish customers shortly thereafter, the SpAD responded with an immediate protest picket which became known even to trade unionists in Warsaw. We again initiated a protest demonstration when the German state imposed a quota on Jewish immigration from the Soviet Union. In the face of growing terror by fascist skinheads, the SpAD has fought *for worker/immigrant mobilizations to stop the Nazis!*

USec: From "Arab Revolution" to "Collective Guilt" Zionism

Within Germany, an "anti-national" claque of burnt-out former West German Stalinists and New Leftists issued a book, *Goldhagen and the German Left*, which accepts the "collective guilt" thesis and writes off the German proletariat as a seamlessly reactionary mass. A couple of years ago, *Junge Welt*, once a creature of the DDR Stalinist bureaucracy, went so far as to *hail* British imperialism's aerial incineration of a hundred thousand civilians in Dresden during World War II.

The USec, in a review by Sascha Moebius (*Inprekorr*, December 1996), also welcomed *Hitler's Willing Executioners*. Demonstrating how much this outfit has distanced itself from even its former pretense of Trotskyism, Moebius joined the chorus of praise for Goldhagen's belief in modern German society's "profound democratic character." Offering a "class" gloss to Goldhagen's unalloyed Zionism, Moebius argues that the Nazis triumphed because the SPD and—even more so—the German Communist Party (KPD) failed to "adequately combat" the "ideology" of anti-Semitism—as though the struggle against fascism was simply a clash of ideas!

The victory of political counterrevolution in the Soviet Union in 1923-24 led to a recrudescence of anti-Semitism in the homeland of the October Revolution, as the Stalinist bureaucracy used this vile bigotry in its drive to crush the Trotskyist Left Opposition. Trotsky at times compared the *political regime* under Stalin with that of Hitler, but he stressed their counterposed *class charocters*—the latter basing itself on capitalist imperialism, the former parasitically resting on the collectivized property forms issuing out of the October Revolution. Trotskyists called for *unconditional military defense* of the Soviet degenerated workers state against capitalist attack and internal counterrevolution while fighting for *proletarian political revolution* to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy.

In any case, the USec's real fire is directed not at the reformists and Stalinists but at Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. Moebius denounces the German Trotskyists for supposedly refusing to take Hitler's "anti-Jewish propaganda" seriously. He dismisses the early Kautsky's Marxist analysis of the Jewish question as "superficial and often insensitive," counterposing "the more useful analyses of Vladimir Medem of the [Jewish separatist] 'Bund'."

In subsequent articles, Moebius also attacks Marx's groundbreaking 1844 article "On the Jewish Question," the basis for Abram Leon's later work (*The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation*), for its supposed "anti-Jewish/anti-Semitic stereotypes" (*Inprekorr*, February 1997). This hoary anti-Marxist canard is a favorite of Zionists and liberals, who wax hysterical over the language used in Marx's materialist description of the Jewish people in the Middle Ages as rooted in commercial capital. Moebius also comes out with an explicitly Bundist line advocating a "Jewish national and social emancipation movement" to fight anti-Semitism in pre-World War I Germany (*Inprekorr*, March 1997). From tailing a mythical bourgeois "Arab Revolution" infested with anti-Semitism in the 1970s, the USec has gone full circle to capitulating to "left" Zionism and the anti-Palestinian "peace process." Now it openly sides with the Menshevik Bund and its separatist project of "cultural autonomy" against Bolshevik internationalism.

It was Lenin's program of revolutionary internationalism, consummated in the October Revolution, which opened the portals of emancipation to the deeply persecuted and oppressed Jews of the tsarist "prison house of peoples." *The Bund opposed this program*, and went on to be reduced to an empty shell in Russia within a few years of the revolution, as its working-class base flocked to the Bolsheviks.

Moebius' line is reactionary when applied to pre-Nazi Germany. Before launching their genocidal project, the Nazis first had to stigmatize and isolate Germany's Jews precisely because they were so assimilated. As late as 1939, four years after the Nuremberg Laws banning contact between the "races," one in ten Jews was married to a non-Jew. Even after the February 1943 *Fabrik Aktion*, the final roundup of Jews in Berlin, German women married to Jewish men staged a street protest in the Rosenstrasse in the heart of the German capital to successfully demand the release of their husbands who had been seized. In *The Last Jews in Berlin* (1982), the story of hundreds of Jews who found refuge in German homes until the war's end, Leonard Gross remarks how Hitler despised cosmopolitan, liberal Berlin as "that sinful Babel."

Even in the horrors of the Nazi slave-labor system, there remained vestiges of internationalism. In his memoir, *The Holocaust Kingdom* (1965), Alexander Donat, a participant in the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising who was shipped off first to a Polish concentration camp and then to slave labor in a German quarry, recalled an incident which helped give him the strength to survive:

> "One day while I was digging in the quarry alone, a German civilian walked by, stopped and stood about a hundred yards away from me. Suddenly, in the unnatural silence, he began to whistle the first bars of the *Internationale*. 'Arise ye prisoners of starvation, arise ye wretches of the earth....' So struck was I by this song of international solidarity in that pit of hatred that when he stopped, I whistled the second verse. When I stopped, he picked up the third verse, and so our whistled dialogue continued until the anthem was finished."

Ullstein

Willy Römer

Revolutionary leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were murdered by military reactionaries at behest of Social Democrats during January 1919 Spartakist uprising.

"United Front" über Alles?

The various left groups who pay occasional lip service to Trotskyism stand in the tradition not of Trotsky's Left Opposition but of the *Right* Opposition of Brandler and Bukharin. For them, the alpha and omega of the struggle against fascism in Germany was the united front—and on the parliamentary plane at that. The RSB's *Avanti* (December 1996) takes this social-democratic parliamentary cretinism to new depths in a review of Goldhagen's book, where Nick Brauns writes: "A fighting united front of the workers parties could not only have stopped the fascists on the street but through its strength also convinced and won over a large number of voters from the right." For the RSB, what was posed was not proletarian revolution but a fight to win voters from the Nazis!

Polemicizing against the RSB's far more left-wing centrist predecessor, the SAP, Trotsky insisted: "The policy of the united front cannot serve as a program for a revolutionary party." Trotsky always stressed that the *tactic* of the united front, though urgently posed, was an integral, and subordinate, component of a *revolutionary program for proletarian state power*. "Through the United Front—to the Soviets as the Highest Organs of the United Front": this was at the core of Trotsky's "What Next?" (1932) and all his writings in this period.

The struggle against fascism is inseparable from the fight for proletarian revolution. Any other perspective reduces itself to an attempt to pressure the "democratic" bourgeoisie—whether expressed in open appeals for a class-collaborationist "popular front," or looking to the racist SPD lieutenants of German imperialism, or even in the "street fighting" bravado of the anarchoid autonomes who, however heroic in individual instances, rely on the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state and its police.

In "refuting" Goldhagen's equation of "ordinary Germans" with the Third Reich's cops, Nick Brauns presents the thoroughly liberal argument: "Not only 'absolutely normal Germans,' but absolutely normal people were and are trained as soldiers and policemen to kill, torture and commit mass murder and genocide." It is to such "absolutely normal Germans" that Brauns himself appealed to join in a "united front" as 5,000 fascists rampaged unhindered through the streets of SPD-run Munich in March 1997. Speaking far from the Nazi rallying site, Brauns urged the "ladies and gentlemen of the police" to remember that one of their own had been killed by a Nazi shortly before and expressed his regret that the "state and police can't and won't protect us" (see *Spartakist* No. 128, June/July 1997).

Der Spiegel photos

Social Democratic war minister Gustav Noske reviews troops, 1919. SPD backed Hindenburg (right), directly aiding Hitler's rise to power.

Self-styled "Marxists" who plead with the state to ban the fascists or seek to pressure the SPD to do so likewise foster the illusion that the capitalist state can be made to act in the interests of the oppressed. Germany's constitution already includes a ban on Nazi organizations and symbols, so how come this country has the most menacing fascist movement in Europe today? Meanwhile, the Bundeswehr is infested with Nazis at every level, while from Rostock to Munich the cops and courts either collude with the Nazi race-terrorists or protect them from anti-fascist protesters.

While the RSB attacks Goldhagen's praise for latter-day German "democracy," it conspicuously refuses to point to the SPD's role as a key prop of the Fourth Reich. Likewise, Brauns notes that in the early 1930s, "the SPD leadership supported as a 'lesser evil' right-wing politicians like Reich president Hindenburg, who ultimately invited Hitler into the government." But the SPD did more than support the reactionary Hindenburg. As Trotsky wrote of the Social Democratic leaders: "The thousands upon thousands of Noskes, Welses, and Hilferdings prefer, *in the last analysis*, fascism to Communism" ("For a Workers' United Front Against Fascism," December 1931). Even with many of their own comrades already in Nazi

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Der Spiegel

F. Darchinger

1980s "peace" movement, "left" spearhead for resurgent German nationalism. Now Green leader Joschka Fischer serves in racist SPD-led government.

Holocaust...

(continued from page 7)

dungeons, the SPD leaders urged workers to march in Hitler's "National Day of Labor" parade on May Day 1933. Later that month, the SPD parliamentary fraction voted—without a single dissenting voice—to support Hitler's foreign policy declaration.

In light of the SPD's racism and its attacks on the working class, the RSB now characterizes it as a "bourgeois party" ("Our Critique of the Erfurt Declaration," *Avanti*, April 1998). Thus, with a stroke of the pen, they seek to sweep under the rug the contradiction between the SPD's bourgeois program and its mass working-class base. But as is the case with centrists, this analysis has no effect on their actual practice of tailing the SPD. They offer as an electoral alternative the PDS, which is made up of remnants of the former East German Stalinist ruling party which sold out the DDR to German imperialism, and Nick Brauns recently even decamped from the RSB to the PDS.

The PDS is nothing more than an SPD of the second mobilization, pushing an "*Ossi*" (East German) nationalism which is no less poisonous than the mainstream chauvinism of the SPD. In recent years, leading PDS spokesmen have even held friendly meetings with outright fascists. Among those PDS leaders is Christine Ostrowski, who echoes the Nazis' anti-immigrant racism, railing in *Neues Deutschland* (30 April) against "foreign colleagues" who work under "illegal conditions" while "every third construction worker in the East is unemployed." Meanwhile, a recent report on the Nazis in *Die Zeit* (23 April) quoted one stormtrooper bragging about contacts with Communist Platform, the self-styled "left wing" of the PDS: "They are also against big capital."

The defense of workers and minorities in Germany can only go forward through

Spartakist

Der Spiegel

Spartakists denounce racist SPD in protest against deportations of Roma (Gypsies), 1993. Police in SPD-governed Hamburg round up immigrants in racist dragnet.

intransigent political struggle against the Social Democracy, both of the SPD and PDS varieties. In the fight to forge an authentically Bolshevik party, the SPD (a party of the type Lenin termed a "bourgeois workers party") must be ***split*** and its mass working-class base won to the program of proletarian revolution. The huge Turkish and Kurdish component of the proletariat, forcibly alienated from German bourgeois society by vile racist oppression, can be a strategic lever in this task. But this means reaching out to these workers on the basis of proletarian internationalism, not capitulating to nationalist and Bundist prejudices as much of the left does.

Those who seek to pressure the SPD to "fight" reveal thereby their own support to the racist bourgeois order. Writing in 1932, Trotsky observed that "the rottenest portion of putrefying capitalist Europe is the Social Democratic bureaucracy":

> "The Social Democracy supported the war in the name of future prosperity. Instead of prosperity, decay set in. Now the task no longer consisted in deducing from the inadequacy of capitalism the necessity for revolution, nor in reconciling the workers to capitalism by means of reforms. The new task of the Social Democracy now consisted in making society safe for the bourgeoisie at the cost of sacrificing reforms.
>
> "But even this was not the last stage of degeneracy. The present crisis that is convulsing capitalism obliged the Social Democracy to sacrifice the fruits achieved after protracted economic and political struggles and thus to reduce the German workers to the level of existence of their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers."

This is the role of the SPD today as it prepares to take the reins of government for German imperialism.

Indeed, in one country after another in West Europe, social-democratic parties —either in their own name or in popular-front coalitions with bourgeois parties— are today administering capitalism, not even to implement token reforms but to dish out austerity and racist repression. For now, the German bourgeoisie is confident that it can rely on the SPD lieutenants of capital to police the workers movement. But for the ruling class that has already resorted to fascism once, today's Nazi movement is the embryo of a fascist army held in reserve. Those who today amnesty the bourgeoisie's responsibility for Nazism in the 1930s disarm the workers and oppressed before a system that will again turn to fascism if the need arises. "People's Fronts on the one hand—fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution," wrote Trotsky in the 1938 Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International.

In the aftermath of the final unraveling of the October Revolution, the international political situation is beginning to resemble the eve of World War I. World capitalism is faced with the threat of a new, and potentially far more convulsive, crisis. As German imperialism rearms, as the major powers struggle for control over markets and spheres of exploitation, we once again face the prospect of inter-imperialist conflict and a new, and potentially final, Holocaust—a nuclear armageddon. The salvation of humanity and the realization of a classless, egalitarian, communist society lies in the timely reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International and the victory of new October Revolutions around the world.■

PL Embraces Goldhagen: "Collective Guilt" and Collective Stupidity

Among those joining Zionist apologists for Israeli anti-Palestinian terror and ideologues for "democratic" imperialism in promoting the "collective guilt" line rehashed by Daniel Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners* are none other than the self-proclaimed "revolutionary communists" of the Progressive Labor Party (PL). Last spring, an editorial in *Challenge* (15 April) fulminated:

> "At the start of World War II, Josef Stalin, who led both the Soviet Union and the Red Army that eventually crushed Hitler, was asked to identify the Germans responsible for Nazi fascism. His reply: 'All Guilty!' By the end of the war, he had changed his mind, blaming instead just the German ruling class and the military High Command. We think he was right the first time."

This chauvinist condemnation of the entire German people dovetails with the line of the U.S. imperialists, who justified such atrocities as the firebombing of Dresden by likewise denouncing all Germans as Nazis. One of PL's own members, in a letter to *Challenge* (13 May), disowned the editorial as "not a class-based analysis" and "dangerously unscientific and nationalist."

As the *Challenge* editorial implies, PL's grotesque line blaming the German proletariat for Nazism comes straight from its mentor, the Russian nationalist *vozhd* (leader) Stalin. As we explained in Part Two of "The Holocaust, 'Collective Guilt' and German Imperialism" (*WV* No. 698, 9 October), it was Stalin himself, through the instruments of the Communist International and the German Communist Party (KPD), who was largely responsible for the victory of Hitlerism. Standing at the head of millions of revolutionary-minded German workers, the Stalinists disarmed the proletariat in the face of the Nazi menace in the early 1930s. The KPD rejected the Trotskyist Left Opposition's urgent appeals to forge a united front against the Nazis with the Social Democratic (SPD) workers and to lead a revolutionary struggle for proletarian power. Thus the Stalinists abetted the reformist SPD misleaders who helped pave the way for Hitler through their years of defending the interests of Germany's capitalist rulers.

Like all bureaucratic misleaders of the proletariat, the Stalinists foisted responsibility for their own criminal treachery on the supposed "passivity" of the German working class. By 1935, two years after allowing Hitler to come to power unchallenged, the Stalinist Comintern had passed openly over to defense of the bourgeois order, promoting class-collaborationist "popular fronts" with supposedly "anti-fascist" wings of the West European bourgeoisies. Spurned in his efforts at partnership with the "democratic" imperialists, Stalin consummated a bloc with German imperialism with the August 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop pact.

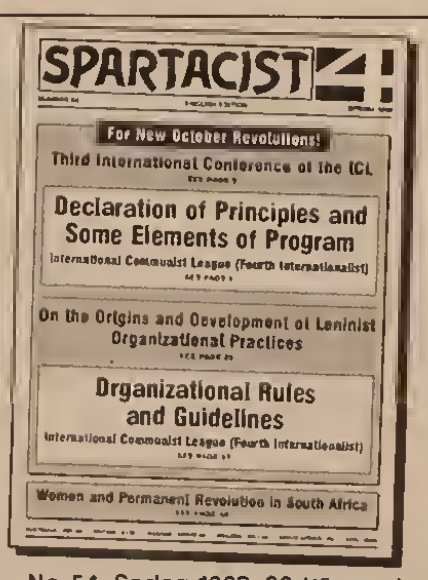
While defending the right of the Soviet degenerated workers state to make whatever military alliances necessary to further its defense, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky warned against Stalin's illusions in his "non-aggression" pact with Hitler. Indeed, far from leading the war against Nazi Germany (as PL would have it), Stalin beheaded the Red Army high command on the eve of the war, rejected warnings by his own intelligence services of an impending Nazi invasion, and paralyzed Soviet military defenses following Hitler's attack on the USSR in June 1941. It was *despite* Stalin that the multinational Soviet peoples and their Red Army triumphed over Nazi fascism in World War II.

As proletarian internationalists, the Trotskyists opposed all the bourgeois states in that interimperialist war, while calling for military defense of the Soviet

V. Ivanov

Soviet World War II poster glorified tsarist autocracy. Stalin pushed Russian nationalism, portrayed fight against Nazi invasion as war to save "Mother Russia."

No. 53, Summer 1997, $1.50 (56 pages)



No. 54, Spring 1998, $2 (48 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to

Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Balkans...

(continued from page 12)

imperialist rivals that the massive American arsenal of destruction continues to make it top dog" ("Down With U.S. War Moves in the Persian Gulf!" *WV* No. 685, 27 February).

U.S. declarations of "upholding a moral standard" in Kosovo reek of hypocrisy. This is the capitalist ruling class which dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, which in its drive to suppress social revolution slaughtered millions in the 1950-53 Korean War and millions more in Indochina in the 1960s and '70s, which has propped up one right-wing military dictatorship after another. And while the German bourgeoisie weeps crocodile tears for Albanian Kosovars, it has been viciously expelling thousands of refugees who had fled the communal wars in the Balkans which were largely instigated by German imperialism.

Throughout the Cold War, the imperialists did everything possible to whip up nationalist tensions in East Europe and the Soviet Union as a battering ram against the bureaucratically deformed and degenerated workers states. Milosevic himself rode to power in 1987 on a Serbian-nationalist drive against the Kosovo Albanians that pointed straight to counterrevolution. The ethnic civil wars and forced population transfers ("ethnic cleansing") which accompanied the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Yugoslav deformed workers state were fanned by the imperialists, who cynically exploited the situation to pursue their own divergent appetites. Now the imperialist powers are even trying to dictate what the ethnic composition of the Kosovo police force should be as part of the deal with Milosevic.

Unlike Bosnia—with its deeply interpenetrated Serb, Croat and Slavic Muslim populations—Kosovo's population is 90 percent ethnic Albanian. We defend the right of self-determination—that is, the right to secede from Serb-dominated Yugoslavia—for the Albanian-populated areas of Kosovo, so long as the separatist struggle is not subordinated to direct military intervention by the imperialists. At the same time, we defend the rights of the Serb and Roma (Gypsy) minorities to live in Kosovo on the basis of full legal equality and give no political support to the UCK, whose indiscriminate attacks on Serbian villages testify to their murderous nationalism.

Today, imperialist spokesmen cynically decry the national/communal wars sweeping the former Yugoslavia as a consequence of "age-old feuding" and savage Balkan "traditions." One observer ironically remarked that to get into the "European community" you had to have carried out your own "ethnic cleansing" at least a few generations ago. As we wrote in "'Ethnic Cleansing' and Nationalist Wars" (*WV* Nos. 580 and 581, 16 and 30 July 1993):

> "The formation of the classic nation-states in West Europe of the 17th and 18th centuries was also a bloody, protracted process. But it was linked to the extension of trade, the development of the national market and the rise of the bourgeoisie. However, under imperialism, in relatively backward capitalist countries the development of the national economy and the emergence of a vigorous bourgeoisie are stifled by imperialist exploitation and domination. Thus national consolidation under capitalism has been reduced to its stark component of communal savagery to drive out or eliminate minority nationalities."

We opposed all sides in the communal bloodletting that erupted in the former Yugoslavia in 1991, while denouncing every form of imperialist intervention. The sanctions that the imperialists imposed on Serbia six years ago—alternately eased and intensified since—have deepened the desperation of the entire population while especially hitting children, the aged and poor. Meanwhile, Iraq has been subjected to a U.S.-dictated starvation blockade which has killed over one million people—most of them young children—in the past eight years. We say: Down with imperialist sanctions against Serbia and Iraq!

The imperialists' attempt to cloak their bloody terror in "humanitarian" garb is sheer cynicism. What's downright obscene is how "radical" liberals and reformist "socialists" have been rabid in pushing for imperialist intervention in the Balkans. The liberal *Nation* (30 March) demanded "the imposition of a no-fly zone" in Kosovo and "a U.S. military reaction." In Europe, "radical chic" celebs like Bianca Jagger and Vanessa Redgrave, who was a leading light of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party before its implosion in 1985, have been in the forefront of the crusade for an imperialist military assault against the Serbs. Jagger and Redgrave were joined at an October 4 "Kosovo Solidarity March" in London—where signs calling to "Bomb Serbs" were prominent—by a number of Healyite splinters, including Redgrave's Marxist Party and Cliff Slaughter's Movement for Socialism, as well as by a contingent from the Socialist Outlook group associated with the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec).

The USec and the Slaughterites—joined by feminists in the U.S. and Europe—have long been avid cheerleaders for imperialist intervention in the Balkans. When these outfits cobbled together a campaign for "Workers Aid to Bosnia" in the early '90s, we described them as "Fake Lefts in the Baggage Train of Imperialism" (*WV* No. 604, 5 August 1994). Also supporting this "socialist" stalking-horse for imperialist intervention was the centrist British Workers Power (WP), whose chief complaint against the UN military force in Bosnia—which WP nominally opposed—was that it had "not lifted a finger to stop ethnic cleansing" (*Workers Power*, December 1993). When the U.S., Britain and other NATO powers embarked on a massive bombing attack on the Bosnian Serbs in 1995, WP abandoned even its pretense of opposition to imperialist terror, declaring in a 5 September 1995 statement that "in the war between NATO and the [Bosnian Serb] Republika Srpska, revolutionaries continue to take a revolutionary defeatist position on both sides" and arguing that NATO's "objectives would be progressive" if only the war planes did not have NATO insignia!

It is precisely on the basis of such murderous "progressive objectives" that Washington is seeking to bolster NATO forces as an imperialist gendarmerie to promote its interests throughout Europe. Describing as a "watershed" NATO's decision to bomb Serbia without UN authorization and with "a less-than-watertight legal argument"—as though that ever impeded imperialist terror—an article in the *New York Times* (18 October) was headlined: "NATO Shatters Old Limits in the Name of Preventing Evil." And Clinton's secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, declared NATO to be "our institution of choice" for "defending Western values on the continent."

A democratic and equitable resolution of the conflicting national claims in the Balkans can only be achieved through socialist revolution which brings the multinational proletariat to power. Military intervention by U.S. and other imperialist forces can only deepen national hatreds among the South Slav peoples, further crush them under the boot of imperialism, and risk igniting a war which would bring to the fore interimperialist conflicts which have intensified since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. The immediate prelude to the hideous carnage of World War I was a succession of Balkan Wars which were manipulated by the Great Powers and fueled by rival local nationalisms. It was the 1917 Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks which pointed the way out of imperialist war and nationalist fratricide. Today, the ICL seeks to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International to lead the struggle for new October Revolutions around the world. ■

Union. The Stalinist bureaucracy, having repudiated Bolshevik internationalism in favor of the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" as far back as 1924, portrayed the war not as a defense of the world's first workers state but as a "Great Patriotic War" for "Mother Russia." The American Stalinists openly embraced U.S. imperialism and opposed strikes as sabotaging the "war against fascism," even hailing the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. As for Stalin "changing his mind" about who was guilty for German Nazism, this was a result of his attempt toward the end of the war to cement a "Free German Movement" encompassing not only an "anti-fascist" wing of the German bourgeoisie but even anti-Hitler elements of the Nazi regime (see Wolfgang Leonhard, *Child of the Revolution* [1957]). The latter-day Stalinists of PL criticize Stalin not for betraying proletarian revolutions from Spain to Germany, Italy and France, but for supposedly backtracking on the Kremlin's wartime anti-German chauvinism.

PL declares in its editorial: "Unlike the German working class, the Italian workers were not committed to fascism," noting how the "red-led mass anti-fascist movement hung Mussolini by his toes, and defeated the fascists." In fact, the Stalinists literally disarmed the Italian proletariat and chained it to a postwar popular front which salvaged the tottering bourgeois order. Even PL's internal critic notes that "the Italian Communists, their partisan army, and their allies held state power in their hands at the end of WWII, but thought they could trust the Italian capitalists to share power in a coalition government." Facts are, indeed, stubborn things.

Despite its vacuous "revolutionary" rhetoric, PL has never broken from Stalinist class collaborationism, veering between and combining idiot sectarian posturing and crass opportunism. With PL now deeply immersed in one of its cycles of "left-center coalition" building in the "mass movement," its liberal underbelly is all the more evident. PL boasts of attempts to win "honest center" elements out of everything from the sinister, male-chauvinist Christian Promise Keepers to reactionary black demagogue Louis Farrakhan's 1995 Million Man March, even while labeling these movements—as well as the AFL-CIO trade-union federation—as fascist. More recently, *Challenge* (23 September) trumpeted PL's contingent at last month's "Million Youth March" led by anti-Semitic bigot Khallid Muhammad.

Rejecting Marxism, scientific socialism, and the revolutionary program needed to mobilize the multiracial proletariat in a conscious struggle for socialist revolution, PL instead seeks to animate its membership with petty-bourgeois, "collective guilt" liberal appeals. For PL, racism and other types of oppression boil down to a bunch of bad ideas in people's heads. PL even denounces "cynicism" as fascist and vituperates in its editorial:

> "When we accept racist deportations and concentration camps for 'illegal' immigrants, we are guilty. When we fail to act against the rulers' wars for profit, we are guilty. When we ignore the homeless and hungry, we are guilty."

Like its mentor Stalin, PL in effect blames workers and minorities for their own exploitation and oppression by the capitalist system. PL's dismissal of the trade unions as "fascist" is an expression of its refusal to wage a political struggle against the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO misleaders who oppose any mobilization of the working class in its own immediate interests or in defense of the oppressed. Meanwhile, PL itself reinforces backward consciousness in the working class, from its promotion of anti-gay bigotry to its opposition to even minimal measures against racist discrimination like affirmative action. PL is indeed guilty—of addling the minds of those subjectively revolutionary youth attracted by its communist rhetoric.

Fascism grows on the topsoil of capitalism in its death agony by seeking to weld the myriad discontents of the petty bourgeoisie and the declassed lumpenproletariat into an extreme nationalist, xenophobic movement to smash the workers. In the U.S. today the fascists are a menacing but still small fringe of race-hate terrorists. However, the moment that class struggle and social upheavals seriously challenge capitalist rule, the bourgeoisie will turn to these shock troops of reaction to smash the proletariat, just as the German capitalists turned to Hitler. From Detroit to Washington, D.C. to Springfield, Illinois the Spartacist League has built mass labor-centered mobilizations—drawing in blacks, gays, immigrants, Jews and others—to stop the Ku Klux Klan, Nazis and skinheads. This is a crucial part of our fight to build a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party dedicated to the struggle for socialist revolution, the only road to eradicating the danger of fascist barbarism once and for all. ■

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION
(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1. Publication title: *Workers Vanguard*.
2. Publication no.: 09-8770.
3. Filing date: 30 September 1998.
4. Issue frequency: Bi-weekly, except skipping 3 alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December.
5. No. of issues published annually: 22.
6. Annual subscription price: $10.00.
7. Complete mailing address of known office of publication: 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007.
8. Complete mailing address of headquarters or general business office of publisher: Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007.
9. Full names and complete mailing addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher—Spartacist Publishing Company, 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007; Editor—Len Meyers, 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007; Managing Editor—Ray Bishop, 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007.
10. Owner: Spartacist Publishing Company (Unincorporated Association), 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007.
11. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities: None.
12. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates: Not applicable.
13. Publication title: *Workers Vanguard*.
14. Issue date for circulation data below: 25 September 1998.
15. Extent and nature of circulation: Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: a. Total number of copies (Net press run): 13,522; b. Paid and/or requested circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, and counter sales: 8,028; (2) Paid or requested mail subscriptions: 2,199; c. Total paid and/or requested circulation (Sum of 15b(1) and 15b(2)): 10,227; d. Free distribution by mail: 295; e. Free distribution outside the mail: 0; f. Total free distribution (Sum of 15d and 15e): 295; g. Total distribution (Sum of 15c and 15f): 10,522; h. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, leftovers, spoiled: 2,987; (2) Returns from news agents: 13; i. Total (Sum of 15g, 15h(1), and 15h(2)): 13,522. Percent paid and/or requested circulation: 97.20%.

Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: a. Total number of copies (Net press run): 15,000; b. Paid and/or requested circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, and counter sales: 10,026; (2) Paid or requested mail subscriptions: 1,787; c. Total paid and/or requested circulation (Sum of 15b(1) and 15b(2)): 11,813; d. Free distribution by mail: 290; e. Free distribution outside the mail: 0; f. Total free distribution (Sum of 15d and 15e): 290; g. Total distribution (Sum of 15c and 15f): 12,103; h. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, leftovers, spoiled: 2,897; (2) Returns from news agents: 0; i. Total (Sum of 15g, 15h(1), and 15h(2)): 15,000. Percent paid and/or requested circulation: 97.60%.

16. This statement of ownership will be printed in the 23 October 1998 issue of this publication.
17. Signature and title of editor, publisher, business manager, or owner: (Signed) Len Meyers (Editor), 30 September 1998. I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete. I understand that anyone who furnishes false or misleading information on this form or who omits material or information requested on the form may be subject to criminal sanctions (including fines and imprisonment) and/or civil sanctions (including multiple damages and civil penalties).

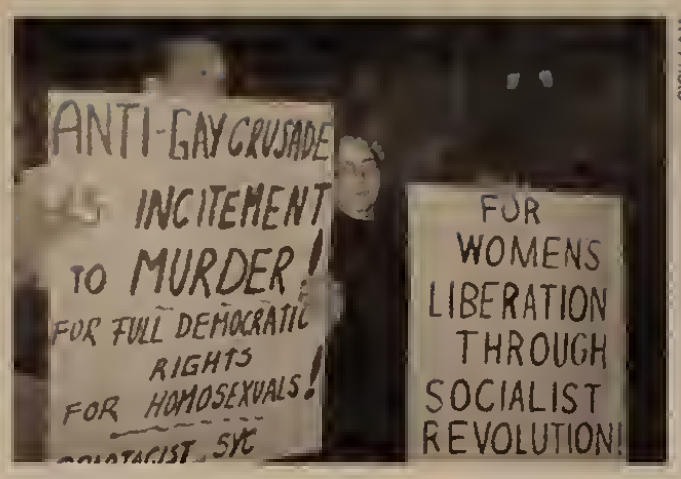
Anti-Gay Crusade...

(continued from page 1)

Union in 1991-92.

Under capitalism, democratic rights—particularly for racial and ethnic minorities, women, homosexuals and other sectors of the oppressed—are necessarily partial, fragile and reversible. Gay oppression is directly linked to the oppression of women in the family, a key prop of capitalist class rule, and can only be rooted out through the overthrow of this profit-driven system of exploitation. As we wrote at the time of a 1993 mass march for homosexual rights in the U.S. military ("Full Rights for Gays! Down With U.S. War Machine!" *WV* No. 574, 23 April 1993):

> "Bigotry against women and gays in particular flows from entrenched sexual stereotyping decreed by the sexual division of labor in the family, the root of the oppression of women in bourgeois society, and enforced by religious moral codes against 'sin.' Capitalist society needs the family, a bedrock conservatizing force and the mechanism by which capitalist private property is passed down from generation to generation, and so *cannot* ultimately 'legitimatize' those who fundamentally deviate from its restrictions."



WV Photo

October 15 New York University protest against heinous murder of Matthew Shepard.

Whatever measure of tolerance homosexuals have been able to achieve in contemporary American society has been a byproduct of the social struggles of the 1950s and '60s, particularly the black civil rights movement which shattered the pervasive social conservatism which was the domestic corollary to the anti-Soviet Cold War. With the American bourgeois order buffeted by social protest and U.S. imperialism suffering humiliating defeat on the battlefields of Indochina, the capitalist rulers granted a series of liberal reforms to blacks, women and gays. But these minimal measures were almost immediately subjected to attack as the bourgeoisie moved—under the administration of Democrat Jimmy Carter—to regiment the population through "moral rearmament" in preparation for a renewed war drive against the Soviet Union. Today, emboldened by capitalist counterrevolution in the former USSR and East Europe, the religious right is intent on making "sin" synonymous with crime—a variant of the biblical notion of overarching Satanic evil—graphically seen in the moralistic injunctions thrown around by Republicans and Democrats alike amid the drive to impeach Clinton for a consensual sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky.

In an article in the *New York Times Magazine* (11 October), gay Republican Andrew Sullivan expresses alarm at "a wholesale assault on the beliefs and practices of an entire post-1960's settlement" being pushed by right-wing ideologues like William Kristol and the Christian fundamentalist wing now entrenched in the Republican Party. "For the new conservatives," writes Sullivan, "the counterattack on homosexual legitimacy is of a piece with the battle against Presidential adultery." And the chief focus of this puritanical crusade is the drive to eliminate the right to abortion entirely, as Kristol makes clear when he rants in *Commentary* (February 1997) that "abortion is today the bloody crossroads of American politics." Sullivan reports how one speaker at a conservative conference in Washington, D.C. last June "decried legal contraception and abortion as the 'homosexualization of heterosexual sex,' and bemoaned that nonprocreative trends among white Europeans was leading to 'race death'."

Such racist diatribes, recalling the Nazis' genocidal propaganda, underline how the reactionary offensive against gays and women targets all the oppressed. The same scum who murdered Matthew Shepard went on to viciously attack two Hispanic men that same night. The "right to life" terrorists who bomb abortion clinics and assassinate health care providers also perpetrate racist terror against blacks and immigrants. In the eyes of these sexist bigots and racist nightriders, those who do not fit their image of "righteous, patriotic Americans" are not fit to live.

Democratic rights are indivisible. The fates of all those subjected to special oppression in capitalist society—homosexuals, women, immigrants, blacks—are inextricably intertwined. Moreover, defense of bourgeois-democratic rights is tightly linked to the defense of specifically *proletorian* rights—to organize unions, to strike, to picket—which are also currently under attack and can only be wrested and defended from the bourgeoisie through class struggle. As an SL speaker at an October 15 gay rights protest in Chicago said:

> "With 40 percent of the nation's income concentrated in the hands of 1 percent of the population, in order to handle the growing explosive contradictions between the ruling class and everyone else, the bosses must increase the repressive apparatus of the state, which includes going after everyone and intrudes on all aspects of social life. That's the meaning of the attacks on abortion, on gays, on black people in this country.
>
> "The people who have the interest and the power to mobilize against these attacks are the ones who created the wealth in this society, the working class. Those are the ones who, against the

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Incitement to murder: vile media campaign by religious bigots demonizes gays.

Kaiser Strike...

(continued from page 12)

aim of pressuring the company back to the bargaining table. Such toothless lobbying efforts sounded the death knell of a series of strikes in the 1980s and '90s, from Hormel meatpackers and Detroit newspaper workers to Ravenswood Aluminum workers and now Pueblo steel workers.

While promoting a "corporate campaign" during the 20-month Ravenswood strike by West Virginia USWA Local 5668 in 1991-92, the USWA tops directed union members to comply with injunctions limiting picketing. As the strikers returned to work, the USWA tops abandoned Local 5668 member Bob Buck, who had been framed up and sent to prison for defending his union. Meanwhile, they capitulated to company demands to *let the scabs join the union*.

Kaiser's current drive against the union takes place in the context of the growing world capitalist economic crisis—which among other things has led to a steep drop in steel and aluminum prices—impelling workers into struggle internationally. Workers in Russia suffering under the impact of capitalist counterrevolution are desperately fighting starvation conditions, South Korean workers face the ravages of unemployment and wage losses, and in Brazil the government has announced a full-scale austerity program at the behest of the IMF vultures.

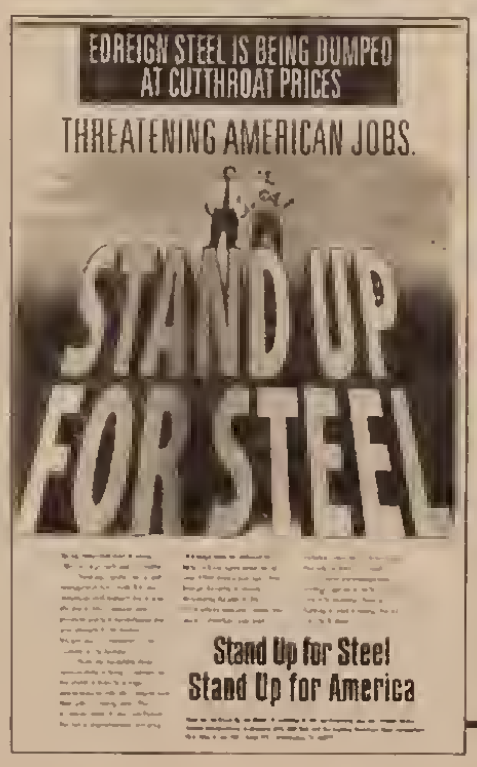
This situation cries out for international labor solidarity, uniting workers across national lines in class struggle against all the exploiters. But this is hardly the perspective of the AFL-CIO misleaders, who instead boost the interests of American corporations against workers internationally. Even as Kaiser and others ratchet up their anti-union drive, the USWA bureaucracy has joined with U.S. steel magnates in a chauvinist "Stand Up for Steel" campaign demanding that the White House impose protectionist measures against imports. On September 10, major newspapers ran full-page ads signed by USWA president George Becker and steel company CEOs screaming, "The Dumping of Foreign Steel at Cutthroat Prices Threatens America." The campaign went on to reach a fever pitch of chauvinist bigotry, with ads vituperating against "the Japanese threat to thousands of American jobs" and calling for the U.S. government to act "swiftly and effectively by all necessary means" against foreign steel producers and governments.

It is this kind of language which the American imperialists employed to prepare the groundwork for the Pacific War against Japan in World War II! Indeed, trade wars lead to shooting wars—the ultimate means by which rival capitalist states seek to secure a monopoly of foreign markets and spheres of exploitation. In pushing the "Stand Up for Steel" campaign, the USWA tops simply parrot their corporate masters, who will champion "free trade" when convenient to open up overseas markets for exploitation and will demand protectionist measures whenever foreign competition hurts their profits. The bureaucracy's increasingly racist and bellicose pleas to save "American jobs" is in fact a campaign to save American capitalist profits. Protectionism is *poison* to class struggle, pushing workers to embrace the "national interests" of their own exploiters against "foreign" rivals.

Opposition to protectionism is ABC for Marxists. Yet the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which pretends to offer a "militant" alternative to the union misleaders, echoes the flag-waving chauvinism promoted by the AFL-CIO tops. While claiming to oppose the USWA's ad campaign, *Socialist Worker* (9 October) complains that "the steel bosses aren't concerned about being 'American'." It continues: "For example, National Steel, a backer of the campaign, is owned by the Japanese firm NKK! And another campaign supporter, Inland Steel, is owned by the Indian company Ispat."

Such grotesque appeals to "anti-foreigner" backwardness are part and parcel of the ISO's reformist perspective, which is premised not on overthrowing the rule of the American bourgeoisie but on pressuring it to act on behalf of workers and the oppressed. Within the unions, the ISO consistently offers political support to one or another wing of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. Indeed, the *Socialist Worker* article goes so far as to call on "Becker and other labor leaders to make good on their promise of international labor solidarity."

What promise? Particularly with the spectre of a looming world depression and heightened interimperialist rivalry, the U.S. rulers look to their "labor lieutenants," like Becker and the rest of the AFL-CIO officialdom, to police the workers, including through the lie that the struggle for job security means defense of "American interests" against working people abroad. In the course of the class battles to come, a new leadership of the labor movement—based on a program of militant internationalist struggle against the capitalist rulers—must be forged through political combat against the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy. This is linked to the fight for a revolutionary workers party based on the Marxist understanding that the entire capitalist profit system must be rooted out and replaced by workers rule.■



Dave Rentz

USWA president George Becker joins with steel corporations in pushing anti-Japanese chauvinism. Protectionism is poison to class struggle.

Democrats and the union misleaders, need to take up the fight for the rights of all the oppressed. In 1982, the Nazis wanted to march on Gay Pride Day here in Chicago. The Nazis thought that no one would bother to come out to stop an attack on a more vulnerable section of the population. They were wrong. Three thousand people came out to stop them from recruiting to genocide."

Initiated by the Trotskyist SL, the united-front labor/black mobilization against the Nazis in June 1982 drew support from dozens of trade unions and black, Hispanic, Jewish, gay, student and leftist organizations. This was a fighting example of the role of the Leninist vanguard leading the proletariat, and behind it all the oppressed, in defense of the rights of homosexuals and all minorities.

Liberal Moralism and "Family Values" Reaction

Particularly as Democratic Party liberals have paid lip service to homosexual rights in recent years, petty-bourgeois gay activists have concentrated their efforts on legislative reforms. In "gay meccas" like San Francisco, the liberal gay milieu has indeed simply become a part of the racist, anti-working-class Democratic Party machine. Such types have increasingly embraced "family values" moralism. In response to the hate-mongering ad crusade by the Family Research Council last summer, mainstream gay organizations countered with an advertisement promoting god, church and patriotism, with a "typical," religious, Republican family announcing: "We're living proof that families with lesbian and gay kids can be whole, happy and worthy of all that this great country promises."

As Marxists, we support laws codifying the civil rights of gays—including the right to same-sex marriage—while noting, "The real point is that marital status ought to be genuinely irrelevant: every individual should have the same protections regarding health, home and children" (*Women and Revolution* No. 39, Summer 1991). However, it is a dangerous illusion that even bourgeois and petty-bourgeois homosexuals can assure a place for themselves in this homophobic capitalist society. Anti-gay terror is not confined to the hinterlands. In New York City, for example, reported "bias crimes" against homosexuals have skyrocketed by *81 percent* in the past year.

In promoting themselves as part of the "American mainstream," some homosexual groups have organized campaigns which actually *fuel* anti-gay prejudice. For years, "respectable" gay rights organizations have shunned and denounced the North American Man-Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), which has suffered enormous persecution by the bourgeois state for its commitment to defense of the rights of "men and boys involved in consensual sexual and other relationships with each other." As part of our consistent defense of NAMBLA against state repression and against exclusion from gay rights protests, the Spartacist League has noted (*WV* No. 587, 5 November 1993):

> "The portrayal of NAMBLA as child molesters has nothing to do with the protection of children; rather it is part of a generalized campaign against sex aimed at the 'moral rearmament' of the American people which would bolster the *bourgeoisie's* authority. The guiding principle for sexual relationship between *all* people ought to be one of effective consent."

More recently in San Francisco, Community United Against Violence, a group set up to monitor and expose anti-gay attacks, has run posters on city buses blaring, "Women Can Rape Women," feeding into the bigots' depiction of homosexuals as "predators." Tailing the bourgeois-feminist and gay-lifestylist milieu in pandering to "family values" reaction is the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), which hails anti-pornography censor Catharine MacKinnon for "trail-blazing legislation that attacked porn as sex discrimination" (*Freedom Socialist*, March-May 1994). In the name of "protecting women and children," such laws strengthen the powers of the bourgeois state in attacking free speech and other civil liberties, including censorship of feminist publications.

For its part, the reformist Workers World Party (WWP) openly fosters illusions in the Democratic Party. In a statement on the murder of Matthew Shepard, WWP calls to lobby Congress to end "hate crimes," proclaiming: "If President Clinton or other politicians really wanted to put an end to these crimes, they could call for a national mobilization of millions of people to march on Washington and occupy the Capitol until Congress enacts full civil rights for sexual and gender minorities, restores and expands affirmative action, restores and expands welfare and ends workfare, ends Pentagon funding and prison building and instead provides full funding for education, housing, and health care" (*Workers World*, 22 October). WWP might just as well call on the capitalist Democrats to establish socialism while they're at it!

An avowedly "communist" group which actually *promotes* anti-gay bigotry is the Progressive Labor Party (PL), which has long been notorious for its fulminations against "movements which unite with drug addicts and homosexuals" (*Progressive Labor*, February 1971). PL's opposition to gay rights does not sit well with many of its younger members. But this disgusting position is firmly embedded in PL's puritanical Stalinist background with its embrace of the family as a "fighting unit for socialism." This has led PL to "intervene" in sinister Christian fundamentalist formations such as the all-male Promise Keepers, whose leader rails against homosexuality "as an abomination of Almighty God."

Forge a Leninist Vanguard Party!

PL's pandering to such reactionary prejudices exposes as utterly hollow its claim to stand for communism. Pervasive racism and deep-going male chauvinism—combined with religious backwardness—have historically been used by the bourgeoisie to divide the working class. While anti-gay bigotry does not pose the same kind of strategic obstacle to proletarian revolution, the working class cannot be won to an understanding of its historic role as the gravedigger of capitalism without a relentless struggle by the communist vanguard against any and all manifestations of social prejudice and backward consciousness. Centrally, this means a political fight against the trade-union bureaucracy which chains the working class to the capitalist class enemy and plays a key role in promoting backward prejudices.

As we noted at the time of our 1977 fusion with the Red Flag Union, a Marxist group which emerged from the gay liberation movement (*WV* No. 171, 2 September 1977):

> "The slogan 'Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals' means a commitment not only to fight against such abuses as job discrimination and legal inequality, but also to mobilize the power of the working class in defense of homosexuals' democratic rights. It is not a separate demand for homosexuals, but a demand in the interests of the entire working class....
>
> "The socialist program is committed to the eradication of homosexual oppression, which is linked to the special oppression of women. The sexual division of labor based on child-rearing became a source of social oppression in class society. The nuclear family conditions sex roles which are inherently oppressive to those who deviate from the accepted sex role norms. While proletarian rule will do much to end homosexual oppression, the final eradication of all ideological oppression of homosexuals cannot occur until the family is replaced in socialist society."

It will take a proletarian revolution to sweep away the system which spawned the depraved killers of Matthew Shepard. The Spartacist League is committed to forging the internationalist Leninist vanguard party needed to lead the working class to victory in this fight.■

Savulich/Daily News

Drop All Charges Against NYC Gay Rights Marchers!

OCTOBER 20—As several thousand marched in New York City last night to mourn the murdered Matthew Shepard and call for stronger "hate crimes" laws, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani unleashed an army of cops on horseback and in riot gear. Marchers were trampled, pepper-sprayed, beaten with nightsticks and indiscriminately arrested. Over 100 remain in jail as we go to press. This vicious attack underscores the danger of appealing to the forces of capitalist state repression to defend the rights of the oppressed. Drop the charges now!

WV Photo

Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization spiked Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day, Chicago 1982.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

U.S./NATO Hands Off Serbia, Kosovo!

OCTOBER 19—As we go to press, the threat of a massive bombing and missile assault by 16 NATO powers still hangs over the people of Serbia and the southern province of Kosovo. After mobilizing an armada of more than 400 military aircraft, Washington has now announced a ten-day postponement of any military assault to allow for a promised withdrawal of Serb police and army units. Last week, the U.S. and its NATO partners forced Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serb-dominated rump Yugoslavia, to agree to the entry of 2,000 imperialist "monitors" into Kosovo with the supposed aim of overseeing the Serb withdrawal. Meanwhile, 25,000 United Nations "peacekeeping" forces—including American units—remain in neighboring Bosnia, and a thousand more in Macedonia.

The International Communist League and its U.S. section, the Spartacist League, call for military defense of Serbia in the event of an imperialist attack. Whether or not the U.S.-dominated NATO alliance carries out its bombing threat, we forthrightly oppose this imperialist bullying and blackmail and declare: *All U.S./UN/NATO forces out of the Balkans!*

As usual, the imperialists have cloaked their threats of military terror in the language of "humanitarian" concern for the plight of Kosovo's ethnic Albanian majority, which has been subjected to fierce repression by Serbian forces battling a secessionist insurgency by the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK). This is the height of cynicism. The U.S. and other NATO powers are no less opposed to the right of self-determination for Kosovo's Albanian population than is Serb-chauvinist strongman Milosevic. This was made crystal clear by an editorial in the London *Independent* (12 October) which, while screaming for an imperialist military assault, stressed: "Serbia should be clear that the West is not advocating independence for Kosovo, or its absorption into a greater Albania."

As Milosevic launched a wave of military repression in Kosovo last spring, the U.S. careened from threatening to step up sanctions against Belgrade to pressuring its European allies to ease such sanctions. When fighting between Serbian forces and the UCK started to get "out of hand," the imperialist press launched a massive propaganda blitz suddenly "exposing" Serb atrocities in Kosovo while Washington staged a show of force aimed at getting Milosevic to draw back (see "Down With Imperialist Intervention in the Balkans!" *WV* No. 693, 3 July).

NATO's vacillations on ordering a military strike have nothing to do with pious proclamations of hopes for a "peaceful" solution, but rather reflect the fact that Washington and its West European "allies" have different appetites in the Balkans. Though ultimately rallying behind the bombing plan pushed by Washington and London, France opposed a resolution in the UN Security Council authorizing military action and Italy initially opposed an attack in the absence of such a resolution. Meanwhile, German Social Democratic chancellor-elect Gerhard Schröder has been strident in advocating military intervention against the Serbs.

Germany is out to reassert its "sphere of influence" in the northern Balkan states of Croatia and Slovenia—enforced during World War II through a genocidal occupation of Yugoslavia by Hitler's Nazis. Italy has similar aims in Albania, where it currently has an occupation force. Russia—which feels threatened by NATO expansion in East Europe and was under tsarist rule a patron of the Serbs—even talked of giving Serbia military aid against a NATO attack before offering to join the imperialist "monitoring" force.

Like the West European powers, Washington is fearful that the conflict in Kosovo could spread to the Albanian minority in Macedonia and draw in Albania as well as Bulgaria and Greece, which both have claims on Macedonia. But fundamentally, the U.S. has no strategic interest in the Balkans, other than to impose its diktat there and around the world. As we wrote of U.S. plans to unleash a bombing attack against Iraq last February, Washington's repeated military threats and interventions highlight "the drive by U.S. imperialism to assert its 'right' to ride roughshod over the colonial and semicolonial peoples of the world and to demonstrate to its

continued on page 9

All UN/Imperialist Troops Out of the Balkans!

Watson/Pandis

DPA

U.S. president Clinton, Social Democratic German chancellor-elect Schröder threaten imperialist attack on Serbs in Kosovo. Imperialist UN "peacekeeping" force in Bosnia.

USWA Tops' Protectionism: Poison to Class Struggle

Victory to Kaiser Aluminum Strike!

Some 3,000 members of the United Steelworkers (USWA) in Washington, Louisiana and Ohio have been on strike since September 30 against a union-busting drive by Kaiser Aluminum. Kaiser threw down the gauntlet against the union by demanding a contract which would cut one of every five jobs, allow unlimited "outsourcing" of production and maintenance work and implement forced overtime and other "productivity" schemes.

This is the second strike against Kaiser in three years. Like millions of other workers in the U.S., during the 1980s Kaiser workers were pressured by the union misleaders to make huge sacrifices in pay and benefits with the lie that jobs could only be secured through ensuring company "profitability." Meanwhile, eight plants were shut down as Kaiser underwent two "leveraged buyouts." Now the company wants to gut the union entirely. As soon as the current strike began, hundreds of managers and over 1,000 scabs were brought in to keep production going, and Kaiser CEO Ray Milchovich gloats that scabs are "coming and going without a problem."

Such massive scabherding was also deployed to break a strike launched last October by 1,100 members of USWA Locals 2102 and 3267 against Oregon Steel in Pueblo, Colorado. In what has historically been one of the only union strongholds in the Rocky Mountain region, USWA members' jobs have been taken by scabs.

It doesn't have to be like this! As seen in a series of recent strikes—from UPS last year to Flint GM this summer—there is a renewed combativity among American workers fed up with multi-tier wage schemes, speedup and mass layoffs. To defeat Kaiser's union-busting requires that the union unleash the power residing in its ability to ***stop production and cut off the flow of profits.*** That means solid, mass picket lines to stop scabbing. It also means concrete labor solidarity from other key unions, starting with railway workers and Teamster truckers refusing to handle ("hot cargo") scab aluminum. And that would mean going up against scabherding cops and strikebreaking court injunctions, i.e., against the capitalist state which exists to protect the property and profits of the corporate bosses. This points to the crucial need to forge a labor leadership imbued with the understanding that workers' interests are irreconcilably counterposed to those of their exploiters, that the bourgeois state and the Democratic and Republican parties of capital are the enemies of labor and the oppressed.

The pro-capitalist union tops promote the lie of a "partnership" between labor and capital, a class-collaborationist perspective which has undermined the power of labor and led to a series of stinging defeats for the USWA. In Pueblo, the USWA tops offered an "unconditional return to work" last December with the rationale that the National Labor Relations Board, an arm of the capitalist government, would declare the company's union-busting "illegal" and grant millions of dollars in back pay to the strikers. While appealing to the anti-labor NLRB, the USWA tops launched a "corporate campaign" to convince customers to withdraw their accounts from Wells Fargo Bank, one of Oregon Steel's main creditors, with the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 700

6 November 1998

Pennsylvania Supreme Court Upholds Racist Frame-Up

Mumia Abu-Jamal in Grave Danger

Freedom for Mumia Now!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

WV Photos

New York City, October 31: Emergency protest called by PDC drew range of trade-union, left and defense organizations.

The following statement was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on October 30, the day the Pennsylvania Supreme Court announced its frame-up ruling against Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is now under immediate threat of death by the state's executioners. Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man, an eloquent and outspoken opponent of racism and injustice who has been hounded by the Philadelphia police and FBI since the time he was a teenage spokesman for the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s. Jamal remained in the cross hairs of the cops as he went on to become a renowned journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization in the late 1970s. Continuing the decades-long political vendetta against Jamal, this morning the Pennsylvania Supreme Court issued a 71-page ruling endorsing each and every aspect of his racist frame-up and false conviction for the 1981 killing of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner.

Urgent Statement of the Partisan Defense Committee

This judicial ruling has been prepared by a sinister campaign by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police and its supporters. To grease the skids to the execution chamber, these forces recently took out a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times* (14 June) and other major newspapers around the country. Only days before the ruling, the *New York Post* (25 October) ran a rabid editorial raving against Jamal as a "cop killer" who should be put to death. The purpose of this racist crusade is to manufacture a climate of "public opinion" for the legal lynching of Jamal. *We cannot let this happen!*

Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge has long vowed to sign a new death warrant as soon as the state Supreme Court ruling was announced. In 1995, it took a massive campaign of international protest, including by trade unions representing millions of workers from Italy to South Africa, to stay the hands of the executioners when Ridge had signed an earlier warrant for Jamal's death that summer. While Jamal's attorneys fight to wield every legal weapon they can in his defense, what is urgently needed right now are mass mobilizations particularly drawing on the power of the multiracial working class to demand: *Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

It is no accident that the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling was released only days before the upcoming elections—as Ridge campaigns for another term as governor—amid a heinous, murderous campaign of bigotry against homosexual rights and the right to abortion, and as both the Democratic and Republican parties promote the speedup on death rows around the country. The "right-to-life" terrorists who assassinated Dr. Barnett Slepian last week are the same forces who howl for racist legal lynching. Only this week, a 29-year-old black man, Jeffrey Blake, was released from prison in New York after his 1991 murder conviction was shown to be based entirely on fabricated testimony. If New York State had had the death penalty at the time of Blake's frame-up, this innocent man would likely not have lived to see his exoneration.

The crusade to kill another innocent man—the most prominent death row prisoner in America today, Mumia Abu-Jamal—is precisely designed to sanctify the state's machinery of death. Jamal's case throws a spotlight on what the barbaric, racist death penalty in the U.S. is all about.

In a demonstration of flagrant bias, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling dismisses as "incredible" every piece of testimony by witnesses testifying on Jamal's behalf and every piece of evidence submitted by Jamal's defense team. At the same time, they find totally "credible" every action and piece of testimony by

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NYC Emergency Protest: "Free Mumia Now!"

SEE PAGE FOUR

Racist Vendetta Sent Mumia to Death Row

SEE PAGE SIX

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PC Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Build PDC Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners!

"The class conscious worker accords to the class war prisoners a place of singular honor and esteem" (*Labor Defender*, September 1926). With these words, James P. Cannon, the founder and first secretary of the International Labor Defense (ILD), expressed the class solidarity which animated the ILD's work on behalf of those imprisoned for fighting the exploitation and oppression of this capitalist society. It is in this tradition that the Partisan Defense Committee is holding its 13th annual Holiday Appeal fund drive for today's class-war prisoners.

This campaign helps to sustain the PDC's monthly stipend program for 16 class-war prisoners and provides extra funds for holiday gifts for them and their loved ones. This is not an act of charity, but rather the duty of fighters against injustice to those inside prison walls as we struggle for their freedom.

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! This December will mark 17 years of Mumia Abu-Jamal's imprisonment. Former Black Panther, well-known journalist, "Voice of the Voiceless," MOVE supporter—Jamal was framed up on false charges of killing a Philadelphia cop and sentenced to die for his political beliefs and defiance of the racist capitalist order.

Now, the rejection of Jamal's appeal by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court places him in grave danger. Pennsylvania governor Ridge long ago vowed to sign a death warrant for Jamal in the event of such a ruling. ***We must not let them kill Mumia!*** In the summer of 1995, it took a massive campaign of protest—by death penalty abolitionists, labor and anti-racist fighters internationally—to stay the executioner's hand. We aim to mobilize the power of the multiracial working class not only to free Mumia but to put the state's killing machine out of business for good.

Jerry Dale Lowe is a United Mine Workers member framed up on federal

WV Photo

Jerry Dale Lowe

charges in the July 1993 shooting death of a scab contractor in Logan County, West Virginia. The scab was part of a convoy leaving the mine, shot in the back of the head from the direction of the bosses' thugs. Lowe was singled out by authorities because he was a militant defender of the picket line. For the "crime" of defending his union, Lowe was sentenced to nearly eleven years in jail in Ashland, Kentucky with no possibility of parole.

Ed Poindexter and **Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa** are former Black Panther supporters and leaders of the Omaha Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism. Victims of the racist FBI COINTELPRO operation, they were framed up for an explosion in 1970 which killed a cop. Both were convicted on the basis of perjured testimony and sentenced to life. The Nebraska Board of Pardons refuses to lessen the sentences so that they can be considered for parole. Poindexter is at Lino Lake, Minnesota and Mondo is at Lincoln, Nebraska.

Jaan Laaman and **Ray Luc Levasseur**, arrested in 1984 and '85, are radical activists with a shared history of opposition to racism and imperialism. They were sentenced to 45 years to life under RICO conspiracy laws on allegations of bank expropriations and bombings targeting symbols of U.S. imperialism in the late 1970s and '80s. Jaan Laaman is at Leavenworth, Kansas and Ray Luc Levasseur is in the high-tech Administrative Maximum (ADX) torture chamber at Florence, Colorado.

WV Photo

Jamal Hart

Hugo Pinell is the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison. A militant anti-racist, he was a leader of prison rights organizing along with George Jackson, who was murdered by prison guards in 1971. Pinell has languished in prison for over 30 years. He is currently serving a life sentence at the notorious Pelican Bay prison in Crescent City, California.

Eight MOVE members are in their 21st year in prison. They were sentenced to 30–100 years after the 1978 police attack on their Philadelphia home, falsely convicted of killing a police officer. They are **Chuck Africa** and **Michael Davis Africa**, Graterford; **Debbie Sims Africa, Janet Holloway Africa** and **Janine Phillips Africa**, Cambridge Springs; **Edward Goodman Africa**, Camp Hill; **Delbert Orr Africa** and **William Phillips Africa**, Dallas. Tragically, another MOVE prisoner, **Merle Africa**, died in prison on March 13.

Jamal Hart, Mumia's son, was sentenced in February to 15½ years on bogus firearm possession charges. He was targeted for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father. Although Hart was initially charged under Pennsylvania laws, which would have meant a probationary sentence, Clinton's Justice Department took over the case in order to have Hart thrown in prison. He is not eligible for parole.

Send Your Contributions Now!

All proceeds from the Holiday Appeal will go to the Class-War Prisoners Stipend Fund. Send your contributions to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013; phone (212) 406-4252.

The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization that champions cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Red Month of November

November 7 (October 25 in the old Russian calendar) marks the anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which was finally undone by capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92 after decades of Stalinist betrayal. Writing shortly after the execution of anarchist labor militants Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927, International Labor Defense (ILD) founder and later Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon observed that November also marked the anniversaries of the execution of the Chicago Haymarket martyrs in 1887 and of other American working-class militants. In the tradition of Cannon's ILD, the Partisan Defense Committee today seeks to mobilize labor in the urgent fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Such struggles are key to forging an international revolutionary party to lead new October Revolutions and put an end to racist capitalist repression for good.

A red stream runs through the month of November, marking in its course many struggles of the working class of this country, here with defeat there with victory, always with inspiring record of working class courage, exemplary in its noble devotion to the cause of the oppressed, magnificent incidents of solidarity and self-sacrifice, instructive milestones along the difficult road to liberation. It is a record to sharpen the hatred of labor to jailors and assassins, to increase the respect and pride we have for our fighters....

In the Sacco-Vanzetti case, the I.L.D. brought out with cameo clearness the main lines of its program. The first of these was unity of all working class forces. In the Sacco-Vanzetti conference it initiated could be found an all-embracing reflection of all elements in the labor movement: Communist, Socialist, Anarchists, Syndicalists, members of the American Federation of Labor and of the I.W.W. and other independent unions, and scores of fraternal organizations. Even when slanderous attacks were launched against the I.L.D. and attempts made to split the united movement, the International Labor Defense continued to forge forward with patient persistence for unified action.

Secondly, the reliance upon the class movement of the workers. We pointed out incessantly that the Sacco-Vanzetti case was an instance of class persecution and not an accidental case of the "miscarriage of justice." We drew therefrom the conclusion that only by the class action of the workers for whom Sacco and Vanzetti were being groomed to die could save them from such a fate. The history of the many Sacco-Vanzetti cases of the past decades in this country confirmed our belief that militant workers could expect no "justice" from capitalist courts and judges, and that their vindication could be guaranteed only by the workers' movement....

Let the working class of America ring with our fighting slogan: Build a wall of labor defense against the frame-up system! We want to make the third annual conference of International Labor Defense a sounding board for this militant appeal.

Red November is for our heroes and martyrs, for our battles and for our victories! On with the glorious struggle for liberation, for the freedom of the workers from the prisons of capitalism and from the greater prison which is capitalism!

—James P. Cannon, "The Red Month of November,"
Labor Defender (November 1927)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Jacob Zorn

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jane Patterson

EDITORIAL BOARD: Ray Bishop (managing editor), Bruce André, Helene Broslus, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Allson Spencer

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

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The closing date for news in this issue is November 3.

No. 700 **6 November 1998**

Benefit for Class-War Prisoners

Organize for Jamal's Freedom

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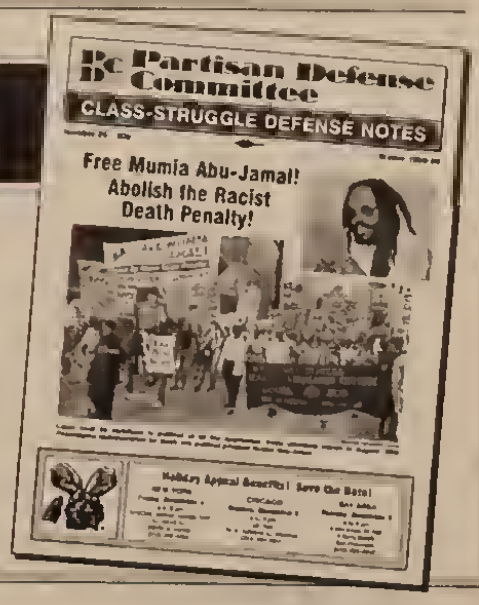

Workers Revolution Will Avenge Reign of Terror

Pinochet: Mass Murderer of Chilean Workers, Leftists

Gerretsen/Gamma photos

AP

Pinochet (seated) with other Chilean military killers as troops round up leftists in Santiago during 1973 coup. Right: Relatives of Pinochet's victims demand justice at London protest last month.

NOVEMBER 1—The "arrest" of General Augusto Pinochet in London two weeks ago was celebrated by mass outpourings of the victims of the former Chilean military dictator. On October 25, some 35,000 protesters gathered in the Chilean capital of Santiago to demand that the butcher finally receive some measure of justice. Among them were relatives of the many thousands tortured and "disappeared" under the reign of terror ushered in by the September 1973 military coup. But the misplaced hope that Labour prime minister Tony Blair or U.S. president Bill Clinton—spokesmen for the imperialist bourgeoisies which served as Pinochet's patrons—could bring this mass murderer to justice were shattered only three days later.

On October 16, a British court had ordered that Pinochet be placed under "arrest"—i.e., that a police guard be stationed outside the posh London medical clinic where he had gone for treatment. The court's action came in response to a request from a Spanish judge that Pinochet be extradited to stand trial there for the murder of Spanish nationals during his reign of terror. On October 28, Britain's High Court overturned the lower court, ruling that the mass murderer could not be brought to trial for crimes committed as a "sovereign" head of state. Pinochet was immediately granted bail and will likely soon be jetting back to Santiago.

The whole exercise has been rife with cynicism and hypocrisy on the part of all the capitalist governments involved. The notion that the Madrid regime, heirs of the fascistic Franco dictatorship, could bring a right-wing dictator to justice is bizarre. The Blair government, despite hyping an "ethical foreign policy" which has fooled no one so much as Labour's fake-left camp followers, squirmed from the moment Pinochet was detained. Indeed, the Chilean strongman has repeatedly visited Britain for cozy chats with former Conservative prime minister Margaret Thatcher without facing even a hint of government censure, much less arrest. Pinochet's successor, the government of Christian Democratic prime minister Eduardo Frei—which granted immunity to Pinochet, even anointing him a "senator for life"—predictably opposed the detention. This tool of the International Monetary Fund, Wall Street and Washington howled about an affront to its "national sovereignty."

More ominously, spokesmen for "human rights" imperialism proclaimed this "An Arrest That Serves as a Warning to Other Tyrants"—as a London *Independent* (19 October) editorial was titled—invoking "super-sovereignty" to justify the seizure of any foreign ruler deemed out of step with Washington or London. The *Independent* argued that "the long arm of international law" should now also reach out to abduct Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic. In the U.S., Congressional Republicans screamed for the arrest of Cuban leader Fidel Castro the next time he visits New York for a United Nations gathering. This is no idle threat, as U.S. imperialism showed when it invaded Panama eight years ago to seize and imprison out-of-favor strongman Manuel Noriega, a former CIA "asset," on "drug charges."

Such cynical justifications for imperialist "law and order" were echoed by self-described "revolutionaries" who have made their peace with the capitalist order. The French section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), bemoaned the failure of the government of Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin to "proceed with the arrest itself" and lamented how other "state criminals" like Milosevic are treated with "impunity" (*Rouge*, 22 October). This grotesque appeal to the criminal imperialist bourgeoisie which perpetrated mass slaughter from Indochina to Algeria is not surprising given the LCR's longstanding support to Jospin's Socialists in and out of power.

Pinochet and his many henchmen and patrons will receive the swift justice they deserve only when they are brought before a workers tribunal which includes surviving victims and comrades of those tortured and slaughtered by the Chilean bourgeoisie. That requires forging a Chilean Bolshevik party—steeled against the class-collaborationist popular-front betrayal which paved the way for Pinochet's reign of terror—to lead the proletariat, rallying behind it all the oppressed, to power. Only workers revolution, extending from Chile throughout the Americas—including in the belly of the imperialist beast—can avenge the horrendous crimes perpetrated on workers and leftists by the U.S.-backed Pinochet dictatorship.

Popular Front: Not a Tactic But the Greatest Crime

Pinochet's arrest came barely a month after the 25th anniversary of the 11 September 1973 coup which overthrew the "Popular Unity" (UP) government of Socialist Party (SP) president Salvador Allende and killed Allende along with thousands of militant workers and leftists. The two events have occasioned a spate of articles, books and films which by and large idolize Allende and glorify his perspective of a nationalist and parliamentary "Chilean road to socialism."

The Allende regime and the 1973 coup were defining political events for a generation of leftists around the world. The UP was a "popular front," a *bourgeois* coalition of Allende's SP, the Stalinist Communist Party (CP), the bourgeois Radicals and several minor petty-bourgeois parties. The historic, crushing defeat of the Chilean working class at the hands of Pinochet's butchers was a tragic example of how the popular front disarms the proletariat and sets it up for bloody defeat. In "Chile After the Coup" (*WV* No. 42, 12 April 1974), we wrote:

> "It is necessary to drive home to socialist militants and the working masses that the death and destruction wreaked by the September coup were the product of the Stalinists' and social democrats' counter-revolutionary policies of 'peaceful transition to socialism' and 'popular front' with sectors of the bourgeoisie."

These lessons had already been purchased in the blood of the proletariat on more than one occasion, most notably in the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s, when a "people's front" government very similar to the Chilean UP likewise served to demobilize and suppress revolutionary struggle by the masses, who were pressing for expropriation of industry and land to the peasants. Writing on the eve of the Spanish Civil War, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky stressed:

> "The question of questions at present is the People's Front. The left centrists seek to present this question as a tactical or even as a technical maneuver, so as to be able to peddle their wares in the shadow of the People's Front. In reality, the People's Front is the ***main question of proletarian class strategy*** for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, "The Dutch Section and the International" (July 1936)

The experience of the Chilean UP, which was supported by much of the left internationally, amply confirmed Trotsky's statement. And that experience is no less relevant today, as far more right-wing social-democratic and bourgeois "popular front" formations have been installed to administer capitalist governments through much of West Europe—again with the avid support of a gamut of fake-revolutionary groups—to enforce anti-worker austerity and anti-immigrant racism.

Allende's UP was elected in 1970 on a

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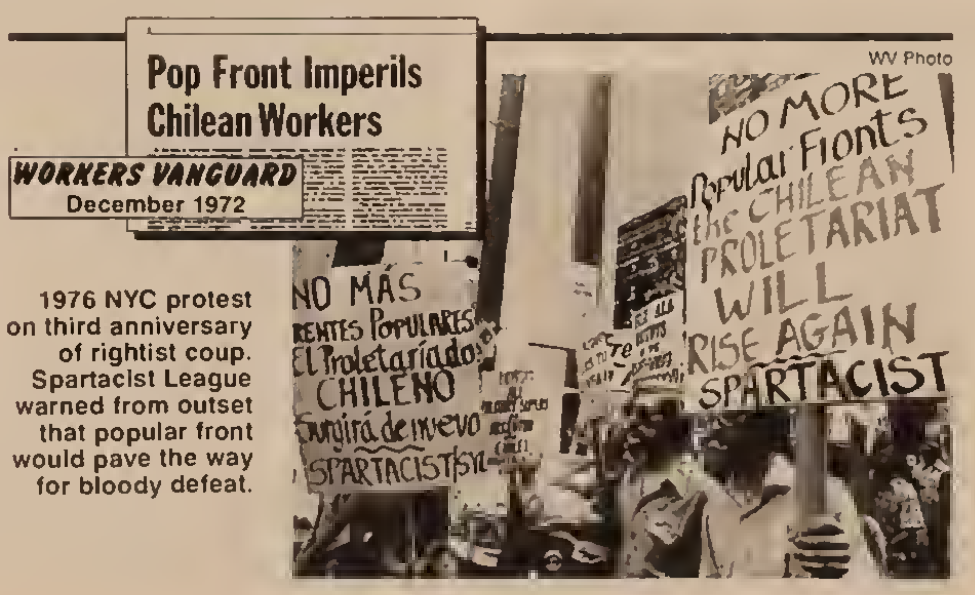


WV Photo

1976 NYC protest on third anniversary of rightist coup. Spartacist League warned from outset that popular front would pave the way for bloody defeat.

NYC Emergency United-Front Protest

"Free Mumia Now!"

Within hours of the announcement that the Pennsylvania Supreme Court had rejected Mumia Abu-Jamal's legal appeal against the frame-up conviction which sent him to death row, the Partisan Defense Committee issued an urgent statement denouncing the decision and calling for an emergency protest the next day outside New York City's Cooper Union. The PDC immediately contacted trade unions and other organizations in the NYC area with the aim of building the broadest possible mobilization to demand: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!"

The PDC's non-sectarian, class-struggle defense strategy is based on the understanding that the social power to fight capitalist repression and oppression lies with the working class which produces the wealth of this society. While the PDC supports pursuing every legal avenue in Jamal's defense, in actively championing Jamal's cause for over a decade we place all confidence in the power of the working class and no confidence in a judicial system which is part and parcel of the capitalist state apparatus.

The first speaker at the protest, PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, one of Jamal's attorneys, read Mumia's statement from death row denouncing the court decision and declared: "This court decision was a frame-up decision. It was a decision endorsing a racist frame-up, a political bias that is engendered by the nature of the capitalist justice system, which is capitalist injustice."

This protest, the first significant action in response to the court decision, was organized as a united front, in which all organizations agreeing with the demands of the demonstration can speak in their own name, carry their own slogans and distribute their literature. In addition to speakers from the PDC, the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Club, the protest was addressed by South African anti-apartheid fighter and former political prisoner Dennis Brutus and by representatives from the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition and the Black Radical Congress (BRC). Other speakers included a supporter of the Worker-communist Party of Iran who had himself suffered years in prison under Khomeini's reactionary Islamic terror, as well as supporters of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Internationalist Group. Many of the groups and individuals who joined the protest were participants in a conference at Cooper Union marking the 150th anniversary of the Communist Manifesto.

In initiating labor-centered, united-front defense actions for Jamal, we aim to infuse the multiracial working class with the consciousness of its historic interests in fighting for all of labor and the oppressed against the entire capitalist system. Such actions allow not only for the greatest possible unity in struggle but also for the free debate of contending strategies and programs, which is vital to advancing the consciousness of the working class and anti-racist youth.

Too often, "unity" is bandied about as a pretext to censor and suppress the Marxist views of the SL, in order to build impotent liberal coalitions aimed at appealing to the capitalist government and its politicians. This kind of "unity" hurts the cause of the labor movement and the fight for Jamal's freedom by obscuring the enemy—the capitalist state—and lulling the working class with illusions that the state can somehow be "pressured" into doing the right thing. That is why open political debate and sharp polemics are *crucial*.

To fight for Jamal's freedom, for example, the ISO's view that cops and prison guards can be part of the workers movement must be defeated. The ISO has also supported intervention by the courts and Justice Department into the Teamsters and other unions in the name of fighting "corruption." The labor movement is increasingly threatened and hogtied by having the class enemy in its own house, through government intervention and through the union misleaders' "organizing" of cops, security guards and prison guards. With court-controlled and cop-infested unions, the working class *cannot* effectively fight the racist cop frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal which is just one instance of a whole system of racist capitalist oppression. Cops out of the unions! Government hands off the labor movement!

It is also necessary to defeat through open political debate arguments like that made by BRC speaker Sam Anderson that "white radicals" should "organize" in racist strongholds like Howard Beach in New York City. In portraying such racist enclaves as emblematic of the "white working-class community," Anderson's nationalist demagogy reinforces the racial divisions fostered by the capitalist rulers to maintain their system of exploitation and accepts the defeatist notion that the multiracial labor movement cannot and will not be mobilized in Jamal's defense. The ruling class has singled out Jamal for its vendetta precisely because this former Black Panther and MOVE supporter represents defiance of their whole system of oppression and exploitation. It could not be clearer that black rights and workers rights must go forward together or they will be thrown back separately. The trade unions are one place in this deeply racist society where there is any real racial integration. It is precisely the unity of the working people, organized at the point of production, that gives labor its tremendous potential leverage and the power to achieve revolutionary social change.

We Trotskyists fight for *class* unity in action and no-holds-barred political debate, in the best traditions of the Marxist movement before the syphilis of Stalinism poisoned the left with gangsterism and censorship in the service of "unity" with one's "own" capitalist class. At the Cooper Union protest, leading ISO member Sherry Wolf took the microphone to call for "unity" and denounce "sectarian splits and divisions." All leftists who have been on the receiving end of the ISO's often violent policy of censorship and exclusionism could only rejoice if the ISO were to really cease its sectarian practices.

Notably, neither the ISO nor any other fake-left group addressing the protest uttered a word about how the Democrats are no less fervent than the Republicans in beefing up the repressive forces of the capitalist state, including the speedup on death row. The reformists and nationalists place their hopes in the supposed neutrality of the capitalist state—particularly in its Democratic Party face. This was evident in the main banner at a protest later that day in midtown Manhattan, which featured the call for a "new trial" to free Jamal. The whole history of the racist vendetta against Jamal, not least the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling, amply proves that the racist "justice" system is completely rigged against the working class and the oppressed. The demand that this innocent man, the victim of a horrendous frame-up by the cops and courts, be tried again in the same racist capitalist courts buys into illusions in a "justice" system which presumes that all blacks and leftists are guilty. We say: *Free Mumia now!*

We publish below excerpts from the SL and SYC speeches at the PDC-initiated protest.

* * *

Jane Kerrigan, Spartacist League

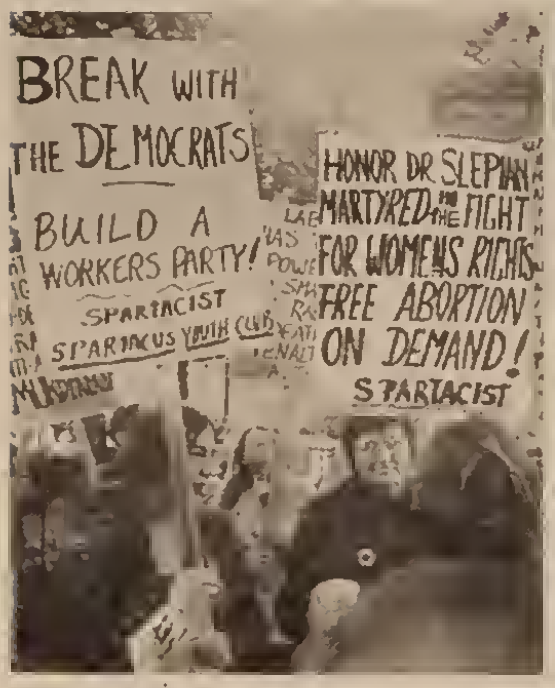
Yesterday's ruling by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court is simply yet another page in the vendetta against Mumia Abu-Jamal that's been waged by the Philadelphia police, by the FBI and into which the whole machinery of the capitalist state has been thrown, including its machinery of death. Mumia is an innocent man. Mumia is an eloquent spokesman for all the oppressed. Mumia is the "voice of the voiceless," and it's that voice that they now want to silence through death. This underlines what the racist death penalty in this country is all about.

In 1995, there was a mass mobilization of protest internationally, which drew on the power of unions with millions of members from South Africa to Italy to the United States. That is what we urgently need to mobilize today, because it is in the hands of the multiracial working class that there lies the social power, not only to free Mumia, but to free us all from a system which condemned Mumia to death and which every day kills countless others on the streets, through police terror, mass unemployment, lack of medical care, the abolition of welfare. The racist rulers of this country—Democrats as much as Republicans—have created a climate of reaction, which was brought home in the murder of Matthew Shepard, a young gay man; which was brought home in the assassination of the courageous Dr. Barnett Slepian. Now they want to kill Mumia to sanctify their state machinery of death. We must stop them!

In a message from death row in 1993, Mumia powerfully captured the contradiction of a ruling class that must enforce its rule through terror. He started by pointing out that the Clinton Democrats were out-Reaganing Reagan and out-Bushing Bush, that these were the two parties of capital. And he continued:

> "The extension of the death penalty to dozens of new crimes is not a reflection of a secure state, but a state swimming in *in*security.... As they scuttle the Constitution and create judges fit for a star chamber, they loosen the very ground on which they stand, quickening their fall. This government, which bombed babies in Philadelphia *and* in Baghdad, which mows down babies in Somalia, is sowing the seeds of their own destruction. It is a time, not for confusion, but for opportunity, to transform what *is* into what must be."

And what must be is the revolutionary



WV Photos

Left: PDC-initiated protest at Cooper Union. Right: March called later in the day by Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition.

SYC Emergency Speakouts

Protest Supreme Court Frame-Up Ruling!
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

BERKELEY
Tuesday, November 10, 12 noon
Sproul Plaza, U.C. Berkeley
For more information: (510) 839-0851

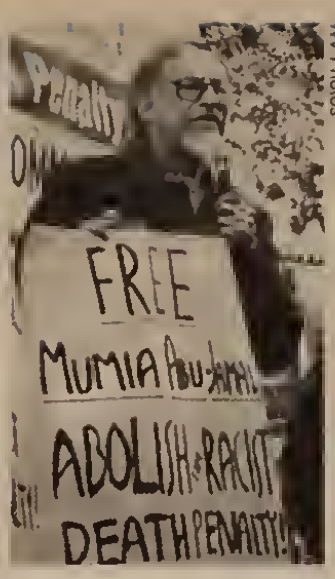
BOSTON
Tuesday, November 3, 4:30-5:30 p.m.
George Sherman Union, Boston University
For more information: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO
Thursday, November 5, 12 noon
Outside Cobb Hall, University of Chicago
Organizing Meeting:
Tuesday, November 3, 6 p.m.
Cobb Hall, Room 104
For more information: (312) 454-4930

LOS ANGELES
Thursday, November 5, 12 noon
Meyerhoff Park
(in front of Kerckhoff Hall)
UCLA
For more information: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK
Tuesday, November 10, 1 p.m.
Main Building, Washington
Square East and Washington Place
New York University
For more information: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO
To be announced
Call: (415) 777-9367



WV Photos

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists spokesman Lester Green (far left), anti-apartheid fighter Dennis Brutus.

transformation of this society, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of an egalitarian socialist society. In fighting to mobilize the power of the multiracial working class to take up the cause of Mumia's freedom, the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee seek to imbue the working class with the understanding that the capitalist state, its cops and its courts exist to defend the class rule and profits of the few, profits which are based on the increasingly hideous exploitation and oppression of the many. There is no justice in the capitalist courts.

What must be, if we are to prevail against this state and its grisly executioners, is a new leadership of the labor movement which fights it out through class struggle, not the treacherous class collaborationism of the current labor misleaders, who shackle the unions to the class enemy, particularly through the agency of the Democratic Party. In taking up the fight for Jamal's freedom, the working class will be striking a blow against an entire system based on brutal exploitation and rooted in the racist oppression of the black population in this country. As Karl Marx wrote at the time of the American Civil War, "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

The working people of this country need their own party, a revolutionary workers party that doesn't respect the property rights of the bourgeoisie, one which says we produced all the wealth of this country, we want it and we're going to take it; a workers party which inscribes on its banner the fight for black freedom, a workers party which inscribes on its banner the rights of the desperate immigrants, the rights of all the oppressed in this society.

The fight for Mumia's life is urgently posed. We must mobilize all our forces for his freedom, for the abolition of the racist death penalty and for the abolition of this entire system of brutal exploitation, oppression and death.

Jacob Zorn, Spartacus Youth Club

The sinister forces that are whipping up a campaign against Mumia are also whipping up a campaign against blacks—as witnessed by the racist lynching of James Byrd in Texas—against homosexuals, against women's rights. These are part of an attempt to ratchet up exploitation—an attack that is carried out not just by the ultraright forces in the Republican Party but also by the Democratic Party of Bill Clinton, which has thrown black women and children off welfare, which has carried out attacks against labor, which has carried out imperialist attacks abroad. Those who want to fight against exploitation must have no illusions in the Democratic Party.

Look at the future that capitalism offers youth today. A future, in this city for example, of armed police acting as "security" guards in the public schools, which are nothing more than holding pens. A future of racist cops acting as an occupying army in the ghettos and the barrios, of anti-black and anti-immigrant attacks and of misery and exploitation—if you're lucky enough to get a job. Our fight to free Mumia is part of our fight to abolish the racist death penalty, part of the Spartacus Youth Club and Spartacist League's fight against racist capitalism in this country and internationally. We say that the only way to get rid of misery, the only way to get rid of the attacks on youth and immigrants is through a struggle against racist capitalism and a fight for socialist revolution.

It is necessary for youth to mobilize behind the power of the multiracial working class that creates the wealth in this society and has the power to end capitalism and class exploitation. It is to this power that youth must look, both to get rid of their own oppression and to fight against capitalist state terror, such as that aimed against Mumia.

It's good that many different organizations representing different viewpoints are here today to join in the struggle to free Mumia. And unity is absolutely necessary. But so is forthright political clarity and struggle within the left and the workers movement on what it's going to take to get rid of oppression, to get rid of capitalist exploitation and to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. The International Socialist Organization has time after time helped sow illusions in the role of the cops, has said that cops can be won to the working class in struggle. The Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs say that cops are the deadly enemies of the working class, and that the capitalist state must be smashed and cannot be reformed.

Similarly, Jan Norden from the Internationalist Group got up here and talked about the need to free Mumia. But people should know that the Internationalist Group's co-thinkers in Brazil are up to their knees in bringing the capitalist courts into the workers movement there. Workers and students must have no illusions in the capitalist class and in the capitalist state. This is especially important now in the struggle to free Mumia.■

A Statement from Death Row by Mumia Abu-Jamal

"I Remain Innocent"

Once again, Pennsylvania's highest court has shown us the best justice that FOP money can buy. Ignoring right reason, their own precedent, and fundamental justice, they have returned to the stranglehold of death. In their echoes of the tortured logic of Judge Albert Sabo, they have reflected a striking fidelity to the DA's office. If it is fair to have a tribunal who are in part admittedly paid by the FOP—and at least one justice who can double as DA one day and a judge the next in the same case—then fairness is just as empty a word as "justice." To paraphrase Judge Sabo, it is "just an emotional feeling."

In recent months the Pennsylvania Supreme Court has upheld death sentences in cases where an impartial reading of transcripts or pleadings would make an honest affirmation all but impossible. They have ignored all evidence of innocence, overlooked clear instances of jury taint, and cast a dead eye on defense attorneys' ineffectiveness. What they have done in my case is par for the course. This is a political decision, paid for by the FOP on the eve of the election. It is a Mischief Night gift from a court that has a talent for the macabre.

I am sorry that this court did not rule on the right side of history. But I am not surprised. Every time our nation has come to a fork in.the road with regard to race, it has chosen to take the path of compromise and betrayal. On October 29, 1998 the Pennsylvania Supreme Court committed a collective crime: it damned due process, strangled the fair trial, and raped justice.

Even after this legal *legerdemain* [sleight of hand] I remain innocent. A court cannot make an innocent man guilty. Any ruling founded on injustice is not justice. The righteous fight for life, liberty, and for justice can only continue.

31 October 1998

Grave Danger...

(continued from page 1)

the Philadelphia cops. The Philadelphia Police Department is so notorious for its racist frame-up system that even the U.S. Attorney General filed a civil rights lawsuit in 1979 charging "widespread, arbitrary, and unreasonable physical abuse" of witnesses and suspects. In the last three years alone, hundreds of convictions in Philadelphia have been thrown out on such grounds.

The Court ruling also upholds every action by notorious hanging judge Albert Sabo, who presided over the original farce of a trial and the Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) hearings beginning in 1995, with the absurd statement that "our judges are honorable, fair and competent." Sabo's pro-prosecution bias was so blatant that even the *Philadelphia Daily News* (2 October 1996), which generally serves as a mouthpiece for the Philadelphia Police Department, complained that Sabo's "heavy-handed tactics can only confirm suspicions that the court is incapable of giving Abu-Jamal a fair hearing."

Despite the rigged trial and hearings conducted by Saho, a mountain of evidence has come out demonstrating Jamal's innocence and the tactics of lies, coercion and terror wielded by the Philadelphia District Attorney's office and the cops to secure Jamal's conviction. At least *five witnesses* from *five different vantage points* told police that another man—not Jamal, who was found slumped on the street after being shot in the chest by Faulkner—had run from the scene of the shooting. The prosecution's claim that Jamal's legally registered pistol was the murder weapon is refuted by the simple fact that there is no evidence at all that Jamal's gun was even fired that night, much less by Jamal. Another central pillar of the prosecution's case—that Jamal had "confessed" to the shooting while in the hospital that night—has likewise been fully exposed as a lie. Indeed, there was no report of said "confession" until *more than two months* after the shooting.

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court spits on the whole of this mass of evidence of Jamal's innocence. It also sneers at the clear evidence that black people were systematically excluded from the jury in Jamal's 1982 trial. Yet this was simply another instance of the racist jury-rigging which was shown to be widespread and common when a ten-year-old "training" videotape by the Philadelphia D.A.'s office was made public in 1997.

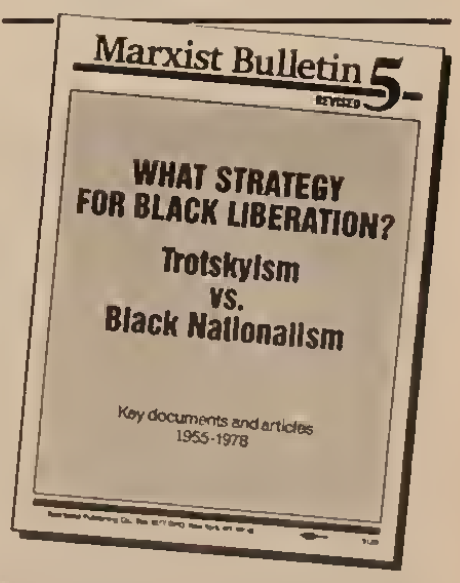
The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal, rubber-stamped by today's ruling, demonstrates that there is no justice in the racist capitalist courts. As we stressed in building labor-centered protests during the summer of 1995 on the eve of Mumia's threatened execution, the social power to free Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty lies in the hands of the multiracial working class. After decades of defeat, the labor movement has demonstrated renewed combativity, from last year's UPS strike to the walkout which shut down the GM empire this summer. In taking up the fight for Jamal's freedom, the working class will be striking a blow against an entire system predicated on the brutal exploitation of labor and rooted in the racist repression of the black population. The fight for black freedom is central to the emancipation of labor itself.

All who are committed to the fight for Mumia's freedom must mobilize in the unions, on the campuses, in communities across the country and around the world. Join the protest tomorrow outside Cooper Union at Astor Place, Saturday, October 31, 1:30 p.m. Another protest has also been called by the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition at Grand Central Station, Park Ave. South and 42nd Street, at 4 p.m. tomorrow.

Freedom naw for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

The October 29 Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling against Mumia Abu-Jamal places the life of this courageous, eloquent spokesman for the oppressed in immediate danger. All fighters against racist repression, all opponents of the barbaric death penalty must join the fight to free Mumia now! Mobilize your unions, your student and community groups. Contact the Partisan Defense Committee. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.■



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Court Hearings: New Evidence of Frame-Up

Racist Vendetta Sent Mumia to Death Row

The following article is reprinted from the Spartacist League publication Black History and the Class Struggle *No. 15 (August 1998).*

13 JULY—On 7 August 1995, Mumia Abu-Jamal was granted a stay of execution ten days before he was scheduled to be put to death. What stayed the hand of the state's executioners was a massive international campaign of protest enlisting broad sections of the labor movement, civil libertarians, leftists and youth, as well as several heads of state including Nelson Mandela of South Africa and French president Jacques Chirac.

At the time the death warrant against him was lifted, Jamal and his legal defense team were in the midst of a battle in the courtroom of notorious "hanging judge" Albert Sabo, fighting to reverse Jamal's frame-up conviction and death sentence for the 1981 shooting of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. Sabo, who presided over Jamal's original 1982 "trial," predictably ruled against Jamal's appeal in a 154-page decision issued on 15 September 1995, only four days after the closing arguments in the appeal hearings. Further evidence of Jamal's innocence and of prosecutorial misconduct presented in two subsequent appeal hearings was also denied by Sabo in decisions that echoed virtually verbatim the prosecution's frame-up case. Jamal's appeal is now before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

With a decision expected to come down any time now, the sinister forces who want to silence forever the man who became known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his searing indictments of the racist brutality of American capitalism are again gearing up their campaign for death. On June 14, supporters of the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) and others who want to see Jamal dead took out a full-page ad on the back page of the Sunday *New York Times* "Week in Review" section raising a cry for Jamal's execution. As Jamal's lead attorney, Leonard Weinglass, wrote in a letter of response which the *Times* refused to print:

> "Since this sinister ad only repeats old, discredited tales and completely ignores the evidence presented in Jamal's appeals, one is left to ask, 'Why now?' The Pennsylvania State Supreme Court is about to render a decision on Jamal's appeal of Judge Sabo's predictable denial of a new trial for Jamal. Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge, who signed Jamal's death warrant in June 1995, has vowed to once again order Jamal's execution should he lose his appeal. Anticipating the possibility of a repeat of the massive protests that succeeded in saving Jamal's life in August 1995, the pro-death penalty and law enforcement forces now seem more determined than ever to defeat and deflect the strength of that movement."

Throughout the winter and spring of 1995, the Partisan Defense Committee initiated rallies in the United States and internationally aimed at mobilizing support for Jamal. In August of that year, days before the death warrant was stayed, PDC-initiated protests for Jamal centered on the power of organized labor were held in major cities across the U.S. These protests were infused with the understanding that the social power of the multiracial working class must be mobilized in Jamal's defense and organized according to the principle of non-sectarian, united-front defense. Now in this phase of the struggle—the crucial race against the executioner's clock and the fight for Jamal's freedom—our job is above all to bring to the international working class the consciousness that the way out of this whole system of racist capitalist injustice is the struggle for socialist revolution through the instrumentality of a Leninist proletarian vanguard party which fights as a *tribune of the people.*

V.I. Lenin, leader of the victorious Russian workers revolution in 1917, described the need for a party which, like the Bolshevik Party, is able to "produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation...in order to clarify for *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat." The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal more than provides just such a picture of police violence and persecution and the impulse to genocide represented by the institutionalized barbarism of the death penalty, which stands at the pinnacle of a legal apparatus of racist repression and capitalist injustice in the United States.

The PDC pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, published shortly after a death warrant had been signed against Jamal in 1995, exposed the travesty of justice which put this innocent man on death row. As noted in the pamphlet's central article, the prosecution's frame-up case rested on three legs: three eyewitnesses who identified Mumia as the only person who could have killed Faulkner; the claim that Mumia "confessed" to the shooting as he lay bleeding from near-fatal wounds in the hospital that night; that Mumia's gun which was found on the scene was the murder weapon. Evidence and witnesses at the Post-Conviction Relief Appeal (PCRA) hearing in the summer of 1995 and two subsequent appeal hearings have thoroughly exposed the prosecution's case as an assemblage of lies manufactured through police coercion of witnesses and the systematic withholding of evidence of Jamal's innocence from the defense.

WV Photo

South African workers at June 1995 COSATU protest hold up flyers demanding, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

The Witnesses

The frame-up prosecution of Mumia Abu-Jamal began on 9 December 1981 at about 3:55 a.m. near the corner of 13th and Locust Streets in Philadelphia. Police officer Faulkner had pulled over a VW driven by Jamal's brother, Billy Cook, which was carrying another passenger. The cop began beating Cook, and this was witnessed by Jamal who was driving a cab through the area at the time. Jamal stopped the cab and approached the scene. Shots rang out, and when police arrived two minutes later, Faulkner was found critically wounded on the street. Nearby, Jamal was slumped on the curb bleeding profusely from a bullet hole in his chest.

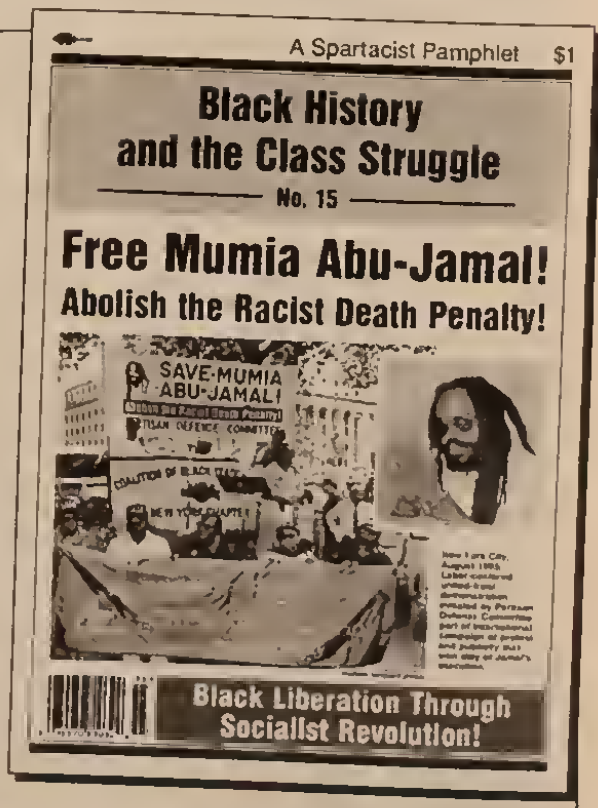
At the scene, four eyewitnesses told police they saw a black man flee. In the following week, another eyewitness made the same statement to the police. One of these witnesses even reported to the police that he saw the actual shooting and that a third man—not Jamal and not his brother—shot the police officer and ran away. Yet the police coerced most of these witnesses to change their stories through manipulation—including the promise of favors—and outright terror, while the prosecution suppressed all evidence of Jamal's innocence and supplied false information to the defense.

At the 1995 PCRA hearing, one of the eyewitnesses, William Singletary, was called by the defense to testify. A decorated Vietnam veteran and Philadelphia businessman, Singletary was found at the scene by arriving police on the night of 9 December 1981. At the 1995 hearing, it was Singletary who testified that he saw another man shoot the cop and run away. Singletary described how, after clearly stating his observations to the detectives on the night of the shooting, he was held for hours at the Police Administration Building, where cops repeatedly tore up or threw in the trash the statements they did not approve. Singletary testified that finally a Detective Green warned him "to write what he wanted me to write," and that "they would take me to the elevator and beat me up." Singletary finally wrote a false statement denying he had seen the shooting. It was this statement that was given to Jamal's attorney in the 1982 trial, in which Singletary was not called to testify. At the 1995 hearing, Singletary said that he was forced to abandon his business as a result of constant police harassment, threats and suspicious damage to his gas station. Finally, he fled the city in fear of the police and was only found by Jamal's defense team many years later.

Another eyewitness was Robert Chobert, a white cab driver who told a police inspector at the scene in 1981 that the man who shot the policeman "ran away." The night of the shooting, Chobert reported to police that the shooter weighed 225 pounds. This couldn't have been Jamal, who weighed 170 pounds and was found by the police slumped on a curb, bleeding from a shot fired by Faulkner. By the time he was called to testify at the 1982 trial, Chobert had changed his story to claim that Jamal was the shooter. Why Chobert would reverse his original account became clear at the 1995 hearing, where he testified that at the time of the shooting he had been driving his cab

Contents Include:

- Mumia Abu-Jamal's Life of Struggle
- Court Hearings: New Evidence of Frame-Up
- From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal *"La Amistad* and American Law"
- The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal
- For Non-Sectarian, Class-Struggle Defense!
- Death Row Speedup Targets Minorities
- Philly Cops' Reign of Terror
- Desperation, Segregation and the "Ebonics" Controversy
- Down With "English Only" Racism!
- Coleman Young: From CIO Union Organizer to Overseer for Auto Bosses



$1 (48 pages) *Black History* is sent to all *Workers Vanguard* subscribers.

Order from: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1969 as Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

without a license while still on probation for felony arson—specifically, throwing a Molotov cocktail at a public grammar school. Chobert also admitted that prosecutor Joseph McGill had promised to "look into" getting his driver's license back. For the next ten years, he continued to drive without a license, unhindered by the police.

Dessie Hightower, a young black accounting student, also told police at the scene that he saw the shooter run east down Locust Street away from the scene. Deborah Kordansky reported seeing the shooter run in exactly the same direction from the window of her hotel room overlooking the corner of 13th and Locust. Later in the week following the shooting, Veronica Jones, a prostitute who was at a corner a block away from the scene, told police that she saw two black men "jogging" from the scene.

At least *five witnesses* from *five different vantage points* had told police that they saw the shooter flee the scene! Yet at the 1982 trial, only Hightower maintained his original true account of what he had seen, despite the cops' attempts to intimidate him. Hightower was also the only witness the police subjected to a polygraph test, which they falsely said he had failed. Deborah Kordansky did not take the stand in 1982 because, as Mumia's original trial attorney testified at the 1995 hearing, she "didn't like black people" and "didn't want to help the defense." At that hearing, Kordansky acknowledged the veracity of those statements and that she had told police that she saw the shooter run away. Chobert, a felon who was more than susceptible to police manipulation, changed his story. Singletary was coerced into making a false statement, as was Veronica Jones.

In 1996, Jones courageously came forward to present her true account at an appeal hearing in Jamal's case which was ordered by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. Here Jones testified that just days before she was supposed to testify in Jamal's 1982 trial she was visited in jail—where she was facing serious felony gun charges—by Philadelphia police detectives and threatened into retracting her eyewitness account. Jones was later put on probation on charges that carried a sentence of up to 15 years in prison. She testified at the 1996 hearing: "I was to name Mr. Jamal as the shooter." Jones refused to do so, but at the 1982 trial she retracted her true account of seeing two shooters running from the scene.

But the frame-up of Jamal doesn't end with police coercion and manipulation of witnesses. Physical evidence demonstrating that another man—other than Billy Cook, Jamal or Faulkner—was at the scene of the shooting was *suppressed* by the police and the prosecution for *more than 13 years*. At the 1995 hearing, it was revealed that the police had found a driver's license belonging to a third person in a pocket of Faulkner's uniform on the night of the shooting. The license was in the name of Arnold Howard. At this hearing, Howard testified that he and two other black men were taken into custody on the night of the shooting as suspects in the killing of Faulkner. Howard also stated that police tested their hands for nitrates—to see if they had fired a gun—a test they allegedly never performed on Jamal!

Despite Howard's ironclad alibi for his whereabouts, he was held for 72 hours and then released. But, as he testified in court in 1995, he had told the police the name of the man who had borrowed his license—Ken Freeman. A friend of Billy Cook's who ran a vending stand with him in downtown Philadelphia, Freeman was also taken into custody the night of the shooting. According to Howard's testimony, Freeman was told by police that he had been identified in a lineup by a female witness. Freeman died mysteriously of a heart attack at the age of 34 in May 1985, on the night after the bloody police bombing of the MOVE commune in Philadelphia which killed eleven black men, women and children and destroyed an entire black neighborhood.

In 1995, the defense attempted to present Billy Cook, who has never been called to testify in Jamal's case. In an affidavit submitted to Judge Sabo, defense attorney Rachel Wolkenstein said that Cook would testify that he had a passenger in his car that night and that the passenger had shot Faulkner. Cook, who feared that he would be arrested or killed by the Philly cops if he gave testimony defending his brother, would not appear in court because Sabo refused to provide him any protection from being jailed on outstanding bench warrants. Cook then disappeared.

While intimidating witnesses who could demonstrate Jamal's innocence, the cops provided ample protection for the prosecution's star witness, Cynthia White, after coercing her into giving false testimony. White, a prostitute, was the only witness to claim to have seen Jamal with a gun in his hand. Yet no other witnesses who were on the scene can even recall seeing her there. At a 1997 appeal hearing in Jamal's case, another prostitute and friend of White's, Pamela Jenkins, testified that shortly after the shooting White had told her that "she was in fear for her life from the police" who "were trying to get her to say something about the shooting." White was allowed to work the streets as a prostitute for years without any harassment by the police. In 1987, when White was facing felony charges in court, Philadelphia homicide detective Douglas Culhreth intervened to argue that she should be released from jail without bail. She was released and never showed up in court again.

Jenkins, who was a pivotal government informant in a 1995 investigation into police corruption in Philadelphia's 39th District, also testified that White was a police informant. The use of police informants to frame up innocent people, particularly those who have been targeted by the government and the cops, is standard operating procedure. In 1997, Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)—who like Jamal was a former leader of the Black Panther Party—was finally released from prison after 27 years on evidence that the chief prosecution witness against him was a government informant. This critical fact demonstrating the pro-police bias of this witness was not disclosed to the defense during Geronimo's trial. In Jamal's case, the prosecution has now conveniently disappeared White, claiming that she is dead without even providing fingerprints to demonstrate that the corpse they claim is White is in fact her.

WV Photo

Power of labor must be mobilized in the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal; August 1995 protest initiated by Partisan Defense Committee in Oakland, California on eve of Jamal's scheduled execution.

The "Confession"

Another central pillar of the prosecution's case, which was retailed again in the F.O.P.'s advertisement for death in the *New York Times*, is the claim that Jamal confessed his guilt on the night of the shooting, after he had been critically wounded and then nearly beaten to death by the cops. The account of this supposed "confession" was not even reported for *over two months* after the shooting. The original official police report by Officer Gary Wakshul, who was with Jamal the entire time from his arrest through his medical treatment, said that "during this time, the negro male made no comments." Wakshul, who the prosecution claimed was unavailable to testify in the 1982 trial, was subpoenaed by the defense in the 1995 hearing. When asked about the flat contradiction between his original report and his later statement that Jamal had confessed, Wakshul incredibly claimed that he hadn't recognized the "importance" of Jamal's supposed confession until a "round table" meeting called by the District Attorney's office to orchestrate the cops' testimony. Here prosecutor McGill solicitously asked police officers "to raise their hands if they heard" Jamal confess and Wakshul raised his hand.

This was the first time this meeting of the cops and the D.A. was made public. Wakshul also gave the lie to the prosecution's argument that he was unavailable to testify at the 1982 trial. In 1995, Wakshul acknowledged that while he was officially listed as being on vacation during the original trial, he was at home in Philadelphia waiting to be called by the prosecution to testify.

Once Again on the Non-Smoking Gun

For the past 16 years, the prosecution has brazenly claimed that Jamal's licensed .38 calibre gun was the murder weapon. At the time of the shooting, the medical examiner's report specifically said that Faulkner was "shot with .44 cal[ibre]." The prosecution's own expert admitted that neither the bullet from Faulkner's head nor one recovered at the scene could be matched to Jamal's gun. Moreover, a copper jacket found at the scene could not have come from either Jamal's or Faulkner's gun—evidence which again points to the fact that the shooter was a third man who fled the scene.

Reports also show that the medical examiner had removed two pieces of lead from the wound in Faulkner's head. While the examiner had measured both fragments and included this information in his autopsy report, one of the bullet fragments mysteriously disappeared. Only one was received and examined by the police lab. No one from the prosecution's side can explain what happened to the missing fragment, nor can they deny the significant impact it would have on findings regarding the calibre of the bullet. But most damning of all is the fact that there is no evidence that Jamal's gun was even fired, much less by Jamal!

At the 1995 hearing, a weapons expert who himself was a former Philadelphia police instructor and former head of their crime lab, testified that he found it incredible that the police had failed to conduct any of the standard tests to tell if the gun had been recently fired by Jamal. Considering the tight gang mentality of the police, it is all the more incredible that they didn't conduct such tests in order to pursue the killer of one of their own. Or maybe they did and subsequently buried the results that demonstrate Jamal's innocence.

Another new eyewitness, Marcus Cannon, who was walking up the street at the time of the shooting, saw two white men who appeared to be part of a street scene jump into action with guns drawn like undercover cops and rush toward the

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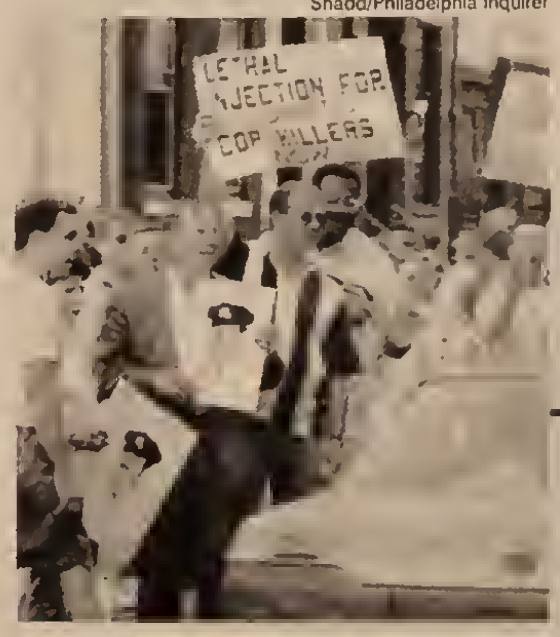
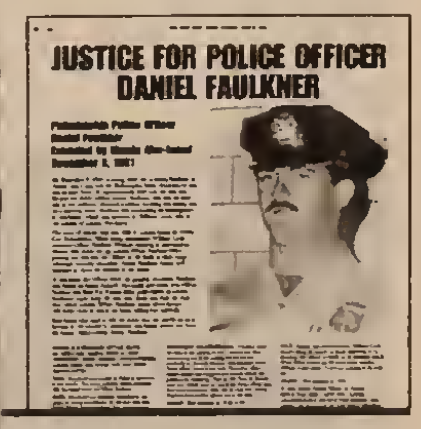
Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer





Philly cops screaming for Mumia's execution besiege hospital workers union hall in 1995. Sinister ad in *New York Times* (14 June 1998) marked escalation of cop vendetta against Jamal.

Pinochet...

(continued from page 3)

platform promising widespread nationalizations against the backdrop of an immense upsurge in class struggle. Landless peasants were increasingly occupying the vast landed estates while the number of workers strikes—particularly by the powerful copper miners, steel workers and railway employees—skyrocketed. Violent repression by the cops and military failed to check the explosion of class struggle. The most notorious of the massacres was the March 1966 killing of eight copper miners by troops under then-Colonel Augusto Pinochet.

In order to take office, Allende struck an agreement with the Christian Democrats, the dominant bourgeois party. In a "Statute of Constitutional Guarantees," Allende vowed not to touch the military officer corps and to outlaw workers militias. Socialist and Communist Party leaders constantly preached confidence in the supposed "neutrality" of the "democratic" military. But Marxists understand that the capitalist state at its core is a repressive apparatus—cops, military, and the prison system—which serves to defend private property and the class rule of the bourgeoisie. The Chilean armed forces, far from defending the "constitutional regime," spearheaded the counterrevolutionary drive that brought Pinochet to power.

As the social tensions in Chile sharpened, the country was increasingly polarized between the working class and the capitalists. The UP government suppressed peasant land seizures and sent riot cops to suppress workers demonstrations and strikes, but its inability to resolve the deepening social crisis only further infuriated the bourgeoisie. As the gulf between the two fundamental classes widened, Allende's policies of "moderation" drove the desperate petty bourgeoisie to seek a "radical" solution in the camp of reaction. This laid the basis for the rapid growth of fascist groups like Patria y Libertad, mass right-wing demonstrations, and the political atmosphere for the military coup. The reactionary mobilizations were actively aided and stoked by a massive CIA "destabilization" campaign.

In the face of the right-wing offensive, the UP government tried vainly to appease the capitalists while stepping up repression against the workers. After a 1972 "bosses' strike" by truck owners and shopkeepers, Allende brought military leaders into the government and promulgated a law which permitted raids by the military in search of arms. This law was used against the unions, occupied factories, and workers parties, while the fascists built up their arms stockpiles. The country was in a prerevolutionary situation, as *cordones industriales* (workers committees)—embryonic dual-power formations—emerged in the industrial centers. As the putschists actively plotted against him, Allende named General Pinochet, one of the foremost "constitutionalist" officers, as head of the army and brought him into the government. Both politically and literally, the Socialists and Stalinists disarmed the proletariat and set it up for the "White terror" to come.

Scant weeks later, Pinochet led the reactionary coup, unleashing one of the bloodiest waves of terror in the history of Latin America. To accomplish their goal, the annihilation of the organized workers movement, the generals carried out a reign of terror that left thousands dead. Untold thousands more were thrown into concentration camps where many were horribly tortured, and up to 100,000 were forced into exile, where they continued to be hounded and assassinated by Pinochet's thugs and imperialist secret police agencies. In order to increase the profits of domestic and foreign capitalists, Pinochet's reactionary regime moved to reduce the working class to a near-starvation level of existence, imposing brutal austerity policies designed by "neo-liberal" University of Chicago economist Milton Friedman and his "Chicago Boys."

For a Trotskyist Party—For Workers Revolution!

Virtually alone on the left, the Spartacist League argued from the outset against support to Allende's class-collaborationist coalition. Immediately after the 1970 elections, we warned (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 19, November-December 1970):

> "It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."

AP

Teachers throughout Chile protested last month to demand wage increase. Defying intense repression, miners and other workers have waged repeated struggles against starvation austerity.

Captain Héctor Bonzo

During 1982 Falklands/Malvinas war, British imperialists perpetrated mass murder with sinking of Argentine ship *Belgrano*. Capitalist government of Labour prime minister Tony Blair will not bring Pinochet to justice.

Cuban Stalinist leader Fidel Castro, idol of Jack Barnes' ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the U.S., actively promoted Allende and his "parliamentary road," admonishing Chilean copper miners to work harder since their mines had been nationalized and even hobnobbing with Pinochet in Santiago before the coup. Today, Barnes' *Militant* (2 November) vituperates against the "flagrant abuse of the national sovereignty of Chile" posed by the arrest of Pinochet.

The centrist USec, with which the reformist SWP was then linked, acted as a left tail on the popular front. In the mid-1960s, the Chilean USec joined with a number of Stalinist and social-democratic groups in forming the Castroite Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR), which hailed Allende's election as "a step forward for the masses" (*Punto Final* [Chile], 13 October 1970; see "Chilean Leftists on Allende," *WV* No. 29, 28 September 1973). In the early 1970s, a new USec group emerged in Chile which, while calling for the formation of workers militias and consolidation of the *cordones industriales*, likewise fostered illusions in the Allende regime, appealing to it to extend the nationalizations. Until just before the 1973 coup, the USec refused to characterize the UP as a popular front, instead labeling it "a reformist government of a multiclass character" in which the reformist workers parties supposedly had "hegemony" (*Revolución Permanente* [Chile], 15-31 August 1973).

Behind this verbal sleight-of-hand lay a program of capitulation to the popular front. As Trotsky insisted in the case of the Spanish popular front in the 1930s—in which the Stalinists and social democrats were likewise "hegemonic"—even the presence of the "shadow" of the bourgeoisie in such a class-collaborationist formation is sufficient to ensure its bourgeois character. When reformist parties enter such coalitions, the contradiction between their proletarian base and pro-capitalist program is suppressed, and any electoral support for them, however critical, is flatly counterposed to Marxist principles. In any case, a government composed even exclusively of reformist parties—like Blair's Labour government in Britain—is a *capitalist government*.

More recently, the social-democratic International Socialist Organization (ISO)—linked to Tony Cliff's SWP in Britain—has retrospectively promoted the "left" credentials of the Allende popular front. A flyer for an October 8 ISO forum in New York City crowed, "After electing Allende, a Socialist, as President, the Chilean people began to take control of the land and the factories." The leaflet amnesties the reformist misleaders by placing all the blame for the defeat of the "revolution in Chile" on Pinochet and the CIA. An article in the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (25 September) cynically criticizes leftists in Allende's Chile for having "put their hope in convincing the government to be more radical." But that is precisely what the Cliffites themselves do, from support to Blair's Labour government in Britain to their recent liquidation into Rifondazione Comunista in Italy, a key prop of the popular-front government there until a couple of months ago.

The impact of the catastrophic defeat inflicted in 1973 remains evident in Chile today. Despite the transition to a "parliamentary democracy" in 1990, Pinochet retired as head of the armed forces only this year and workers strikes and protests continue to be met with brutal repression. Two months ago, police assaulted a demonstration in Santiago marking the anniversary of the coup, killing two people. When 800 coal miners held a protest in the capital against mass layoffs last year, they too were attacked by riot cops with tear gas and water cannon. National unions are illegal—the average union has only 62 members—and collective bargaining is limited to individual workplaces. Nonetheless, copper and coal miners have defied the police-state repression to wage desperate struggles in defense of their livelihoods in recent years.

The Chilean "economic miracle" touted by imperialist ideologues has meant crushing poverty for the working class and the oppressed. While a handful of the semicolonial elite cruises around in Mercedes limousines, 45 percent of workers lived below the official poverty line in 1994, and real wages have

Washington Post

Pinochet, embraced as "constitutionalist" military leader, meeting with President Allende only one month before September 1973 coup. Earlier that year, popular-front government unleashed cops to break up Santiago protest by 4,000 strikers from El Teniente copper mine.

London Times

New Evidence...

(continued from page 7)

site of the shooting. Pamela Jenkins also testified that there were several police officers present at the time of the shooting. Yet the presence of these cops or the substance of what they witnessed has never been released by the prosecution to the defense.

Racist Frame-Up Machine: The Cops, the Courts and the D.A.

The blatant frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal throws into sharp relief the whole nature of the capitalist state as a machinery of repression and violence in defense of the propertied rich minority that rules this society against all of the exploited and dispossessed. Judge Albert Sabo—known as the "king of death row" for handing down more death sentences than any other sitting judge in the U.S.—presided over all the appeals hearings, as he had over Jamal's 1982 trial. His pro-prosecution bias was so blatant that even the *Philadelphia Daily News* (2 October 1996), which generally serves as a mouthpiece for the racist Philly cops, complained that Sabo's "heavy-handed

Philadelphia Daily News

Philly cops brutalize Delbert Africa in 1978 siege of MOVE's Powelton Village home.

tactics can only confirm suspicions that the court is incapable of giving Abu-Jamal a fair hearing."

At the 1995 hearing, Sabo denied Jamal's defense any discovery, quashed over 25 defense subpoenas and ruled out the presentation of any evidence on several defense claims. When Rachel Wolkenstein objected to the quashing of any evidence of racial bias in the application of the death penalty in Philadelphia, Sabo ordered her to be handcuffed and thrown in jail. A week later, Leonard Weinglass was fined $1,000 for taking "too long" to

Susan Schary

Court artist's depiction of defense attorney Rachel Wolkenstein being dragged to jail in handcuffs on orders of "hanging judge" Sabo during Jamal's 1995 PCRA hearing.

hand over autopsy slides. "Explaining" these blatant attempts at intimidation, Sabo told the defense, "Counselor, justice is just an emotional feeling." A year later, when Veronica Jones came forward to give her true account of what she witnessed at the scene of Faulkner's killing in 1981, she was arrested while on the stand on an outstanding bench warrant issued *more than two years earlier in New Jersey!*

At every session of the 1995 hearings, a praetorian guard of armed Philadelphia cops organized by the F.O.P. occupied one side of the courtroom. On the other side were Jamal's family and supporters, who were subjected to search by a metal detector and harassed by court guards. Outside the courtroom in July 1995, Philadelphia hospital and health care union Local 1199C was besieged by 300 gun-toting cops for daring to rent its hall for a Jamal benefit.

While hardly unique to Philadelphia, the coercion, intimidation and terror practiced by the Philly police force is notorious. In 1979, the U.S. Attorney General filed a civil rights lawsuit against the city of Philadelphia and the police department, charging a pattern of persecution which reads like a litany of police practices in apartheid South Africa. The suit cited "widespread, arbitrary, and unreasonable physical abuse," including "shooting nondangerous, nonviolent, fleeing criminal suspects" or "suspects who cease flight," "shooting criminal suspects who make gestures or verbal comments while surrendering," and "physically abusing the witnesses (including victims) of shootings to discourage them from disputing the justification of the shooting fostered by the Homicide Division."

In the midst of Jamal's 1995 PCRA appeal hearing, Philadelphia was again rocked by further revelations of police corruption, brutality and frame-up of innocent victims. In one case, they set up a 53-year-old black grandmother, Betty Patterson, on charges of cocaine and crack dealing. The "evidence" was drugs which were planted in Patterson's house by cops attempting to frame up her sons in a murder case. Patterson was jailed for three years! In 1996, she won a million dollar lawsuit against the city of Philadelphia. Since the start of what has become known as the 39th Police District scandal, *300 convictions* have been thrown out and many innocent victims of this frame-up machine freed from prison.

Hard on the heels of the cop corruption scandal came the revelations of a pervasive pattern of racist jury rigging. The latest disclosure came right from the horse's mouth: Philadelphia District Attorney Lynne Abraham. In a transparent election ploy against a rival for her office, Abraham released a ten-year-old "training" videotape showing an assistant D.A. giving a one-hour lecture—shot through with blatant racism—tutoring new prosecutors in the "art" of rigging juries, particularly to exclude blacks. While this training tape caused something of a sensation, what it revealed was simply standard operating procedure. In Jamal's 1982 trial, eleven blacks were excluded from the jury. Those who were allowed to serve fit the racist criteria given in the D.A.'s video: blacks from the Deep South where, the D.A. argued, its "different way of living"—i.e. the heritage of virulent Jim Crow racism—would have instilled a "respect" for police authority. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court denied Jamal's defense from including this blatant evidence of jury rigging in his appeal.

The trail in the frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal goes from the cops through the D.A.'s office and straight up to the office of Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge. In the immediate period before Jamal filed his appeal papers in 1995, prison authorities opened and copied privileged correspondence between Jamal and his attorneys. The copies were forwarded to Ridge, who signed a warrant of execution three days before Jamal's attorneys submitted their legal papers seeking the overturn of his conviction. In late 1996, a federal judge in Pittsburgh ruled that the state had violated Jamal's basic constitutional rights. This decision—the first and only acknowledgement by any judge that Jamal's rights had been violated by the state—is now being appealed.

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal throws a spotlight on the barbaric, racist death penalty in the U.S. A form of institutionalized state terror, the death penalty is directly descended from the system of black chattel slavery codified in the Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision that blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." The death penalty is the Jim Crow lynch rope made legal. Today, its victims are overwhelmingly blacks and Hispanics whose lives the ruling class of this country consider worthless. The centrality of the death penalty to the state's machinery of repression was baldly put in the D.A.'s reply to Mumia's motion for a stay of execution during his 1995 hearing: "The death penalty...is the highest exercise of the state's authority; and it should not lightly be disturbed." Revealing the state's utter racist contempt for the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, it grotesquely argued that: "The carrying out of a valid death sentence cannot constitute irreparable injury for purposes of requesting a stay"!

After winning a stay in 1995, Jamal warned of the danger that this would be used to dissipate and defuse the mobilizations that had stayed the executioner's hand. In his column titled "The Stay," he wrote:

> "The state of Pennsylvania still has every intention of killing me—just not right now....
>
> "Although many radicals and progressives expressed joy at news of the stay, other political analysts saw it as a clever move by a clever judge who did what higher courts would've done and, in so doing, attempted to blunt the edge off of a growing and militant anti-death penalty movement, in Philadelphia and beyond, thereby stymieing a series of planned demonstrations.
>
> "Whatever the reasoning, let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all! *Down with the racist U.S. death penalty!*"

There are many who seek to mobilize to demand a "fair trial" for Jamal. But if anything, the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal—from the original 1982 trial to the subsequent appeal hearings—starkly demonstrates that there is no justice in the capitalist courts. While Jamal's attorneys fight to wield every legal weapon they can in his defense, what is urgently needed are mass mobilizations drawing on the power of the multiracial working class. In taking up the fight for Jamal's freedom, the working class will be striking a blow against an entire system predicated on the brutal exploitation of labor and rooted in the racist repression of the black population. And in doing that they will be taking steps down the road to the emancipation of all of the working people and oppressed through a victorious socialist revolution that smashes the chains of capitalist exploitation and degradation.■

---

continued to drop. Women are subjected to particularly savage oppression: abortion is outlawed under all circumstances, even to save a woman's life. Pinochet's dismantling of social security in favor of a privatized pension scheme in 1981—touted as a model by opponents of Social Security in the U.S.—meant a massive transfer of wealth from the working class to the domestic bourgeoisie and the imperialists. U.S. insurance giant Aetna, for example, controls over half of the country's second-largest pension fund. Meanwhile, over one-third of Chilean workers don't qualify for any retirement benefits at all.

With the growing global financial crisis threatening to engulf South America and the horrors of Pinochet's reign of terror again under the spotlight, Chile could turn into a powder keg of social struggle. Notably, the utterly reformist CP has recently registered significant electoral gains.

The Chilean proletariat has already paid in blood for the reformist politics preached by the CP and the social democrats. It is necessary to forge an authentically Bolshevik vanguard party of the proletariat—steeled in opposition to bourgeois nationalism and all manner of class collaborationism—committed to the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. To avenge the crimes of the Pinochet dictatorship, to sweep away the arrogant Chilean oligarchy and its bloodthirsty military protectors, to overthrow the yoke of imperialist domination requires a thorough-going socialist revolution which places the proletariat—standing at the head of all the oppressed—in power as part of the fight for proletarian revolution throughout the Americas.■

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Abortion...

(continued from page 12)

League speaker denounced the Christian Coalition and other right-wing outfits which helped incite this atrocity. She continued:

> "We Trotskyists fight for free abortion on demand, including access in areas where it is not presently available, as part of the necessary struggle for free, quality health care for all. In this, as in all social struggles, we look not to the reactionary bourgeois state but to the social power of the working class. Women's liberation requires the overthrow of capitalism."

Break with the Democrats!

It is precisely to the reactionary bourgeois state, particularly in its Democratic Party face, that liberals and bourgeois feminists such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL) look to defend women's rights. At the SYC protest, a NOW speaker focused her remarks on getting out the vote for New York Democratic Party Senate candidate Charles Schumer, an ardent advocate of the racist death penalty, in the November 3 elections. And with the exception of an SL speaker who denounced Clinton's Democrats for axing welfare for millions of poor and minority women and children, a NARAL protest in New York City two days earlier was essentially a Democratic Party election rally.

While Clinton won the presidency in 1992 in good part because of his stand on the formal right to abortion, the "pro-choice" Democrat's devastation of welfare and the continuing assault on Medicaid have made any sort of health care, including abortions, even more inaccessible to poor and working women. The latest budget bill signed by Clinton on October 21 promulgates or continues a plethora of anti-abortion measures, including a ban on abortions in overseas military hospitals, in the Indian Health Services and under Medicare, denial of abortion coverage for federal government workers and denial of public funding for abortions in Washington, D.C. and in federal prisons.

Nearly six years into the Clinton administration, fully 84 percent of all U.S. counties have no abortion facilities at all, while only 7 percent of all abortions are now carried out in hospitals. Even approval of the inexpensive drug RU 486, which would enable women to have safe, non-surgical abortions, has been blocked by Congress. The ghettoization of abortion services in specialized, often isolated clinics sets up both patients and providers for harassment and worse. While remaining nominally legal, the right to abortion has increasingly been gutted through a combination of legislative restrictions, such as parental consent rules and mandatory waiting periods, and outright terror by Christian fundamentalist bigots. In an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (28 October) titled "The Doctor in the Bullet-proof Vest," Pablo Rodriguez, medical director of Planned Parenthood of Rhode Island, described the daily horrors he and his family face—from violent blockades and "wanted" posters on his clinic door to malicious vandalism like scattering roofing nails on his driveway. Explaining that such torments are typical for all abortion providers, Rodriguez concluded:

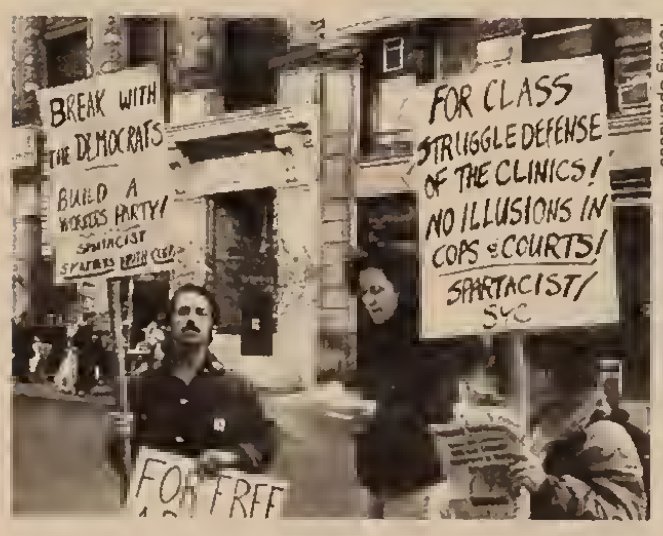
> "The results are obvious. Abortion may remain legal in this country, but there will soon be so few providers that access will become limited and in some cases unavailable."

Abortion is now taught in only 12 percent of all medical schools, and then often as an "elective" course added to an already grueling load. There remain only 900 doctors throughout the country who perform the procedure. They are overwhelmingly motivated by an ideological commitment to women's rights and the memory of back-alley butchery before the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* ruling, and they are literally a dying breed. An article in the *New York Times Magazine* (18 January) noted: "Today, 59 percent of all abortion doctors are at least 65 years old. That's not a typo: nearly two-thirds are beyond legal retirement age."

WV Photo

Victoria Hellman

United-front defense of abortion clinic in San Mateo, California, 1993. "Right to life" terrorists are linked to KKK and other fascist nightriders.



Young Spartacus

New York University, October 29: SYC-organized speakout counterposed fight for mass mobilizations to defend abortion clinics to liberals' reliance on Clinton's Democrats.

Anti-Abortion Terror Network

Stressing that democratic rights are indivisible, we noted in "Anti-Gay Crusade: Incitement to Murder" (*WV* No. 699, 23 October) that the assault on abortion rights is the cutting edge of a reactionary offensive against all the oppressed, including anti-gay bigotry and the broader anti-sex witchhunt which has even ensnared the White House. The bomb-by-night terrorists and killers are emboldened by the war on the poor, minorities, immigrants and other sectors of the oppressed carried out by both major capitalist parties, the Republicans and Democrats.

In "The Anti-Abortion Terror Network" (*WV* No. 614, 13 January 1995), we detailed the well-documented links between "right to life" outfits like Operation Rescue and outright fascist groups. The killer of Dr. David Gunn was connected to "former" Klansman John Burt, who also worked with the murderer of Dr. John Britton. "Pro-Life Virginia" head Donald Spitz, who led the campaign to defend Gunn's killer, now rails that Slepian "reaped what he sowed" and hails his murderer as a "hero." And it was the KKK which originated the use of "wanted" posters to target abortion providers; the "Confederate Knights of the KKK" raves that "Jewish-engineered legalized abortion" is a plot to "destroy the white race."

Dr. Slepian himself may well have been singled out for death because he was Jewish. A 1988 siege of his home by anti-abortion bigots screaming "murderer" took place during Hanukkah. (When Slepian wielded a baseball bat to defend his family from the bloodthirsty mob, assault charges were brought against *him*.) Three of the four other doctors who narrowly survived similar sniper assassination attempts over the past four years—each in the days leading up to Veteran's Day, November 11, marked in Canada as Remembrance Day and by anti-abortion bigots there as "Remember the Unborn Child" Day—were Jewish. Slepian's name was on an Internet hit list of abortion providers, which includes addresses and detailed biographical information on all family members and is linked to the "Army of God," a group claiming responsibility for a number of clinic bombings. Slepian's name was crossed off this list immediately after his assassination.

These deeply sinister outfits are the true face of the assault on women's rights today. While mainstream capitalist politicians hypocritically decry the murder of Dr. Slepian, it is the Congressional onslaught on abortion rights—embraced by Democrats as well as Republicans—which legitimizes and encourages the terrorist killers. A recent article in *U.S. News & World Report* (1 June) estimated that "antiabortion forces have lost only 10 out of 80 abortion votes in Congress since 1995." The House recently voted overwhelmingly yet again to ban what the bigots describe as "partial birth" abortions—the spearhead of a legislative drive to completely overturn *Roe v. Wade*. Clinton's veto of this ban is based solely on his insistence that it allow for some exceptions on the grounds of a "mother's health."

The legalization of abortion was the result of the mass social struggles of the 1950s and '60s—particularly the fight for black rights—and the U.S. bourgeoisie's willingness to grant a handful of reforms as it was subjected to humiliating defeat in its dirty imperialist war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. But under capitalism, such reforms are easily reversible. Racist and anti-woman bigotry and terror spring directly from the system of capitalist exploitation itself. The right to abortion cuts against the grain of pervasive religious moralism and "family values" conservatism which prop up the institution of the family—the main source of women's oppression in class society and the mechanism by which the bourgeoisie passes down private property from one generation to the next. The emancipation of women requires a socialist revolution which will uproot the private property system and replace the family with socialized childcare and housework to bring women fully into social and political life.

The fight to defend the right to abortion—and to make that right meaningful for millions of working-class, poor and minority women—requires a break with the partner parties of capitalism. The bankruptcy of the liberals' and feminists' reliance on Clinton's Democrats is revealed not least in the absence of any significant outpouring of protest in the wake of the killing of Barnett Slepian. It is necessary to disperse the rightist mobs who lay siege to the clinics through mass mobilizations backed up by the social power of the labor movement.

The fight to mobilize the multiracial proletariat in defense of the rights of blacks, immigrants, women, gays and all the oppressed is critical to forging the Leninist vanguard party needed to lead the working class in a socialist revolution which sweeps away this system of wage slavery and all-sided oppression. ***All honor to Dr. Barnett Slepian! Defend the clinics with moss mobilizations! Free obortion on demond—Free, quolity health core for oll! For women's liberation through socialist revolution!***■

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Taslima Nasrin...

(continued from page 12)

Slepian by "right to life" terrorists.

Below we reprint a leaflet issued by the TL/LT on October 29 and distributed by the ICL internationally.

Taslima Nasrin is a passionate advocate of women's freedom and an opponent of religious reaction and murderous communalism. Today, the Bangladeshi woman writer is in hiding, threatened with death by Muslim fundamentalists and with imprisonment by the government in Dhaka for "blasphemy" and "insulting Islam." In Bangladesh, one of the poorest countries on earth, capitalist oppression falls hardest on women, millions of whom are locked away in *purdah* (seclusion) under Islamic law, and kept as the mostly illiterate property of fathers or husbands. Nasrin's writings have been a special target of fundamentalist wrath because of their outright challenge to male dominance and their blunt critique of Islam.

As Nasrin herself said in a statement dated October 25, "Women in Bangladesh...are taught for centuries that they would be the slaves of men. I wanted to wake [them] up so they can struggle for their freedom." The defense of this courageous woman is vital to the fight for women's emancipation throughout Asia. The Trotskyist League and International Communist League therefore commend the initiative of the Worker-communist Parties of Iran and Iraq (WPI) in organizing protests in defense of Nasrin internationally.

The WPI's position is in stark contrast to most of the intelligentsia and self-proclaimed feminists in Bangladesh and elsewhere in the Islamic world, who have ignored Nasrin's case, or even actively denounce her. These people fear Taslima Nasrin because, in confronting head-on the explosive questions of women's oppression and religious bigotry, she threatens to disturb the pipedream of an orderly, liberal capitalist development for neocolonies of imperialism like Bangladesh.

Worse yet, some so-called leftist organizations have embraced the very forces of Islamic reaction which today scream for Nasrin's death. Notably, the International Socialists [I.S.—co-thinkers of the British Socialist Workers Party and the International Socialist Organization in the U.S.] have been all but silent on the plight of Taslima Nasrin for more than four years. This is hardly an oversight. The I.S. *supported* the Islamic "mass movement" which took power in Iran in 1978-79, an unparalleled disaster for women, workers and oppressed nationalities like the Kurds. Earlier this year, the I.S. outrageously defended agents of the Iranian regime against militant protest at the Toronto International Women's Day fair. The Trotskyist League stood together with the WPI, who initiated the action which drove out the agents of this deeply misogynist torture regime.

While we join with the WPI in the urgent fight to save Taslima Nasrin from murderous religious reaction, we do take issue with one of the demands raised in their campaign call. The WPI demands that the Bangladesh government "guarantee the safety of Taslima Nasrin and her mother while they are in the country." We on the other hand demand that this regime *keep its hands off* Taslima Nasrin. We note that it is precisely the "secular" Bangladesh government which, bowing to pressure from Muslim religious leaders, has issued the warrant for Nasrin's arrest.

The WPI's evident hopes in the potential neutrality of the capitalist Bangladesh state is in keeping with their program for Iran, entitled "A Better World." This document raises an extensive series of reform demands, calling to "impose on capitalism the most far-reaching reforms." Such calls feed dangerous illusions in a supposed progressive potential of the capitalist state, which is in fact the central weapon for upholding bourgeois rule against the working class.

At bottom, this perspective reflects the WPI's failure to transcend the framework of "revolution by stages." In the "first stage," the working class in the neocolonial world is called upon to support (or look to) bourgeois nationalist forces to undertake the task of creating an independent capitalist "democracy." However, the weak local bourgeoisies of countries like Iran and Bangladesh, tied by a thousand threads to imperialism and terrified of their "own" oppressed masses, *cannot* achieve even democratic tasks such as agrarian revolution, political democracy and the separation of state and religion. As has been repeatedly shown—from China in 1925-27 to Indonesia in 1965 and Iran in 1978-79—the "first stage" ("democratic revolution") does not lead toward socialism but means the massacre of communists and devastating defeat for the oppressed.

The WPI has sometimes explicitly appealed to the UN or other imperialist agencies to intervene on the side of the oppressed. For example, a statement by the Worker-communist Party of Iraq for a September 14 demonstration in London defending Iraqi political prisoners called for a "team of international inspectors to visit Iraqi prisons" to investigate prison conditions. And a 25 May Internet posting by the Iraqi WPI demanded a UN-supervised plebiscite on Kurdish independence, claiming that UN observers would "give legitimacy to the results of the referendum."

AP

Taslima Nasrin with her mother in 1994, before fleeing Bangladesh in face of threats of imprisonment and death.

In the neocolonial world, Trotskyists fight for the program of *permanent revolution*: the overthrow of imperialist domination through workers revolution, uniting all of the oppressed behind a revolutionary internationalist Leninist vanguard party. In particular, such a party will mobilize the revolutionary determination of women workers, as the Bolsheviks did throughout the Muslim East following the Russian Revolution of 1917. In Bangladesh today, women comprise fully 80 percent of the manufacturing workforce. Throughout Asia, the millions of proletarian women will be a motor force for socialist revolution.

This struggle is inextricably tied to the fight for proletarian power in the imperialist centers themselves. Indeed, the stranglehold of religious reaction has been deliberately strengthened by the imperialists in order to secure their domination. For example, in the 1980s, the U.S. armed reactionary Islamic forces in Afghanistan in their "holy war" against "godless Communism" represented by the Soviet Red Army. The CIA funneled millions to their Afghan cutthroats, who waged war to reimpose the head-to-toe veil—symbol and instrument of the enslavement of women—and who murdered teachers for teaching young girls to read.

The horrors of Taliban rule in Afghanistan today are the direct result of the victory of that imperialist-backed anti-Communist *jihad*. Anti-Soviet "leftists" like the I.S. hailed the CIA's religious assassins. In contrast, we hailed the Red Army in Afghanistan, demanding "Extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" We condemned the 1989 withdrawal of Soviet forces by the disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy, a treacherous appeasement of imperialism which helped pave the way for the destruction of the Soviet Union itself.

Since capitalist counterrevolution engulfed the Soviet Union in 1991-92, religious reaction has been sharply on the rise in the imperialist centers as well. As Taslima Nasrin has said, "Every religion oppresses women." In North America, women's rights—especially the right to abortion—are central targets of violent Christian fundamentalist bigotry. Fanatical right-wing outfits like Campaign Life and the Christian Coalition have whipped up a crusade to ban abortion again, rabidly denouncing doctors and clinic workers as "serial killers."

Such ravings are an open incitement to murder. Only a week ago, respected Buffalo physician Dr. Barnett Slepian was gunned down by an anti-abortion fanatic. Four other doctors who provide abortions have been wounded by sniper attacks in cities across Canada and in upstate New York. The fight for abortion rights is on the cutting edge of the fight against religious and capitalist reaction in North America today. The WPI's declaration that "The Worker-Communist Party is against the act of abortion" ("A Better World") puts them on the wrong side of this vital question.

We Trotskyists fight for free abortion on demand, including access in areas where it is not presently available, as part of a necessary struggle for free quality health care for all. In this, as in all social struggles, we look not to the reactionary bourgeois state but to the social power of the working class. Women's liberation requires the overthrow of capitalism. Liberals and pseudo-leftists seek to invest the forces of imperialism with a supposedly "democratic" mission. This has been repeatedly displayed in calls by self-proclaimed leftists for UN or NATO intervention against Iraq and most recently Serbia! In sharp contrast, we say that the imperialist rulers are the main enemy of the world's working people.

We commend the WPI for its initiative in actively campaigning in defense of Taslima Nasrin. Recognizing our differences, we are pleased to unite in action today in defense of this fighter for women's rights against the deadly threat to her life by fundamentalist reactionaries.

As part of our fight to reforge Leon Trotsky's Fourth International, the essential instrument for the liberation of humanity, we say: Defend Taslima Nasrin! Bangladesh government, keep your bloody hands off! Women's liberation through world socialist revolution! ■

Spartacist Events

Spartacist League Forum

BOSTON

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Friday, November 20, 7 p.m.
Sever Hall, Room 102
Harvard University
For more information: (617) 666-9453

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

CHICAGO

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat—The Russian Revolution
Tuesday, November 10, 6 p.m.
Cobb Hall, Room 104
University of Chicago
5811 S. Ellis
For readings and information (312) 454-4930

NEW YORK CITY

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
Tuesday, November 10, 7 p.m.
Loeb Student Center, Room 413
New York University
(LaGuardia Pl. & Washington Sq. South)
For readings and information: (212) 267-1025

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The Family and Women's Oppression
Thursday, November 12, 7:30 p.m.
International Student Centre
Riddell Room
University of Toronto
33 St. George Street (north of College St.)
For readings and information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Independence for Quebec! Nationalism Is Poison to Class Struggle!
Thursday, November 12, 7 p.m.
Student Union Building
Room 212A, UBC
For readings and information: (604) 687-0353

Trotskyist League/ Ligue trotskyste Forum

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The Fight for a Trotskyist Party
"Who We Are and What We Fight For"
Programmatic Theses of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste
Friday, November 6, 7 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre, Room L4
1661 Napier Street (off Commercial)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

Women and Revolution

Issue No. 44
Winter 1994–Spring 1995

Contents include:

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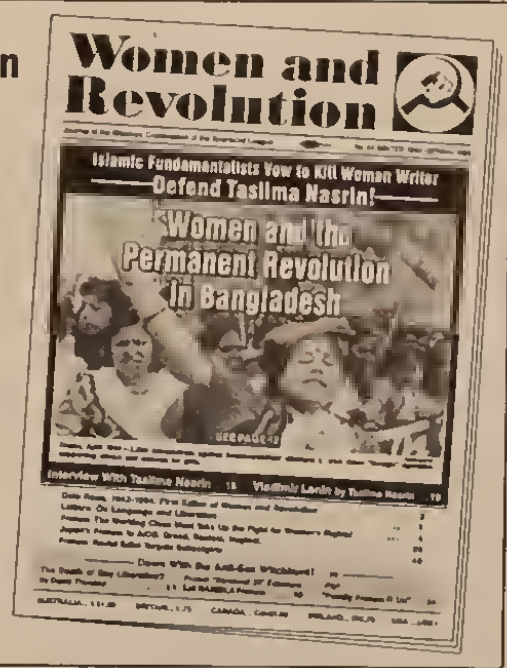


WORKERS VANGUARD

Doctor Assassinated in Upstate New York

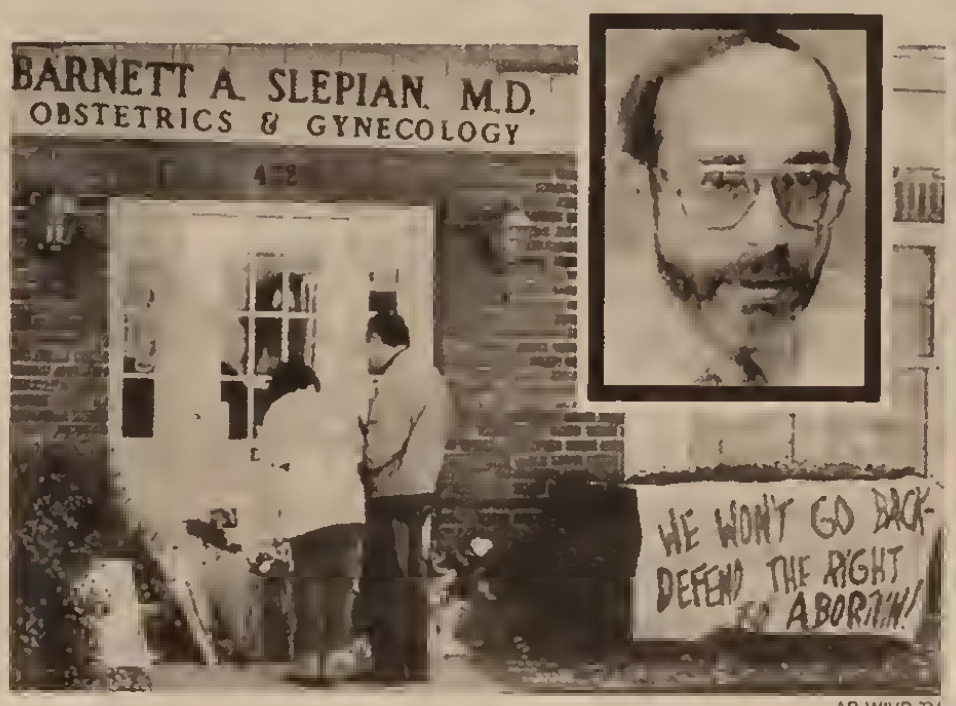
Anti-Abortion Bigots' Trail of Murder

The bloody war against women's right to abortion waged by "right to life" terrorists has now claimed another life. On the night of October 23, Dr. Barnett Slepian was shot in the back in his own kitchen, murdered by a sniper lurking in the shadows outside his suburban Buffalo home. The 52-year-old abortion provider was gunned down in front of his wife and their four sons, only moments after returning from the synagogue where he had offered a memorial (*yahrzeit*) prayer on the anniversary of his father's death.

Dr. Slepian was the only staff physician at the only clinic providing abortions in Buffalo, a city of 300,000, and the only facility in all of western New York State where the procedure is available to poor women on Medicaid. There are today only three facilities providing abortions in this area. Two other clinics in the city had been forced to shut down by a massive siege by anti-abortion bigots in 1992. The only other doctor working at the Buffalo clinic has now resigned in fear for his own life.

"He knew the risks well," said one of Slepian's friends. "He was dedicated to providing women with safe and legal abortions and was unwilling to abandon his clients because of threats." Barnett Slepian's name is the seventh on the roll call of those cut down in the line of duty by anti-abortion terrorists since 1993: Dr. David Gunn, shot dead in Pensacola, Florida, 1993; Dr. John Britton, shot dead along with an escort in Pensacola a year later; Lee Ann Nichols and Shannon Lowney, shot dead in a clinic in Brookline, Massachusetts, 1994. And a firebombing in Birmingham, Alabama earlier this year left a security guard dead and a nurse severely wounded.

Only two weeks before the shooting of Barnett Slepian, 21-year-old Matthew Shepard was sadistically tortured to death by anti-gay thugs in Wyoming. Just as Shepard's murder was directly prepared and incited by a vicious crusade by the Christian fundamentalist right and the likes of Senate Republican leader Trent Lott demonizing homosexuals, so the killing of the heroic doctor in Buffalo was the result of a frenzied war on abortion waged by bigoted mobs on the streets and promoted in the halls of Congress by "respectable" politicians of both the Republican and Democratic parties.



AP, WIVB-TV

WV Photo

Dr. Barnett Slepian, murdered for his courageous commitment to women's right to abortion. SL joined in October 27 NYC demonstration of outrage.

Defend the Clinics with Mass Mobilizations! Free Abortion on Demand!

In the wake of the latest atrocity, there have been renewed calls for more police protection for abortion providers and for reinforcement of measures like the 1994 Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act. Such laws have done less than nothing to stop the mobs besieging the clinics. According to a survey by Feminist Majority, in 1996 almost half of all clinics or clinic staff were subjected to "severe violence." In fact, these laws can be and are used against picketing strikers and leftist protesters. Only six hours before Slepian's murder, his wife alerted the cops of threats against abortion providers in the area, yet the police did nothing. Meanwhile, the Supreme Court has increasingly hemmed in the right to abortion in the 25 years since its legalization. And only last month, an Ohio judge ordered a pregnant young woman to remain in prison on minor felony charges explicitly to prevent her from getting an abortion.

At a demonstration of outrage over the murder of Dr. Slepian, initiated by the Spartacus Youth Club at New York University on October 29, a Spartacist

continued on page 10

Down With Fundamentalist Terror!

Defend Taslima Nasrin!

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Sections of the International Communist League joined in protests last week initiated by the Worker-communist Parties (WPI) of Iraq and Iran in defense of Bangladeshi writer Taslima Nasrin. Faced with an arrest warrant as well as a *fatwa* (religious edict) death threat for her outspoken opposition to Islamic fundamentalism, Nasrin fled the country in 1994. Returning this September to visit her dying mother, she was again subjected to threats of imprisonment and death and forced into hiding.

On October 30, our comrades participated in protests in New York City, Los Angeles, London and Sydney, Australia. The following day, the Canadian Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste joined demonstrations in Toronto and Vancouver. Also among the hundred people who turned out in Toronto were representatives of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers as well as supporters of Socialist Action and the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty. A TL speaker linked the threats against Nasrin with religious anti-woman terror in the U.S. and Canada. TL signs included the calls, "Defend Taslima Nasrin! Bangladesh Government Keep Your Hands Off!" and "Down With Anti-Woman Bigotry—Free Abortion on Demand!" The TL contingent, joined by WPI supporters and others, then marched to a nearby protest against the murder of Dr. Barnett

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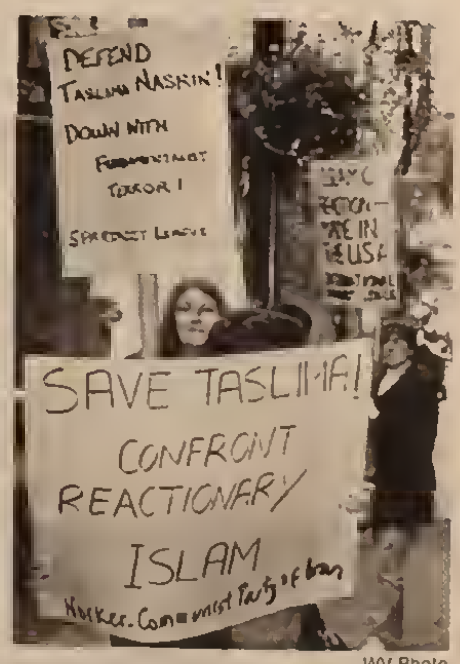

WV Photo

New York City, October 30: one of the international protests initiated by Worker-communist Party.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 701 | 20 November 1998

Down With Starvation Blockade! U.S. Out of the Near East!

U.S. Get Your Bloody Hands Off Iraq!

NOVEMBER 17—Massively reinforcing its armada of warships, submarines, aircraft carriers, fighter-bombers and cruise missiles in the Persian Gulf, U.S. imperialism is once again poised to unleash bloody carnage on the Iraqi people. The Clinton White House has now announced a postponement of the military strike as the Iraqi regime agreed to again allow free rein to the imperialist spies who masquerade as "arms inspectors." Trumpeting Washington's aim of overthrowing the Saddam Hussein regime, Clinton bellows, "Iraq has backed down, but that is not enough." British Labour prime minister Tony Blair rants that the "slightest obstruction" of United Nations weapons inspectors will be met with an "immediate attack, no warning whatever." Today's *New York Times* headlines, "Allies See Bombing of Iraq as Inevitable."

AP

Women and children in Baghdad wait for scarce medical care. Imperialist blockade has killed well over a million Iraqis, now Clinton threatens renewed terror bombing.

As we declared in a statement of the Spartacist League Political Bureau at the time of Clinton's last terror-bombing threat (*WV* No. 685, 27 February): "Whether or not America's capitalist rulers decide *this time* to *yet again* rain death and destruction on Iraqi men, women and children does not change by one iota the rapacious and murderous character of this imperialist system." Against the reformist "socialists" who perpetuate the liberal lie that imperialism is just a "bad policy" which can be changed through mass pressure, we asserted:

> "As Lenin stressed in polemicizing against similar views advanced by German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, imperialism is 'the highest stage of capitalism,' marked by the concentration and domination of finance capital, the preeminence of the export of capital and competition among the advanced capitalist countries to control markets and spheres of exploitation. War is a necessary product of the capitalist system."

This marks the *eighth* time since the one-sided 1991 Persian Gulf War that Washington has either perpetrated or threatened mass destruction of Iraq. Tens of thousands were slaughtered in 1991 by U.S.-led forces acting under a UN fig leaf. Over a million children and hundreds of thousands of other Iraqis have since died from malnutrition and disease resulting from the imperialist embargo. As one Iraqi official remarked bitterly, the imperialists "will not kill in a military strike more than they are killing with sanctions every day." The death rate among children from diseases like pneumonia and diarrhea has increased more than tenfold. The country has also been ravaged by a horrifying cancer epidemic caused by the imperialists' rape of Iraq in 1991, which included the use of depleted uranium shells (see "Iraq Cancer Epidemic Made in U.S.A.," *WV* No. 690, 8 May). *Down with the starvation blockade! U.S. imperialism: Get your bloody hands off Iraq!*

Reuters

Fearful of stirring up domestic discontent, America's rulers rely on high-tech missile and bombing strikes which minimize U.S. casualties while wreaking devastation on the Iraqi population. An editorial in the *New York Times* (13 November), mouthpiece of the liberal bourgeoisie, virtually screamed for Iraqi blood, calling for a "sustained" bombing campaign which would necessarily include "a regrettable risk of civilian casualties."

The repeated *displays of terror* by U.S. imperialism are aimed at enforcing the subjugation of the semicolonial peoples of the world and demonstrating to its capitalist rivals that the American bourgeoisie remains top dog. In cynically railing against destitute Iraq's supposed "weapons of mass destruction," Washington is asserting its "right" to a monopoly over such weapons. The U.S. has not only enormous stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons but a nuclear arsenal capable of wiping out the world's population many times over. And it is the only country to have used nuclear weapons in wartime, incinerating over 200,000 Japanese and Korean civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

In organizing protests at various campuses around the U.S. last week in response to the war buildup, the Spartacus Youth Clubs raised the call, "Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Proletarian Revolution!" As an SYC spokesman at a November 12 speakout at UCLA stressed: "What is necessary is the building of a class-struggle, revolutionary workers party that stands opposed to the Democratic and Republican parties of war and racism. Such a party is absolutely essential in the struggle for

continued on page 10

No Illusions in Bourgeois Liberals— For Workers Revolution!

Philippines: Estrada Regime Turns Screws on Workers, Poor

See Page Four

Young Spartacus

Defeat of Reconstruction and the Great Rail Strike of 1877

The Shaping of Racist American Capitalism

See Page Six

On Reconstruction

August 17, 1998

Dear Editor,

I write concerning a significant episode of (Black) history, which I believe gets short shrift in the formulations I have read upon it in the pages of *WV*. If, after reading below, it turns out that I have been mistaken, and the points I make *have* been covered in *WV*, then you can ignore this letter. But even if they have been covered, I believe they still lack the proper emphasis. My concern is over how the period after the Compromise of 1877 is characterized, most recently, but I think not atypically in the otherwise fine and important article, "Death Row Speedup Targets Minorities" (*WV*, No. 694, 31 July 1998). I quote the formulation in its context:

> "...the promise of black freedom was betrayed by the Northern capitalists, who were not about to take any action which would threaten the dominance of private property, North or South. Even minimal land redistribution was stopped and the large plantations maintained, with the former slaves becoming impoverished sharecroppers and tenant farmers. Following the defeat of Reconstruction, formalized by the Compromise of 1877, the black freedmen were again disenfranchised under Jim Crow laws steeped in the spirit, and at times the letter, of the old Slave Codes. In the 1896 *Plessy* case, the Supreme Court codified "separate but equal" segregation as the law of the land.... With the withdrawal of the last Union troops in 1877, KKK terror stalked the South unchallenged."

As a précis of a crucial period of U.S. history—the defeat of Reconstruction—the above is perhaps adequate. However, my main disagreement concerns the overly mechanistic, and historically inaccurate, depiction of this defeat that equates the Compromise of 1877 with the establishment of Jim Crow. Secondarily, I think it's worth pointing out that KKK and other race terrorists rampaged throughout the Reconstruction period, only half-heartedly challenged by the Union government. There did continue to be black militias during this latter period, but their influence was largely kept in check. On this latter point, please refer to Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880*. But to return to my main point, the Compromise of 1877 may have officially ended the Northern attempt at Reconstruction of the South, ending in the so-called "redemption" of the Southern states, but it did not result in the immediate disenfranchisement of the blacks, nor did Jim Crow immediately spring into existence in 1877-78. In fact, as is well documented in C. Vann Woodward's classic study, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, originally published in 1955, an entire historical period was required to wipe out (and then never completely) the gains made through tremendous suffering, fighting and sacrifice by both blacks and whites during both the Civil War and in the attempt to impose Radical Reconstruction thereafter. Du Bois wrote, in his seminal study noted above, written in the early 1930s:

> "Negroes did not surrender the ballot easily or immediately. They continued [after 1877] to hold remnants of political power in South Carolina and Florida, Louisiana, in parts of North Carolina, in Texas, Tennessee and Virginia. Black Congressmen came out of the South until 1895 and black legislators served as late as 1896 [p. 692].... The whole history of this post-Reconstruction development is yet to be written...." [pp. 693-694]

Both Du Bois and Woodward point out that the fight against the black vote, and the attempt to subjugate blacks economically, socially and politically, was symbolized by the rise of the accommodationist Booker T. Washington, whose program was not enunciated until the mid-1890s! What happened in the almost 20 years between the official end of the Reconstruction period and the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case in 1896? Some of the development can be followed in the decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court prior to *Plessy*, which sought to sharply curtail the special protections of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Reconstruction-era 1875 Civil Rights Act. For instance in the three *Civil Rights Cases* of 1883, the court tried to emasculate efforts by Radical Republicans to promote racial equality, e.g. by prohibiting racial segregation. But the U.S. capitalist government still held that it could prohibit discriminatory action by a State government. It wasn't until the period of reaction had consolidated itself by the mid-1890s that the outright legal overturn of Civil War and Reconstruction attempts at equal protection and civil rights was made explicit in the notorious *Plessy* case. In this latter, the Supreme Court upheld a Louisiana law requiring segregation in railway cars. In other words, the legal codification of segregation took almost a generation following the Compromise of 1877. The capital (so to speak) of earlier struggles, and the struggles of men and women in the 20 years following the end of official Reconstruction, ensured that black America would not go down fighting [sic]. Perhaps *WV* would like to research and write an article on this someday.

Why bother to carp upon a single sentence in a *WV* article? Well, for one, I have read the same formulation of this period in previous *WV* articles, and have long thought of writing a letter about it. I do not write with any substantive criticism, but only, really, to suggest a reformulation of how a particular period in history is presented. This may have significance, as we are now living though a period of international defeat and reaction ourselves. I would suggest only a modest reformulation of the immediate post-Reconstruction period somewhat along the lines as follows: "The gains of Civil War battle and Reconstruction were not easily overturned. Following the Compromise of 1877, a losing battle was fought against the forces of racist, capitalist reaction, culminating in the near-universal establishment of Jim Crow segregation laws and the political disenfranchisement of blacks only by the end of the nineteenth century." This reformulation, brief and not too different from *WV*'s, has this virtue, it does not telescope historical development, nor does it make it seem that blacks rolled over in defeat with the end of Reconstruction. I am sure that the editorial staff of *WV* can do a better job than me in coming up with the correct formulation.

Fraternally,
Jeffrey K.

_WV_ Replies

We appreciate Jeffrey K.'s observations and refer him to the article in this issue on "Defeat of Reconstruction and the Great Rail Strike of 1877—The Shaping of Racist American Capitalism."■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution

The fight against black oppression is central to the struggle for socialist revolution in this deeply racist country. This understanding was brought to the American Communist movement by the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky at its Fourth Congress in 1922. Drawing on the experience of the October Revolution of 1917, the Russian Bolsheviks imbued the early American Communist Party with the need to actively take up the fight against racial oppression in the U.S.

Three hundred years ago the American Negro was dragged from his homeland, brought in indescribably horrible conditions on board ship, and sold into slavery. For 250 years he worked as a slave under the lash of American overseers. His labour cleared the forests, built the roads, planted the cotton, laid the railways, and kept the aristocracy of the south. His wages were poverty, ignorance, humiliation, and wretchedness. The Negro was not a docile slave; his history is rich in revolts, disturbances, and subterranean methods of gaining freedom. But all his struggles were savagely suppressed. He was forced into subjection by torture, and the bourgeois press and religion justified his enslavement. Slavery then became an obstacle to American development on a capitalist basis; personal slavery came into conflict with wage slavery, and personal slavery was bound to go under. The civil war, which was not a war to free the Negroes, but a war to maintain the industrial predominance of capital in the northern states, confronted the Negro with the choice between slavery in the south and wage slavery in the north. The longings, the blood, and the tears of the "emancipated" Negroes were a part of the fabric of American capitalism. As America, which had meanwhile risen to the position of a world Power, was inevitably dragged into the maelstrom of the world war, the Negro was declared to be equal in rank to the whites. He had to kill and be killed for "democracy."...

The Communist International notes with satisfaction the resistance of the exploited Negro to the exploiters' attack, for the enemy of his race and the enemy of the white workers are one and the same—capitalism and imperialism.

—"Theses of the Fourth Comintern Congress on the Negro Question," November 1922, reprinted in Jane Degras, *The Communist International 1919-1943 Documents* (1971)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Jacob Zorn

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jane Patterson

EDITORIAL BOARD: Ray Bishop (managing editor), Bruce André, Helene Brosius, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Allison Spencer

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the Internationel Communist League (Fourth Internationelist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007 Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is November 17.

No. 701 **20 November 1998**

Cops at UPS Victimize Jamal Defense Rally Organizers

The following is a Partisan Defense Committee leaflet issued on November 15 in response to police harassment of trade unionists who were mobilizing at a UPS location in the suburb of Willow Springs for the November 21 Chicago rally to free Mumia Abu-Jamal.

It's no secret to Teamster members that the United Parcel Service desperately wants to destroy the union, which obstructs its quest for ever higher profits. In fact, after the successful 1997 UPS strike, which broke a very long chain of labor defeats, UPS beefed up its union-busting, racist security forces for that very purpose. At the Hodgkins UPS facility these thugs, acting in concert with local cops, were mobilized to threaten, assault and illegally detain supporters of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the radical black journalist facing execution on frame-up charges in Pennsylvania. The same state forces arrayed against the union moved to suppress the defense of Jamal.

On the night of November 13 two Jamal supporters were handing out flyers at the Willow Springs Road entrance to UPS calling for a mass labor/black protest demanding: "All Out to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Soon two UPS guards arrived on the scene in company Broncos. One, Thomas Evoy, identified himself as a state policeman; the other flashed a sheriff's deputy badge. When ordered to leave the area, the two asserted their right to distribute labor material on public property. Evoy radioed for the Willow Springs cops. When they then attempted to leave, Evoy thrust a heavy mag lite into the chest of one of the leafletters, threatening to arrest them himself and saying, "Consider yourselves detained." Before long, the two Jamal supporters were surrounded by five Willow Springs cruisers, two unmarked police cars and two Indian Point squad cars!

The purpose of this overwhelming police mobilization, ostensibly in response to an alleged traffic "violation," was to send a message of intimidation and implied terror to any who would seek to link the struggle for black rights to the power of the multiracial working class. UPS, notorious for its racist mistreatment of black workers across the country, is especially motivated to squash any threat of labor/black power. But for Teamster members at UPS as well as other unionists, the lesson should be clear: union rights and black rights must march forward together—or they will fall back separately. In the aftermath of last year's strike, UPS and the cops ally to strangle the social power of the union; ***this*** is the power that must be mobilized to defend Jamal.

Government Hands Off New York City D.C. 37

The increased combativity of the American labor movement which has been evident beginning with last year's Teamsters (IBT) strike against UPS has prompted a counteroffensive by Wall Street, the government and its courts aimed at completely shackling the unions. This has been highlighted by the government stepping up its years-long intervention into the Teamsters following the UPS strike, voiding last December's re-election of IBT president Ron Carey, imposing new elections and expelling Carey from the union altogether.

Now, expanding this anti-union vendetta, the government has targeted American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) District Council 37 in New York City, which represents some 120,000 city workers in 56 locals. Under the guise of fighting "corruption," four separate sets of investigators are probing the union, while the Manhattan District Attorney's office has subpoenaed financial records from *every single local*. These ominous intrusions into the union have nothing to do with the measly financial shenanigans the D.A.'s office claims to be investigating and everything to do with further crippling the unions as defensive organizations of the working class. ***Government hands off the unions!***

The D.C. 37 bureaucracy has itself been instrumental in shackling the potential power of the union by its embrace of the capitalist politicians who run the city and their anti-union laws. D.C. 37 president Stanley Hill—a longtime backer of viciously racist, anti-labor Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani—has run point for City Hall's massive cutbacks which have meant tens of thousands of layoffs and further devastation of the ghettos and barrios. In 1995, Hill pushed through a five-year contract which included a two-year wage freeze and millions of dollars in givebacks. The following year, Hill endorsed Giuliani's imposition of slave-labor, union-busting "workfare," which has led to more rounds of layoffs and has served to pit the desperate minority poor against the unions. And the D.C. 37 tops have long bowed to New York State's Taylor Law banning public workers strikes—it's been more than 25 years since D.C. 37 last went on strike.

Nationally, the AFSCME bureaucracy has eagerly "organized" prison guards and cops—the racist, strikebreaking guard dogs of the capitalist rulers. The police, courts and prisons are at the core of the capitalist state, which exists to protect the class rule, property and profits of the bourgeoisie. The emancipation of labor and the liberation of all the exploited and oppressed depends on the destruction of the capitalist state machinery through socialist revolution, creating a society where those who labor rule.

Today, the labor movement is being increasingly threatened and hogtied by having the class enemy in its house. With cop-infested and court-controlled unions, the labor movement *cannot* effectively wield its power on behalf of workers and the oppressed. We say: cops and courts out of the unions! For the unions to act as instruments of class struggle requires a political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. This means in the first place a fight for the complete independence of the unions from the capitalist state, its cops and courts, and from the Democratic and Republican parties of capital.

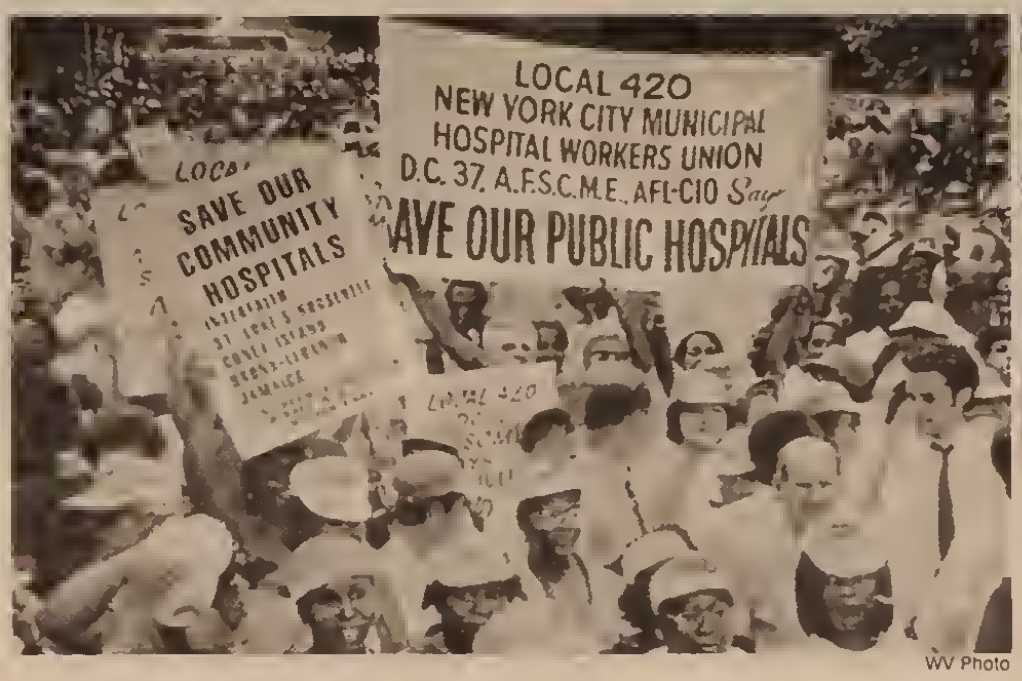
The Spartacist League opposes state intervention into the unions as a matter of principle. Not so for such reformists as the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which has long promoted the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), an outfit which literally wrote the blueprint for the feds' takeover of the union. Along with other reformist "socialists," the ISO trumpeted Ron Carey, who took office as a direct result of the government's intervention into the union. But once the state removed their man from office, the ISO started howling about the evils of government intervention. Thus a *Socialist Worker* (19 June) article on the Teamsters talked about the need for "shop-floor organization independent of the union bureaucracy—and for getting both the mob and the federal government out of the union."

Stung by what happened to Carey, the ISO has suddenly "discovered" the danger of government intervention. That this is sheer hypocrisy is shown by their response to the events in AFSCME D.C. 37. In *Socialist Worker* (25 September), the ISO lauds the "Committee for Real Change" (CRC) headed by Local 375 chief Roy Commer and Mark Rosenthal, the president of Local 983. The ISO claims the CRC stands for "organizing the unorganized, including workfare workers" and for implementing various reforms in the union. What the ISO *doesn't* say is that these bureaucrats have been acting as point men for state intervention into the union. When Rosenthal took office earlier this year, he proceeded to turn over to the D.A. reports on the union's finances. And Commer responded to his recent suspension from union office by filing a complaint against the union in federal court.

The ISO doesn't say a word about how these bureaucrats look to "reform" the union by running to the courts and finking for the D.A. Nor does the ISO ever object to the AFSCME tops' "organizing" of cops, and for good reason: the ISO and its international patrons, Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party, have time and again supported the "struggles" of prison guards and cops. Thus the British *Socialist Worker* (8 February 1997) posits that cops could cease being "agents of the state" if they "rebel collectively." And in 1996, the Canadian International Socialists supported a strike by "unionized" prison guards in Ontario in which they subjected inmates to a lockdown and, when the prisoners protested, rushed into the jail from their picket lines to suppress them.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels declared some 125 years ago, and the entire course of labor struggle has shown, that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes." In contrast, the ISO has a reformist perspective. As we wrote in "Government Steps Up Anti-Labor Attacks" (*WV* No. 675, 3 October 1997): "What the ISO pushes is *social-democratic* politics, the view that the capitalist state, which is organized to defend the interests of the bourgeois ruling class, can be pressured to act on behalf of the interests of the exploited." Key to unchaining labor's power is to imbue workers with the understanding that the capitalist state is the deadly enemy of the unions, of blacks and all minorities. The necessary instrument to sow that consciousness is a revolutionary workers party, forged through political struggle against capitalism's "labor lieutenants" and their "socialist" mouthpieces.■

ISO Cheers Feds' Union "Reformers"



WV Photo

Washington/NY Times

AFSCME D.C. 37 hospital workers protest closures and cutbacks, 1996. D.C. 37 chief Stanley Hill has pushed through layoffs and union-busting, slave-labor "workfare" schemes for racist mayor Giuliani.

Spartacist Events

Spartacist League Forum

BOSTON

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Friday, November 20, 7 p.m.
Sever Hall, Room 102
Harvard University
For more information: (617) 666-9453

Spartacus Youth Club Video Show and Discussion

NEW YORK CITY

Come see the Partisan Defense Committee video:
"From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal"
Wednesday, December 2, 2:30 p.m.
Borough of Manhattan Community College
199 Chambers Street, Room S114
For more information: (212) 267-1025

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

NEW YORK CITY

Confronting the "Death of Communism" Myth:
The Revolutionary Party in the Post-Soviet World
Tuesday, November 24, 7 p.m.
Loeb Student Center, Room 413
New York University (LaGuardia Pl./Wash. Sq. South)
For readings and information: (212) 267-1025

TORONTO

The Revolutionary Party and Its Program
Thursday, November 26, 7:30 p.m.
International Student Centre
Riddell Room
University of Toronto
33 St. George Street (north of College St.)
For readings and information: (416) 593-4138

Benefit for Class-War Prisoners

Organize for Mumia Abu-Jamal's Freedom

Join us for the 13th annual Holiday Appeal to raise funds for those imprisoned for championing the rights of labor and the oppressed. In sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners and additional funds to them and their families during the holidays, the PDC continues a tradition dating back to the International Labor Defense of the 1920s.

This year's benefits are particularly focused on the urgent struggle to free black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. With the rejection of Jamal's appeal by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, there is an immediate danger that Governor Tom Ridge will sign a death warrant, aiming to silence forever this courageous fighter against racist injustice. Build the Holiday Appeal—Build the fight to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty!

New York
Friday, December 4
5 to 9 p.m.
AFSCME District Council 1707
75 Variek St. (at Canal)
For more information:
(212) 406-4252

Chicago
Sunday, December 6
3 to 7 p.m.
UE Hall
37 S. Ashland (at Monroe)
For more information:
(312) 454-4931

Bay Area
Sunday, December 6
1 to 4 p.m.
ILWU Local 34 Hall
4 Berry St., San Francisco
For more information:
(510) 839-0852

SPONSOR: PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

No to U.S. Bases!

Philippines: Estrada Regime Turns Screws on Workers, Poor

Der Spiegel

Moyer/Review

Reuters

Amid desperate poverty, Filipinos plead for help at presidential palace of Joseph Estrada (near left, with billionaire patron Eduardo Cojuangco).

NOVEMBER 16—Less than five months into his term as president of the Philippines, Joseph "Erap" Ejercito Estrada's image as guardian of the *masa* (masses) is fading, and fading fast. Campaigning on the slogan "Erap para sa mahirap" (Erap for the poor) and on promises of jobs, cheap food and housing, the capitalist politician was elected in May on a wave of popular discontent over the austerity dictates imposed by his predecessor, former general Fidel Ramos, at the behest of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and U.S. imperialism. With class polarization progressively sharpening and labor militancy threatening to undermine the stability of this classic U.S. neocolony, Estrada is backing calls for emergency presidential powers and a moratorium on strikes. He is also championing the return of U.S. military forces to the country, throwing his support behind the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) signed early this year by Ramos.

Shortly before Estrada's June 30 inauguration, Philippine Airlines (PAL) pilots walked out—defying a government injunction—against a union-busting attack by PAL boss and Estrada backer Lucio Tan. The pilots were subsequently joined by flight attendants and the combative PAL Employees Association (PALEA) representing ground crews. The day after Estrada's inauguration, PAL strikers joined with other trade unionists, impoverished slum dwellers and youth in a 10,000-strong protest at the opening session of Congress in Manila, where the "populist" president unveiled a hard-nosed austerity program entailing deep cuts in the already measly social services budget and wholesale privatization of remaining state-owned firms and utilities.

What lies behind the American military presence in the Philippines has been amply evident in recent days, as Indonesia again erupts in mass protests met with bloody repression. Less than six months after dictator Suharto was forced out by student protests and plebeian upheavals, his successor and former henchman, B. J. Habibie, is likewise using military terror to prop up his austerity regime. The economic crisis which has engulfed the region, sending shock waves as far as Japan, Russia and Brazil, has driven millions to the edge of starvation. At the same time, it has impelled the urban and rural masses to fight for their very survival.

There has recently been imperialist investment in light industry in the Philippines, although the country was sidelined during the much-touted Southeast Asian "economic miracle." Now it is being buffeted by the effects of the economic crash. The lines of men and women—sometimes stretching more than half a mile—outside the Malacañang presidential palace pleading for jobs, housing, medical care and scholarships attest to the desperate conditions throughout the country. The number of jobless has climbed by 30 percent in one year. The Philippine peso has plunged to a record low, and the only thing apparently keeping the economy afloat is dollar remittances from the vast number of Filipinos working abroad. These conditions have provoked widespread proletarian unrest, measured in the *32 percent* increase in strikes and lockouts over the past year.

The PAL strike, which served as a beacon for workers throughout the archipelago, went down to bitter defeat last month in the face of government-backed strike-breaking, sealed by a backroom deal between the PALEA tops and the airline bosses (see "Philippine Airline Strike Knifed," page 9). But the groundswell of dissent and labor activity coming hard on the heels of the PAL strike was sufficient to rattle the capitalist rulers. Workers on the island of Cebu recently occupied and shut down a major plant while a nationwide walkout at Philippine Telegraph & Telephone crippled automated teller machines and lotto terminals.

The fraud of "Erap para sa mahirap" is not just the product of Estrada's intimate relationship with imperialism and the Philippine oligarchy. In the epoch of capitalist decay, the bourgeoisie of the countries of belated capitalist development—the junior partners of the imperialists—are incapable of carrying out the historic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, including expropriation of the landed estates. As Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky explained in *The Permanent Revolution* (1931):

> "With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses."

No Illusions in Bourgeois Liberals—For Workers Revolution!

The Philippine proletariat must take its place at the head of the unemployed poor, the rural masses, women, subjugated ethnic and national minorities in a struggle for socialist revolution against all wings of the capitalist class. Such a struggle must be based on a perspective for proletarian revolution throughout the region and internationally, especially the U.S., Japan and Australia. This is underscored by the U.S. military presence, which seeks to enforce imperialist "stability" in this increasingly tumultuous region and to assist Washington's interests against Japan. It is also a dagger at the throat of the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state, which is teetering on the brink of capitalist counterrevolution.

Trotskyists stand for unconditional military defense of China and the other remaining deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution while fighting for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies. Socialist revolution in the Philippines would be an enormous impetus to the Chinese workers fighting the ravages of the Beijing regime's "market reforms." Above all, what is needed is the forging of a proletarian vanguard party committed to the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution and steeled in political combat against the myriad forms of nationalist class collaboration promoted by the Stalinist-dominated Philippine left.

An "Archipelagic Aircraft Carrier"

Significantly, the return of the U.S. military under the Visiting Forces Agreement comes 100 years after the U.S. seized the archipelago in the 1898 Spanish-American War which signaled America's emergence as an imperialist power. In the process of suppressing nationalist resistance, the U.S. military launched a brutal, racist war that resulted in the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Filipinos. As we noted in "A Century of U.S. Imperialist Plunder" (*WV* No. 686, 13 March): "The conquest of the Philippines, leading to decades of bloody colonial repression, was a statement of U.S. imperialist appetites in the Pacific and a harbinger of the future war with Japanese imperialism, which culminated in the American A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945."

The strategic importance of the Philippines for the U.S. was laid out following World War II by General Douglas MacArthur, whose father commanded the war of extermination against independence fighters at the turn of the century: "Now the Pacific has become an Anglo-Saxon lake and our line of defense runs through a chain of islands fringing the coast of Asia" (quoted in Nautilus Research, *Pacific Command: The Structure and Strategy of the US Military in the Pacific* [July 1983]). In 1951, MacArthur told the U.S. Congress: "From this island chain we can dominate with sea and air power every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore and prevent any hostile movement into the Pacific."

Despite half a century of nominal independence, the Philippines remains an impoverished semicolonial vassal of the U.S. Described by the London *Economist* as an "archipelagic aircraft carrier," the country has long served as a linchpin of the anti-Communist ASEAN alliance in Southeast Asia. During the anti-Soviet Cold War, the Philippines provided strategic military bases at Clark and Subic Bay for U.S. imperialism's savage counterrevolutionary war in the 1960s and '70s against the heroic Vietnamese

workers and peasants. When the U.S. opted to abandon its Philippine bases shortly after the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the Pentagon took literally everything, except the tons of toxic waste left behind. For more than half a century, the U.S. military arrogantly treated the Philippines as its whorehouse. Thousands of Amerasian children were abandoned when the U.S. military left. Now these children, especially those of black GIs, face ostracism in the communities around the former bases.

Estrada became the darling of the nationalist "left" in good part because he spoke out against the U.S. military bases while serving as an opposition senator under the administration of President Corazon "Cory" Aquino. Recognizing the brittleness of bourgeois rule in a neocolony situated in a potential cockpit of interimperialist rivalry, Estrada now openly courts the favors of the United States. The VFA allows the U.S. military unlimited access to ports and installations throughout the Philippines. U.S. interests are especially focused around General Santos City at the southern tip of Mindanao—where USAID funds were used to upgrade the airport and ship handling facilities—which faces the maritime boundary with Indonesia and Malaysia.

The VFA, which has provoked nationalist protests by elements ranging from the powerful Catholic hierarchy to the Stalinist and social-democratic left, is a response to intensified interimperialist competition and growing social turmoil in the region. The Philippines offers the U.S. a strategic position from which to threaten the sea lanes that are Japan's shortest oil supply routes as well as a jumping-off point for military intervention to quell social unrest in neighboring semicolonial countries. We say: Smash the VFA and ASEAN! U.S. troops out of the Philippines!

Dead End of Bourgeois Populism

Estrada's election was hailed by a host of liberals and avowed leftists as a "victory for the people." In fact, Estrada is simply the latest in a long line of imperialist-sponsored "populist" or *cacique* (landowner) politicians, from colonial Commonwealth caudillo Manuel Quezon and post-independence president Ramon Magsaysay to dictator Ferdinand Marcos and Aquino herself. For decades, Washington propped up the hated, corrupt Marcos dictatorship. When Marcos became too discredited to continue ruling in the 1980s, the U.S. promoted longtime CIA asset and millionaire Benigno Aquino. Following his assassination by Marcos' thugs in 1983, his wife took up the baton of the "democratic" opposition.

Three years later, Cory Aquino, one of the largest landowners in the country, was catapulted to office by the "people power" movement supported by Washington, the Catholic Church...and much of the "left." Months after becoming president, Aquino unleashed troops and cops on a demonstration in Manila calling for agrarian reform, killing 18 peasants and wounding scores more. Despite a veneer of parliamentary democracy, the Philippines remains a brutal police state in which leftists and working-class militants face imprisonment and death-squad terror.

Estrada was a loyal Marcos supporter who organized goon-squad attacks against Aquino's followers. He gained popularity playing grade B movie roles as a hoodlum and, ironically, an incorruptible union leader, and earned his political spurs as the mayor of San Juan, a suburb of Metro Manila. One of his chief patrons is billionaire businessman and former Marcos crony Eduardo Cojuangco. When Cojuangco allowed the peasants on one of his eleven *haciendas* on the island of Negros to become "stockholders" in the plantation, Estrada hailed his *padrino* as the "godfather of land reform." Under the government's fraudulent "land reform" scheme, Cojuangco retains 60 percent control while the "emancipated" tenant farmers continue to slave as his plantation hands.

WV maps

U.S. uses Philippine neocolony as strategic outpost against Japanese imperialist rival and to quell social unrest in region. U.S. military presence is dagger at throat of Chinese deformed workers state.

As the case of Cojuangco illustrates, the bourgeoisie and the landlord class in such semicolonial countries are inextricably intertwined. Half of the peasantry consists of tenants who are forced to hand over up to three-quarters of their crops to rapacious landlords, while well over a third of the overall population lives below the official poverty line. Food prices have skyrocketed in recent months amid widespread shortages. Genuine agrarian revolution—expropriation of the landed estates—can only be realized through the overthrow of capitalist class rule. Directly related to the land question is the oppression of the dozens of ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities on this chain of over 7,000 islands. Various Muslim insurgencies have raged for years on the island of Mindanao, one of the poorest areas in the archipelago. And, as in Indonesia and elsewhere in the region, ethnic Chinese are simultaneously represented in the bourgeoisie and subjected to vile racist persecution.

Loeb/Philadelphia Inquirer

Workers at Philippine shoe factory make 15 cents an hour. Oppressed women workers will play key role in fight for socialist revolution.

The woman question is also a central and explosive issue in this 80 percent Catholic country. While large numbers of women have been drawn into the workforce in recent years, they have also been the hardest hit as unemployment climbs in the spreading economic crisis. Even before, millions of women were forced to seek work abroad—in the U.S., Japan and the oil-rich Arab emirates—as nurses or servants, many of them treated literally as slaves. Philippine law enshrines the oppression of women, who cannot even sign contracts without a husband's consent. The 1987 constitution promulgated under Aquino includes one of the most severe anti-abortion laws in the world, and a bill proposed last year would make abortion punishable by death both for the woman and the doctor who performs it.

It is necessary to fight for free abortion on demand and free quality health care for all. Marxists call for strict separation of church and state and oppose every manifestation of discrimination against women, homosexuals and ethnic, national and religious minorities. Religious backwardness—whether Catholic or Muslim—serves to bolster the family, the key institution for the oppression of women.

To even begin to emancipate women from domestic slavery and all-sided oppression, the system of capitalist exploitation must be swept away through socialist revolution, leading to the creation of an international planned, collectivized economy. The ICL seeks to build an internationalist revolutionary vanguard party to act as a tribune of the people, mobilizing the proletariat in defense of all the oppressed against the common class enemy. Particularly in Asia, the fight for the emancipation of women is a key component of this perspective. *For women's liberation through socialist revolution!*

For Proletarian Class Independence!

The chief condition for any real struggle against imperialist subjugation and capitalist exploitation and oppression is the class independence of the proletariat. Yet the Filipino left has historically been mired in class collaboration. In advanced capitalist countries, such class collaboration often takes the political form of "popular fronts"—bourgeois coalitions of reformist workers parties and openly capitalist parties. In semicolonial countries, the same treacherous strategy is generally manifested through the vehicle of bourgeois nationalism.

In the recent elections, the various left groups either tailed Estrada or politely refrained from opposing him, giving their supporters the signal to go vote for "Erap." But many voters who had earlier sported the bumper sticker "Erap para sa mahirap" have now replaced it with one reading, "I'm sorry I voted for Erap." And a columnist for Manila's *Today* (25 July) observed, "Those who can't afford to buy bumper stickers, much less a car to stick them on...suffer the greatest disillusionment and feel the deepest sense of betrayal." In turn, the reformist "socialists" now seek to distance themselves from Estrada.

Such opportunist twists and turns are in keeping with the whole history of Filipino Stalinism and help explain why the left there consists of a veritable alphabet soup of groups which are barely distinguishable politically—all agreeing on the Menshevik/Stalinist "two stage" model. Each new betrayal tends to result in a cliquist split in which one faction or another is denounced for relying too much on the "national bourgeoisie" and not understanding the "leading role of the working class in the democratic revolution" or for focusing too much on "guerrillaism" instead of electoral politics.

In warning against illusions in Aquino in 1986, we wrote: "Many a Third World nationalist regime has sought to protect its left flank by bringing the Communists into a 'democratic (or anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, etc.) coalition government,' only to set them up for a massacre on the morrow" ("Philippines Workers Must Fight for Power!" *WV* No. 415, 7 November 1986). What is necessary is a *programmatic* break with all variants of the Menshevik/Stalinist dogma of "two-stage revolution," which subordinates the proletariat to a "progressive" or "anti-imperialist" wing of the bourgeoisie in the fight for "democratic" capitalism while putting off the struggle for socialism to a future that never comes. From the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, which was drowned in blood by Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist Guomindang, to the slaughter of Indonesian Communists by Suharto's military and Muslim fundamentalist gangs in 1965, history has repeatedly demonstrated that "two-stage revolution" means bloody defeat for the working class and oppressed.

This has been amply confirmed in the Philippines as well. In leading the Hukbalahap—the "People's Anti-Japanese Army"—during World War II, the old Philippine Communist Party (PCP) followed Stalin's prescription of supporting the "democratic" imperialist Allies. With the end of the war and American reconquest of the islands, the U.S. imperialists turned their guns on the Huks, drowning the peasant-based rebellion in blood. This campaign, assisted by Magsaysay and a young Benigno Aquino (whose family collaborated with the Japanese during the war), served as the laboratory in which the CIA developed the bloody techniques of "counterinsurgency" later used to slaughter millions of Vietnamese.

The current Philippine Communist Party (CPP) of Jose Maria Sison, which emerged as a Maoist split from the pro-Moscow PKP in 1968, is no less wedded to such nationalist class collaborationism. The Sisonites have led the New People's Army (NPA) in a peasant-guerrilla struggle which has waxed and waned over the years as overtures are made to each new bourgeois regime. While defying murderous state repression, such "armed struggle" is essentially a means to pressure the bourgeoisie.

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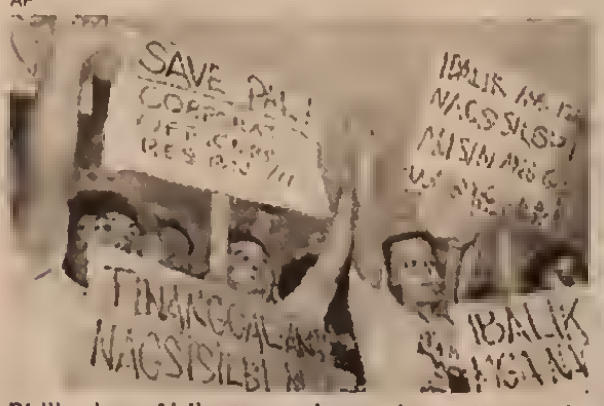


Tony Macasinag

Philippine Airlines workers demonstrate in support of striking pilots in June (left). Workers picket electrical utility owned by U.S. Union Oil during 1996 strike.

Young Spartacus

Defeat of Reconstruction and the Great Rail Strike of 1877

The Shaping of Racist American Capitalism

We publish below an edited presentation by Young Spartacus *editor Jacob Zorn at a Chicago Spartacus Youth Club forum last month.*

Culver

State militia fires on striking rail workers in Baltimore. Great Rail Strike of 1877 signaled emergence of American labor movement.

As Marxists, we understand that racism is not a question of "bad ideas." Rather, there is a *material basis* for racial oppression. It is necessary to understand how this material basis was shaped by the history of this society. And that means understanding the pivotal events of 1877. That year saw the final defeat of Reconstruction, as the bourgeoisie withdrew the last federal troops from the South, where they had been stationed to suppress the slavocracy defeated in the Civil War and defend the rights of the emancipated black slaves. At the same time, federal troops—including troops withdrawn from the South—were sent to break a strike by thousands of rail workers, the first national strike in this country.

The fight for black liberation is central to the fight of the working class in the U.S. to smash this capitalist system of exploitation, oppression and misery and to create a truly egalitarian socialist society. We call to finish the Civil War through a socialist revolution which places the working class in power. As we wrote in the International Communist League's Declaration of Principles (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

> "The U.S. black question is defined by the particular history of the United States: slavery, the Civil War defeat of the Southern slavocracy by Northern industrial capitalism and the bourgeoisie's betrayal of Radical Reconstruction's promise of equality, leading to the racist segregation of black people despite the economic integration of black toilers into the proletariat at the bottom. The forcible segregation of blacks, integral to American capitalism, has been resisted by the black masses whenever a perceived possibility for such struggle has been felt. Hence our program for the U.S. is revolutionary integrationism—the full integration of blacks into an egalitarian, ***socialist*** America—and our program of 'black liberation through socialist revolution'."

An "Irrepressible Conflict"

In the years after its founding, the American republic was divided between two social systems, slavery and capitalism. In the fight for independence from Britain, the first American Revolution drew on the ideas and even some of the institutions of the parliamentary side of the English Civil War of the mid-17th century, such as the right of citizens to bear arms, as codified in the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. In the 19th century, the developing Northern system of large-scale industrial capitalism required "free" wage labor to exploit—this is how the capitalist class makes its profits—as well as a mobile and somewhat literate working class. In order to grow, capitalism needed to create an expanding home market for the goods that it produced.

On the other hand, the South was ruled by a narrow slavocracy, and most productive labor was done by enslaved blacks who were legally nothing more than chattel—property. The Southern plantation economy was based on growing great amounts of cotton to sell to the world capitalist market, primarily the British textile mills. At the same time, the slave system was based on very primitive and inefficient agricultural production. So the slaveowners continually wanted to expand their system to virgin soil which had not been depleted by cotton farming and to increase the highly profitable slave trade.

The inherent conflict between these two social systems gave rise to a series of clashes over whether new territory in the West would be slave or free. The inevitable battle was always delayed through some sort of "compromise," in which the Northern bourgeoisie allowed the slavocracy to remain dominant in the weak federal government: for example, the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which admitted Missouri as a slave state; or the Compromise of 1850, which admitted California as a free state while enacting a fugitive slave law, enabling slaveowners to pursue escaped slaves throughout the country.

In the 1850s, this "irrepressible conflict" reached a boiling point. An indication of this was the founding of the Republican Party in 1854, in the course of the fight for a free Kansas. During that struggle over "bleeding Kansas," free-soilers, including the heroic John Brown, bravely fought pro-slavery marauders. The most radical representatives of the strong abolitionist movement which developed—such as Brown, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman and Thaddeus Stevens—foresaw that only armed action would end slavery. If you want to learn more about this, I recommend the fifth issue of our pamphlet series *Black History and the Class Struggle*, titled "Finish the Civil War!"

The Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln, a moderate, for the 1860 presidential election, seeing him as able to win more votes than a more radical candidate. Lincoln did not call to immediately end slavery where it existed but merely opposed its extension. But the Southern slavocracy opposed ***any*** constraints on the slave system. Following Lincoln's election, eleven states seceded from the Union to form the Confederate States of America, which guaranteed the "right" to own slaves in its constitution.

The North did not go to war specifically to emancipate the slaves but to suppress the Confederacy and restore the Union. Nonetheless, it was clear from the beginning that the war was about slavery. Karl Marx, who followed American developments closely, wrote at the time:

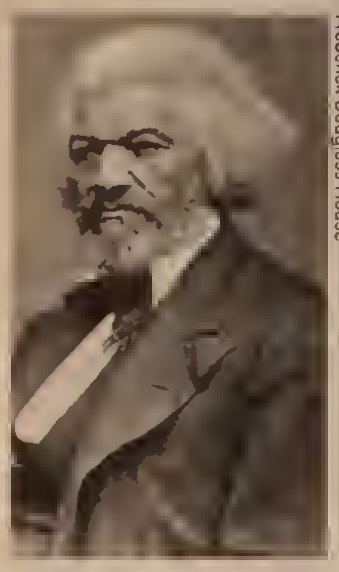
> "The whole movement was and is based, as one sees, on the ***slave question***. Not in the sense of whether the slaves within the existing slave states should be emancipated outright or not, but rather whether the 20 million free men of the North should submit any longer to an oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders."
>
> —Karl Marx, "The North American Civil War" (1861)

As Frederick Douglass had argued from the start of the war, whatever the ***intent*** of the Union leadership, the North would have to emancipate the slaves in order to win the war. Thus on 1 January 1863,

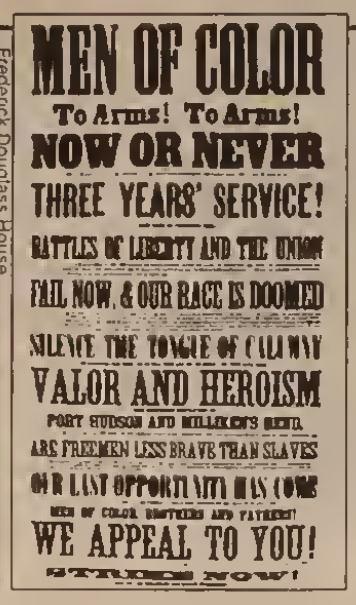
Library of Congress

Thomas Nast

Union Army in South was instrumental in defending rights of freed slaves. Thomas Nast cartoon depicts murderous KKK, which was given free rein by withdrawal of last federal troops in Compromise of 1877.



Frederick Douglass House



Radical abolitionist Frederick Douglass campaigned for blacks to join Union Army. Black troops helped turn tide of war against slavocracy.

Library of Congress

Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, ordering that slaves in the Confederacy (but not in Union slave states such as Maryland) be freed, and soon after authorized the enlistment of black soldiers. Some 180,000 black troops—emancipated slaves in the South and free blacks in the North such as the heroic "Massachusetts 54th" led by Robert Gould Shaw—demonstrated before the eyes of the nation the courage and commitment of black soldiers and helped turn the war's tide.

Reconstruction and the Compromise of 1877

The Civil War was the shaping event of American history—the last great bourgeois revolution, the second American Revolution—finally and firmly establishing the rule of the bourgeoisie throughout the U.S., with a strong central government and a national political economy. After the war, the question of what to do with the South was debated heatedly. The question of the freedman was central: would he become a full, enfranchised citizen, or would he be confined to second-class status, not slave but not free.

Lincoln wanted to assimilate the South back into the Union as quickly and painlessly as possible. But the defeated slavocracy would have none of it and acted as though it hadn't lost the war, sending former Confederate leaders to Congress and enacting "Black Codes" which all but re-enslaved blacks. When Lincoln was assassinated less than a week after the South surrendered in 1865, the former slaveowners were encouraged by his successor, Andrew Johnson, who threw his lot in with white supremacy during the brief period known as Presidential Reconstruction.

In response, the policies of radicals like Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner attained great influence within the Republican Party, the main party of the Northern bourgeoisie. The central goal of Radical Reconstruction—carried out on the ground by the freedmen and sympathetic whites who were slanderously labeled "carpetbaggers" and "scalawags"—was to reconstruct the South on a bourgeois-democratic basis, with the integration of blacks (who comprised the majority in much of the South) into capitalist society. With the 14th Amendment granting citizenship to "all persons born or naturalized in the United States" and the 15th Amendment extending the right to vote to all men, black Americans went from being chattel to citizens. What made this possible were the federal troops, many of them black, stationed in the South to suppress resistance by the former slavocracy—which was organized in the Democratic Party—and its Ku Klux Klan terrorist auxiliary.

Blacks not only voted at rates as high as 90 percent but were elected to state and national offices in large numbers. More than 600 blacks, mainly ex-slaves, served as legislators. Millions of freedmen, aided by the Freedmen's Bureau but largely through their own initiative, learned to read, a right denied under the slave system. Some became skilled tradesmen and professionals. Poor whites also benefited. Massive public spending on education created some of the first real public schools in the South, for whites as well as blacks. While women—both black and white—were denied the vote, they began to participate in civil society in great numbers.

For Reconstruction to succeed would have required not just the *defeat* of the plantation class, but that the plantations be seized and redistributed to those who toiled on them, the freedmen. In 1865, the Union government promised freedmen 40 acres each to farm. In fact, many plantations, including the family plantation of former Confederate president Jefferson Davis in Mississippi, were already being run collectively by the former slaves as the landowners fled after the war. But as we wrote in a founding document of the Spartacist League in 1966, "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom": "Capitalist and slave alike stood to gain from the suppression of the planter aristocracy but beyond that had no further common interests."

The American bourgeoisie was not interested in a thoroughgoing social reconstruction of the South. Northern capitalists looked at the devastated South and saw an opportunity not for building a radical democracy but for exploiting Southern resources, and the freedmen, profitably. Dividing the plantations into small plots would not have facilitated this. Rather the aim was to restart Southern agriculture, which meant getting the agricultural workforce—blacks—to work again, to the advantage of the landowning class, now dominated by mercantile interests with ties to the Northern capitalists.

Such demands as "land to the tiller" are not anti-capitalist per se—they are in fact the quintessence of the bourgeois revolution. But especially after the 1871 Paris Commune—the first, short-lived example of what Marx called the "dictatorship of the proletariat"—the bourgeoisie saw the expropriation and redistribution of private property as a threat. In return for having Republican Rutherford Hayes declared the winner of the 1876 presidential election, the Republicans agreed to pull the last troops out of the South in yet another "compromise," the Compromise of 1877. This final compromise was largely just a codification of the actual defeat of Reconstruction several years earlier.

The post-Reconstruction period—called "Redemption" by racists—was marked by a political counterrevolution aimed at black people and enforced by Klan terrorists. Blacks were disenfranchised and brutally exploited in the form of sharecropping and tenancy, while being driven out of the skilled trades. Jim Crow segregation was formally codified in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the 1896 Supreme Court ruling which gave the official stamp of approval to "separate but equal."

I want to underscore the point that during Reconstruction the general thrust of black struggle was toward integration and equality in American society. In fact, it was only *after* the defeat of Reconstruction and the consolidation of Jim Crow segregation over the next 20 years that the accommodationism of Booker T. Washington and, later, utopian separatist schemes gained prominence.

The Birth of the American Labor Movement

As I mentioned earlier, the Civil War laid the basis for a national economy in the United States, based on industrial capitalism and "free" wage labor. Integral to the development of this capitalist system were the railways. In 1850, there were only 2,201 miles of track in use; in 1877, over 79,000 miles. The concentration of railways in the North helped the Union win the Civil War. The extension of the railways throughout the West unified the country. And the convergence of railways here in Chicago made this city the epicenter of American capitalist development in that period. Railway barons amassed huge profits in the "Gilded Age" of the late 1800s, which was marked by rampant speculation. It was the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Thomas A. Scott, who actually drew up the Compromise of 1877 in order to guarantee the development of a Texas Pacific Railroad.

A unified capitalist system also laid the basis for a unified working class. There is a famous quote by Marx in the first volume of *Capital*:

> "In the United States of North America, every independent movement of the workers was paralysed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War was the eight hours' agitation, that ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California."

Expanding on Marx's understanding, American Trotskyist Richard S. Fraser, who first laid out the perspective of revolutionary integration, wrote in his 1955 document "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question" (reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 [Revised]):

> "There were, of course, labor struggles during the pre-Civil War period. But they were dwarfed in importance beside the anti-slavery struggle, because the national question for the American people had not yet been solved....
> "The whole future of the working class depended, not so much upon organizational achievements against the capitalists, as upon the solution to the question of the slave power ruling the land.
> "This is the fundamental reason for the belated character of the development of the stable labor movement in the U.S."

The expansion of railway transport led to one of the first working-class movements in the U.S. based on industrial unions—made up of all workers in an industry—as opposed to craft unions which organize each skilled trade separately. Railwaymen were extremely exploited, as the rail magnates continually sought to increase profits and dividends at the expense of the workers. The elimination of safety equipment was common, and workers who had run trains hundreds of miles were forced to pay for their return trips.

Speculation and overdevelopment by the railroad barons, who engaged in what were literally wars—pitched battles—with their competitors, helped precipitate the depression of 1873, which until the 1930s was referred to as the "Great Depression." Many railway lines were placed under court management when their owners defaulted. As unemployment soared and wages were slashed, railroad workers struck and began to organize in the industrial Trainmen's Union, a move strongly opposed by the capitalists, who sought to destroy any form of unionism.

In May 1877, representatives of four large railroad companies met and conspired to slash wages by a further 10 percent, and other railway companies soon followed suit. In mid-June, workers on the Baltimore & Ohio line walked out, demanding the restoration of their past wage rate. For more than a month, the strike spread throughout the U.S. and even to Canada. Increasingly, federal troops were used to break the strike; the

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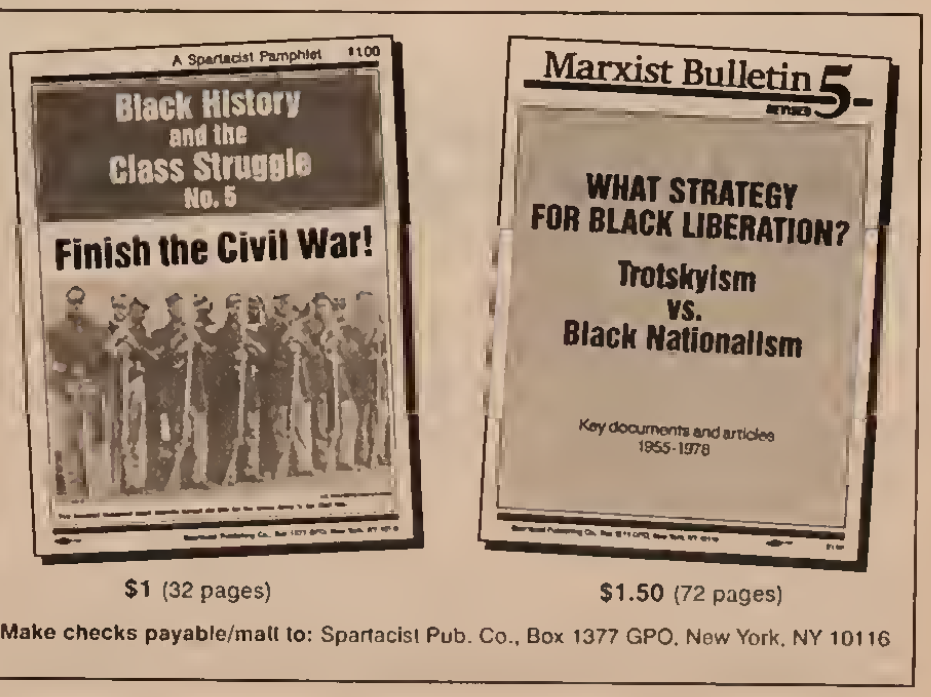

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1877...

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bourgeoisie deemed the National Guard unreliable in a confrontation with strikers. As a pretext to call in the troops, mail cars were attached to the struck trains, and the strikers were then charged with obstructing the mail. In Pittsburgh, troops killed ten workers and wounded eleven, causing angry strikers to burn the railroad's property, including 39 buildings and 1,200 freight cars.

In Chicago, militants called a general strike, which was prevented only by the threat of bloody state repression. One of the strike leaders there was Albert Parsons, a former Confederate soldier who had become a staunch Republican during Reconstruction in Texas. After being driven out of the South by racists as a so-called "scalawag," he joined the socialist movement here in Chicago. In 1886, Parsons was a leader of the Haymarket strike which fought for an eight-hour day. He was framed up by the police and hanged for his role in that strike, which is commemorated by May Day, the international labor holiday.

In St. Louis, the strikers' executive committee, led by members of the Workingmen's Party of the United States (WPUS—American section of Marx's First International), essentially ran the city and established what was called the "St. Louis Commune." As Philip S. Foner wrote in his book *The Great Labor Uprising of 1877* (1977):

> "The executive committee ruled the city. Nearly all the manufacturing establishments in St. Louis had been closed. Sixty factories were shut down.... Such economic activities as continued did so only with the permission of the executive committee."

Only the threat of state repression ended the St. Louis general strike.

By August, the rail strike had been crushed, largely without any economic gains. But it was apparent that the U.S. was no longer the same. The rail strike gave birth to the modern American labor movement. It was the first major strike to face the use of government troops and the first to see the major use of strike-breaking court injunctions. It illuminated the class nature of the state—what Marx and Engels called the "committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie"—as an armed force which safeguarded the property, profits and class rule of the bourgeoisie. The armories today present in most major cities are a result of this strike—or more precisely, of the bourgeoisie's fear generated by this strike.

Racism: Poison to Class Struggle

Above all, the strike signified that the American working class had entered the scene as a force in itself. Especially since it came only six years after the Paris Commune, the capitalist class saw in the rail strike the spectre of "Red Revolution" coming to America. The American proletariat had not become what Marx called a "class *for* itself"—consciously struggling for its own class rule—but it had achieved some sort of critical mass. In a letter to Friedrich Engels in London during the strike, Marx stated:

> "This, the first outbreak against the associated capital oligarchy that has arisen since the Civil War, will, of course, be suppressed, but may well provide a point of departure for the constitution of a serious workers' party in the United States. There are two favourable circumstances on top of that. The policy of the new President will turn the negroes, just as the big expropriations of land (exactly of the fertile land) for the benefit of the Railway, Mining, etc., companies will turn the peasants of the West—whose grumblings is already plainly audible—into militant allies of the workers."

Engels replied with a letter expressing his "delight" at the level of struggle attained by the American working class: "The way they throw themselves into the movement has no equivalent on this side of the ocean."

The first Marxist party in the U.S.—what later became the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) led by Daniel De Leon—did develop out of the intervention of the Workingmen's Party into the strike. But the SLP remained essentially a small propaganda group. A "serious workers' party" was not founded in the U.S., either then or since. There are a number of reasons why the American working class has

Leslie's Illustrated Weekly

Haymarket martyrs framed up and hanged in Chicago, 1887, for leading struggle for eight-hour day.

never achieved even a rudimentary level of political consciousness, including the availability of land and large-scale immigration. But the main reason lies in the defeat of Reconstruction and the way in which the American capitalists, abetted by the trade-union tops, have succeeded in using racist poison to divide the working class.

The militant alliance projected by Marx never happened, largely because the labor leaders—*including the "Marxists"*—did not attempt to find a bridge to the freedmen. This is clear in the case of William Sylvis, leader of the National Labor Union (NLU), which was founded in 1866 as one of the first national union federations in the U.S. and was affiliated

Harper's Weekly

Blacks won right to vote under Reconstruction, were elected to state and national office.

with the First International for a while. As Michael Goldfield put it in his recent book, *The Color of Politics* (1997):

> "Though Sylvis was among the white leaders who spoke in favor of admission of Blacks to labor unions and supported equal pay for equal work, he was especially obtuse about the importance of the struggles of southern freedmen. He never indicated any sympathy for their demands in the South for land, education, and the vote. He denounced the Freedmen's Bureau as 'a huge swindle' and called for its closing."

In 1869, the National Colored Labor Union (NCLU) was formed and its leaders sought joint work with the NLU. But the issue of Reconstruction kept the two apart. While blacks supported the Republican Party, white labor leaders and immigrant workers supported the Democrats. In 1863, Irish workers in New York City had staged draft riots against the Civil War and carried out a pogrom against blacks. Yet Irish immigrants were themselves despised by the predominantly Protestant bourgeoisie and were later targeted by the virulently anti-Catholic KKK.

At the time of the 1877 rail strike, there were not many blacks in the industrial working class, which was centered in the Midwest and Northeast and composed largely of immigrant workers. Instead, most blacks lived in the South and worked in agriculture, usually as either sharecroppers or tenant farmers. In St. Louis, where the strike was strongest and the WPUS largely controlled the leadership, the strike leaders at first welcomed the participation of blacks. But as the strike continued and the media attacked the strikers as combatting not only economic but *racial* inequality, the Workingmen's Party eschewed black participation. One WPUS leader recalled that black workers, whom he disgustingly called "n-----s," "sent word that they wanted to join our party. We replied that we wanted nothing to do with them." In order to discourage black participation, the WPUS even stopped calling strike rallies.

While avowed Marxists and other veterans of the Revolutions of 1848 in Europe played a prominent role in the Civil War and the fight against slavery, racist hostility to blacks figured heavily in the early American socialist movement. For example, several leaders of the Socialist Party in the early 1900s were viciously racist. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) founded by Samuel Gompers pushed lily-white craft unionism. Even Socialist leader Eugene Debs, a railway union leader who was one of the *best* of the early American socialists on the black question, argued: "We have nothing special to offer the Negro, and we cannot make separate appeals to all the races." The prominent exception to this outlook was the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World, which fought for integrated labor struggle and opposed anti-Chinese racism. But it was not until the young Communist Party examined the black question in the early 1920s, at Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin's urging, that American Marxists actively took up the fight for black liberation as part of the fight for communism.

Until the substantial entry of blacks into the industrial workforce during World War I, anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic racism were the chief weapons of the capitalist rulers in dividing and holding back the working class. In the 1870s, almost all labor leaders—including the NLU and NCLU—pushed anti-Asian bigotry. The year 1877 also marked an increase in anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese racism on the West Coast, as strike support rallies in San Francisco degenerated into pogroms against Chinese immigrants, many of whom had helped build the railroads. This was followed by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. AFL leader Gompers and the right wing of the Socialist Party were also virulent opponents of Chinese immigration. Today as well, the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats, with their anti-immigrant racism together with appeals for protectionist measures against workers in Japan, Mexico and elsewhere, exude poisonous chauvinism. Meanwhile, petty-bourgeois black nationalist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan spew vile racist diatribes against Korean and Arab shopkeepers, Jews and others. We oppose chauvinist protectionism and call for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. Labor's fight is international—workers of the world unite!

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The legacy of the betrayal of Reconstruction is that blacks in the U.S. constitute a *specially oppressed race-color caste*, segregated at the bottom of this society. At the same time, unlike the Reconstruction era, blacks are today overwhelmingly part of the proletariat. During World War I, blacks began to move to Northern and Midwestern cities and became industrial workers. Today, even the South is increasingly urban and industrialized, a factor which contributed to the development of the civil rights movement of the 1950s which led to the end of formal Jim Crow segregation. Black workers are not only integrated into the American economy but form a strategic component of the multiracial proletariat, especially in key sectors like auto and transit. So that the question is posed even more starkly: union rights and black rights will either advance together or fall back separately.

The combination of economic militancy and political backwardness has been characteristic of the American working class since 1877. The history of the American workers movement is one of the bloodiest in the world. Yet the U.S. remains the only industrialized country in the world where the workers have not had their own independent political party reflecting in some way the conflicting interests of labor and capital. The chief obstacle to the development of such consciousness is the trade-union bureaucracy, which chains the working class to the Democratic Party. We fight to forge a revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed, modeled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky which led the workers of Russia to state power in October 1917. ***Break with the Democrats—For a workers party that fights for socialist revolution!***

Key to the fight for socialist revolution is the understanding that black oppression is the cornerstone of American capitalism. The American bourgeoisie has very consciously used racism and racial oppression to divide the working class and to derail militancy. The struggle for black equality is a driving force in the fight against racist American capitalism. But complete social and political equality can only be realized in an egalitarian socialist society in which those who labor rule. Achieving that goal requires the building of a revolutionary vanguard party which can lead the multiracial working class in a third American Revolution, a proletarian revolution. ***For black liberation through socialist revolution!*** ■

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Philippines...

(continued from page 5)

Shortly before the ouster of Marcos, the Sisonites' "National Democratic Front" demanded: "Unite all anti-imperialist forces to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship and work for the establishment of a coalition government based on a truly democratic system of representation." The CPP's class collaborationism was also reflected in conciliation toward the church, serving to reinforce the reactionary social values of the bourgeoisie. Before the recent elections, the Sisonite-controlled KMU union federation invited Estrada and other bourgeois presidential wannabes to a May Day demonstration in downtown Manila. While most did not show up, the Sisonites provided a platform for a candidate connected to the sinister Catholic rightist Opus Dei organization.

Lenin on the State and Revolution

Particularly under the impact of capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR and imperialist triumphalism over the "death of communism," the CPP's congenital opportunism has led to an escalating proliferation of cliquist splits. One such, the SANLAKAS breakaway headed by Filemon Lagman, openly joined an Estrada rally at Manila's Rizal Park to cheer for Lagman's brother Edcel, who was running for senator on the Estrada ticket. Another, the Proletarian Revolutionary Movement (PRK), emerged as a "left" split from the CPP in the early 1990s. The PRK claims to be the authentic "Marxist-Leninist" organization in the Philippines and polemicizes against the multiple strains of reformism and "two-stage revolution" peddled by the Sisonites. But while correctly placing Estrada in the camp of the class enemy, the PRK nonetheless urged that his capitalist regime be "pressured" to carry out its promises to the impoverished masses.

Thus do these "Marxist-Leninists" reject the Leninist understanding of the state. The bourgeois state is not a "neutral" agency which can be pressured to act in the interests of the masses. Rather, as Lenin stressed in *The State and Revolution*, "the state is an organ of class rule," consisting at its core of armed bodies of men—the military, the police, the prison system. The capitalist state is an *instrument of repression* against workers and the oppressed which must be smashed through socialist revolution and replaced by a *workers state*. The PRK's revisionist view of the state is reflected as well in its characterization of China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba as "state capitalist" regimes. The PRK's refusal to militarily defend these states and its cheering for the "democratic" counterrevolutions which destroyed the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states represent a capitulation to "democratic" imperialism and the Philippines' own anti-Communist bourgeoisie. Indeed, the Philippines is key to the U.S. drive against the Chinese deformed workers state.

In the "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998) adopted at the Third International Conference of the ICL earlier this year, we assert:

> "The proletariat must give unconditional military defense against imperialism to the deformed workers states in China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba. Our position flows from the proletarian class character of these states, embodied in the collectivized property relations—nationalized property, planned economy, monopoly of foreign trade and banking, etc.—established by social revolutions that destroyed capitalism. Despite the bureaucratic deformations of these states, our defense of them against the class enemy is unconditional, i.e., it does not depend on the prior overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracies, nor does it depend upon the circumstances and immediate causes of the conflict."

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Yet another organization, Liga Sosyalista (LS), recently emerged around a split from the Lagmanite student group and the newspaper *Progresibo*. The LS bolted the Lagmanite organization in July after spending months as an opposition to "Stalinist and sectarian policies" and "the continuing drift of its politics...toward the right" (*Progresibo*, July/August 1998). Describing itself as a "pre-party formation of the working class," LS argues for "an open socialist formation" to "regroup the growing number of socialists and politically conscious individuals from the mass movement." It attacks Lagman as a Stalinist and even cites Trotsky favorably. Yet LS remains buried in the liberal coalition AKBAYAN, a motley assortment of disillusioned ex-Stalinists, left nationalists and "Christian socialists" which calls for vague "pro-people social and economic reforms." And the same issue of *Progresibo* features a front-page headline reading, "Progressives Close Ranks: Extend the Gains of the Elections!" What is this if not a programmatic commitment to chaining the working class to the cart of the bourgeoisie?

Indeed, Sonny Melencio, now leader of LS, openly defended class collaboration in a January 1997 speech to a conference of the Australian Democratic Socialist Party (DSP). The DSP itself is a thoroughly reformist outfit which includes in its leadership the likes of Max Lane, who served in the Australian embassy in Indonesia under Labor Party rule. Formerly linked up with Jack Barnes' U.S. Socialist Workers Party, the DSP reformists joined with the Barnesites in the 1980s in explicitly renouncing Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, going on to act as press agents for "human rights" imperialism and for petty-bourgeois nationalists like the Indonesian PRD. In his speech to the DSP, Melencio raised the question of "whether or not to include the bourgeois liberal forces in a broad front, form an electoral bloc with them and support them in elections." He continued:

> "Lenin's *'Left Wing' Communism—An Infantile Disorder* argues precisely for such a tactic in order to advance the class struggle and for the party to carry out an alliance (including an electoral bloc) with the bourgeois liberals in order to defeat a more reactionary target, and in order to expose the bankruptcy of the liberal line to the masses."

This is a gross falsification of Lenin and Leninism in the service of bourgeois liberalism. Lenin argued against ultra-leftists who refused on principle to work in reformist-led trade unions or to stand *Communist* candidates in parliamentary elections. It was not Lenin's Bolsheviks but the Mensheviks who promoted political blocs with the liberal bourgeoisie—and Lenin opposed them down the line. When the Mensheviks consummated their political appetites by entering the bourgeois Provisional Government after the February Revolution of 1917, Lenin waged an indefatigable campaign of opposition and exposure against these class traitors, counterposing the fight for workers rule: "All power to the Soviets!" It was this uncompromising struggle against bourgeois coalitionism which directly prepared the victory of the October Revolution.

And it was the Stalinist embrace of Menshevik class collaboration which prepared defeat after bloody defeat for the international proletariat and led ultimately to the final undoing of the October Revolution. In the Philippines and throughout Southeast Asia, it is necessary to forge Leninist vanguard parties rooted in proletarian internationalism and armed with the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. Socialist revolution in the backward countries would necessarily have to link up with the struggles of the working people in Indonesia, South Korea and elsewhere in the region—and would act as a powerful impetus for proletarian political revolution in China and for socialist revolution in Japan, Asia's economic powerhouse.

The millions of Filipino toilers who are to be found throughout Asia, the U.S. and elsewhere can serve as a living link uniting the workers of the semicolonial countries and the imperialist centers. In the U.S., the Spartacist League seeks to build a revolutionary workers party which champions the rights of blacks, women, immigrants and all the oppressed as part of the fight for proletarian revolution to smash racist American imperialism. The ICL fights to reforge the Fourth International of Leon Trotsky as the indispensable instrument for leading new October Revolutions around the world.■

Philippine Airlines Strike Knifed

Marking a bitter defeat for the country's combative labor movement, in early October the Philippine Airlines Employees Association (PALEA) returned to work under vicious union-busting terms. This ended a strike which had crippled Asia's oldest airline and one of the country's top corporations for months. Under intense pressure from the government of "Erap" Estrada, the union accepted a deal which its members had rejected only three weeks earlier, signing away the right to strike and all collective bargaining rights for *the next ten years*. Billionaire Philippine Airlines (PAL) owner and Estrada backer Lucio Tan has already threatened mass layoffs. As payoff for pushing through this deal, PALEA president Alex Barrientos expects to get one of the seats being given to the union on the PAL board of directors. The union also gets 20 percent ownership of the airline, thus directly subordinating the interests of PAL workers to company profitability.

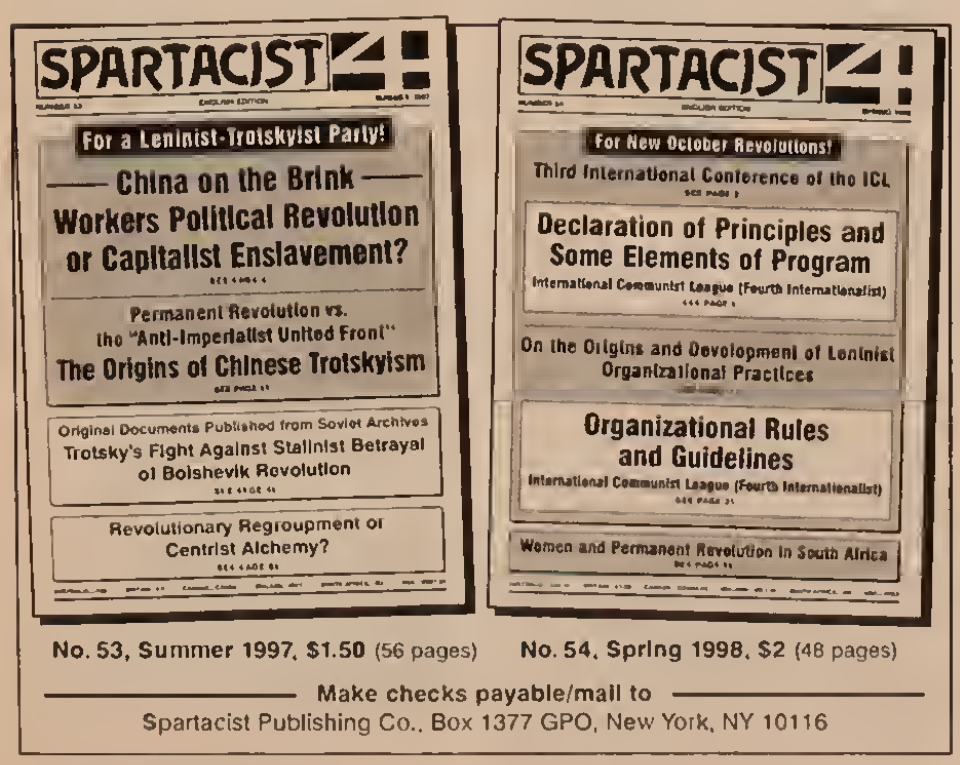
The strike was the first major test of the Estrada regime's resolve in imposing crushing austerity on the working masses on behalf of the imperialists and the International Monetary Fund. Beginning with a walkout by the pilots union in June, the strike spread the next month to the 8,000-strong PALEA ground crew union just as the new government took office. Week after week, the strikers tenaciously held out against Tan's threats of mass firings and redbaiting tirades by Estrada and the bourgeois media against union militants. But strike militancy alone was not enough to defeat PAL and its protectors in the state apparatus. What directly paved the way for the defeat of the strike was the class collaborationism of the PALEA tops, who looked to Estrada as an ally against Tan. When Tan shut down the airline on September 23 after the strikers rejected his terms, the PALEA tops appealed directly to Estrada. As the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (8 October) reported:

> "His three-month-old government, they were certain, wouldn't dare let the national flag-carrier close. That would disrupt air travel throughout the archipelago. But Estrada had other ideas. Just four days after PAL's closure, Cathay Pacific Airways agreed to take over PAL flights from Manila to the major cities of Cebu and Davao. Union leaders promptly asked Estrada to intercede; they would accept Tan's ultimatum after all."

Betrayed by their leadership, workers voted for the deal on October 2, but not without militant opposition. In a confrontation between Barrientos and enraged PALEA militants who took over the union hall, a member of Barrientos' bodyguard drew his pistol on union members. Barrientos had long tried to keep PALEA members from walking off the job in support of the pilots. Several PALEA officials opposed the sellout. But they also look to the Estrada regime, vowing to challenge the agreement in the courts, which far from being "neutral" are a key component of the brutally repressive capitalist state.

Among those opposing the agreement was Filemon "Popoy" Lagman, leader of the leftist SANLAKAS group, who was one of the targets of the redbaiting campaign. But Lagman also helped sow illusions in Estrada among workers, joining an Estrada election rally. And when the Lagmanites' Konsume coalition, which included striking PALEA members, staged a demonstration during Estrada's "State of the Nation" address, a spokesman explained: "What we are looking for is an ally inside Malacañang [the presidential palace]. What we are asking is that the President give meaning to his slogan, Erap para sa Mahirap [Erap for the poor]" (Philippines *Inquirer*, 24 July).

What unites the union bureaucrats and "leftists" like Lagman is their nationalist embrace of their "own" exploiters, who are seen as allies against the imperialist overlords. But the "national bourgeoisie" in such countries of belated development is tied by a million strings to the imperialists. Key to the mobilization of the proletariat at the head of all the impoverished and oppressed is first and foremost the political independence of the working class from all wings of the Philippine bourgeoisie and its state.



No. 53, Summer 1997, $1.50 (56 pages) **No. 54, Spring 1998, $2** (48 pages)

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Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

socialist revolution to end racial oppression, exploitation, war and imperialism."

Interimperialist Rivalries in the Near East

During the Cold War, antagonisms among rival imperialists were held in check by their mutual hatred of the Soviet Union. With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Europe, competition among the major capitalist powers—the U.S., Germany and Japan—and their respective trade blocs came to the fore. The U.S. proclaimed a "one superpower" world, intent on using military blackmail to guard its position as the planet's preeminent power. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, barely a month has gone by when Washington has not either issued bellicose war threats or actually carried out invasions or terror bombing against defenseless peoples from Panama and Haiti to Somalia and the Sudan. By the U.S. Army's own account, its military operations have increased 300 percent since 1989 (*Los Angeles Times*, 11 November).

In its latest war moves against Iraq, the Clinton administration made a point of "going it alone," not even seeking the fig leaf of a UN Security Council resolution. Aside from Britain's Blair, who has taken on the role of Washington's voice within the European Union, the other major capitalist powers offered at best grudging support to a military strike. In his column in the London *Independent* (6 November), Robert Fisk pointedly asked, "How long will Europeans, let alone Arabs, go on accepting America's theatricals in the Middle East?" Germany and France in particular are already at loggerheads with the U.S. in the jockeying for influence in the Balkans, as a *New York Times* (10 November) article titled "Kosovo Crisis Strains Relations Between the U.S. and Europe" made clear. One German official complained that "the Americans prefer to cut us out."

The cruise missiles, jet fighters and aircraft carriers zeroing in on Iraq are ultimately aimed at securing U.S. imperialism's geopolitical interests in this strategic, oil-rich region. Washington is intent on asserting its dominance there as the imperialist powers scramble over the immense oil and gas reserves being opened up near and under the Caspian Sea. The American bourgeoisie wants to control these energy resources particularly because they are so vital to its competitors, especially Germany and Japan. The *New York Times* (8 November) noted: "Rivalries being played out here will have a decisive impact in shaping the post-Communist world, and in determining how much influence the United States will have over its development."

The immediate backdrop to the latest war buildup is a conflict over where to construct a pipeline which will carry oil from the Caspian region. The major oil conglomerates prefer a route through Iran—which is why many of them are lobbying for Washington to "normalize" relations with Teheran. Another route

New York Times map

Action Press

Amid imperialist scramble over Caspian oil resources, U.S. demands new pipeline go through Turkey, which is waging war of terror (above) against Kurdish minority in eastern region.

would go through the former Soviet republics of Azerbaijan and Georgia, where Russia seeks to assert its imperial ambitions in what it calls the "near abroad." Both of these routes would deny Turkey billions in potential revenues. The Clinton administration is insisting on construction of a far more expensive pipeline to the Turkish port of Ceyhan.

Not the least of Washington's reasons is its interest in strengthening ties with Turkey, which has long served as a key

Young Spartacus

SYC campus speakout in Los Angeles demands: "U.S. imperialism get your bloody hands off Iraq! Defeat U.S. imperialism through proletarian revolution!"

outpost for the U.S. military while being the object of massive German investment. Last year, the German-dominated European Union denied membership to Turkey amid a furor that this would invite an influx of Turkish and Kurdish immigrants into racist "Fortress Europe." Months later, the U.S. joined with Turkey and Israel in staging joint military maneuvers. Under Washington's patronage, Turkey has forged a Near Eastern axis with Zionist Israel, American imperialism's other main gendarme in the region, antagonizing the neighboring Arab regimes.

Clinton's increasingly impatient attempts to pressure Israel into granting some cosmetic territorial concessions to the Palestinians is aimed at shoring up U.S. support among the Arab regimes. However, the chief import of the sham "Wye Accords" recently signed by Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestine Authority president Yasir Arafat is to openly affirm the CIA's role as arbiter and overseer of the anti-Palestinian "Pax Americana." The only road to emancipation for the Palestinian people lies in socialist revolution to explode the Zionist garrison state from within. Trotskyists seek to break the Hebrew-speaking proletariat from anti-Arab chauvinism and to win the Palestinian masses from the dead end of petty-bourgeois nationalism and religious fundamentalism. *U.S. out of the Near East! Israel out of the Occupied Territories!*

While hypocritically railing against Saddam Hussein's oppression of the Kurds in northern Iraq, both the U.S. and Germany have showered military aid on the Turkish bourgeoisie as it wages a murderous war against the Kurdish population and the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK). Last Thursday, only days after the Russian parliament voted to grant asylum to PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan, he was arrested in Rome and is threatened with deportation to Turkey, where he would face imprisonment, torture or death. The ICL demands that Ocalan be released immediately and calls for asylum for Kurdish and all other refugees from right-wing terror! At the same time, we oppose the PKK's petty-bourgeois nationalism. Enslaved by a number of capitalist regimes, the Kurdish people can only win national emancipation by joining with the workers of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria in socialist revolution. *For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!*

The capitalist regime of Saddam Hussein has many crimes to answer for, from its bloody repression of Communists and workers to its brutal subjugation of the Kurds and ethnic and religious minorities. It is the job of the Iraqi workers, standing at the head of the peasants and all the oppressed, to overthrow Saddam Hussein's dictatorial rule. *Down with all the colonels, sheiks, mullahs and Zionist butchers! For Trotskyist parties committed to the perspective of permanent revolution—Workers to power! For a socialist federation of the Near East!*

Reforge the Fourth International!

Washington's war moves in the Near East are carried out by the same racist ruling class that has ruthlessly driven down the living standards of working people in the U.S., that fiercely oppresses blacks, Hispanics, immigrants and others, that has condemned millions to homelessness and starvation through the axing of welfare. Last year's UPS strike and the recent GM strike testify to a revival of labor militancy and underline once again the fundamental irreconcilability of labor and capital. It is the multiracial U.S. proletariat which has the social power to sweep away this rapacious imperialist ruling class. To mobilize that social power requires breaking with the class collaborationism of the chauvinist AFL-CIO hureaucracy, which chains workers to the capitalist Democratic Party and embraces the aims of the imperialist rulers.

Reformists like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Workers World Party (WWP) promote the illusion that U.S. imperialism and Clinton's Democrats can be pressured into adopting a more "peaceful" policy. In a call supported by these groups for a New York City protest on November 17 against the U.S. war moves, there is not even a hint of the need for class struggle against the capitalist rulers. Indeed, WWP's chief public spokesman on the question of Iraq has long been Ramsey Clark, who served as attorney general in the Democratic administration of Lyndon Johnson when it was raining down napalm on the Vietnamese workers and peasants and waging a war of terror against black radicals in the U.S.

An ISO leaflet for the demonstration fatuously claims: "Thousands protested last February to stop the slaughter and we can stop it again." Today, with imperialist spokesmen around the world calling for an end to the UN embargo, the ISO and WWP push appeals to the U.S. government to "lift the sanctions" in their demonstration call. But during the Gulf War, the ISO dropped its formal opposition to the imperialist boycott in order to endorse a January 1991 "Campaign for Peace" march which explicitly called for economic sanctions as a supposedly "peaceful" alternative to war.

It is a cynical reformist fantasy to suggest that liberal "peace" marches can stay the hand of the most rapacious imperialist power on earth. As we concluded in our February statement:

> "The International Communist League adheres to Lenin's injunction that revolutionaries 'will not deceive the people with admitting the idea that a peace without annexations, without oppression of nations, without plunder, and without the embryo of new wars among the present governments and ruling classes, is possible in the absence of a revolutionary movement' (*Socialism and War*, July-August 1915). We fight for socialist revolution in the U.S. and internationally as the only way to put an end to war and imperialist oppression. This requires building revolutionary working-class parties like Lenin's Bolsheviks, in the U.S. and around the world, and the reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International of world socialist revolution." ■

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

A Quiet and Deadly Violence

"The deadliest form of violence is poverty."
—Gandhi

It has often been observed that America is a truly violent nation, as shown by the thousands of cases of social and communal violence that occur daily in the nation.

Every year, some 20,000 people are killed by others, and an additional 20,000 folks kill themselves. Add to this the nonlethal violence that Americans daily inflict on each other, and we begin to see the tracings of a nation immersed in a fever of violence.

But, as remarkable, and harrowing as this level and degree of violence is, it is, by far, not the most violent feature of living in the midst of the American empire.

We live, equally immersed, and to a deeper degree, in a nation that condones and ignores wide-ranging, "structural" violence, of a kind that destroys human life with a breath-taking ruthlessness. Former Massachusetts prison official and writer, Dr. James Gilligan observes:

> "By 'structural violence' I mean the increased rates of death and disability suffered by those who occupy the bottom rungs of society, as contrasted by those who are above them. Those excess deaths (or at least a demonstrably large proportion of them) are a function of the class structure; and that structure is itself a product of society's collective human choices, concerning how to distribute the collective wealth of the society. These are not acts of God. I am contrasting 'structural' with 'behavioral violence' by which I mean the non-natural deaths and injuries that are caused by specific behavioral actions of individuals against individuals, such as the deaths we attribute to homicide, suicide, soldiers in warfare, capital punishment, and so on." [Gilligan, J., M.D., *Violence: Reflections On a National Epidemic* (New York: Vintage, 1996), 192.]

This form of violence, not covered by any of the majoritarian, corporate, ruling-class protected media, is invisible to us, and because of its invisibility, all the more insidious. How dangerous is it—really? Gilligan notes:

> "[E]very fifteen years, on the average, as many people die because of relative poverty as would be killed in a nuclear war that caused 232 million deaths; and every single year, two to three times as many people die from poverty throughout the world as were killed by the Nazi genocide of the Jews over a six-year period. This is, in effect, the equivalent of an ongoing, unending, in fact accelerating, thermonuclear war, or genocide on the weak and poor every year of every decade, throughout the world." [Gilligan, p. 196]

Worse still, in a thoroughly capitalist society, much of that violence became internalized, turned back on the Self, because, in a society based on the priority of wealth, those who own nothing are taught to loathe themselves, as if something is inherently wrong with themselves, instead of the social order that promotes this self-loathing. This intense self-hatred was often manifested in familial violence, as when the husband beats the wife, the wife smacks the son, and the kids fight each other.

This vicious, circular, and invisible violence, unacknowledged by the corporate media, uncriticized in substandard educational systems, and un-understood by the very folks who suffer in its grips, feeds on the spectacular and more common forms of violence that the system makes damn sure that we can recognize and must react to.

This fatal and systematic violence may be called, The War on the Poor.

It is found in every country, submerged beneath the sands of history, buried, yet ever-present, as omnipotent as death. In the struggles over the commons in Europe, when the peasants struggled and lost their battles for their communal lands (a precursor to similar struggles throughout Africa and the Americas), this violence was sanctified, by church and crown, as the "Divine Right of Kings" to the spoils of class battle. Scholars Frances Fox-Piven and Richard A. Cloward wrote, in *The New Class War* (Pantheon, 1982/1985):

> "They did not lose because landowners were immune to burning and preaching and rioting. They lost because the usurpations of owners were regularly defended by the legal authority and the armed force of the state. It was the state that imposed increased taxes or enforced the payment of increased rents, and evicted or jailed those who could not pay the resulting debts. It was the state that made lawful the appropriation by landowners of the forests, streams, and commons, and imposed terrifying penalties on those who persisted in claiming the old rights to these resources. It was the state that freed serfs or emancipated sharecroppers only to leave them landless." (52)

The "Law," then, was a tool of the powerful, to protect their interests, then, as now. It was a weapon against the poor and impoverished, then, as now.

It punished retail violence, while turning a blind eye to the wholesale violence daily done by their class masters.

The law was, and is, a tool of state power, utilized to protect the *status quo*, no matter how oppressive that status was, or is.

Systems are essentially ways of doing things that have concretized into tradition, and custom, without regard to the rightness of those ways. No system, that causes this kind of harm to people should be allowed to remain, based solely upon its time in existence. Systems must serve life, or be discarded as a threat and a danger to life.

Such systems must pass away, so that their great and terrible violence passes away with them.

19 September 1998

© 1998 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

The October 30 Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling against Mumia Abu-Jamal places the life of this courageous, eloquent spokesman for the oppressed in immediate danger. All fighters against racist repression, all opponents of the barbaric death penalty must join the fight to free Mumia now! Mobilize your unions, your student and community groups. Contact the Partisan Defense Committee. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; e-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense" and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Jamal...

(continued from page 12)

Mumia's freedom and abolition of the racist death penalty.

Chicago is a labor and black town. It is the birthplace of the modern labor movement. Remember the Haymarket martyrs —executed for leading the fight for trade-union rights and the eight-hour day in 1886. Among these heroic working-class fighters was Albert Parsons, who also fought for labor to champion equal rights for black people. *We don't need more martyrs!* We need Mumia back in the arms of his family and free to serve on the front lines of the struggle against this racist system of poverty, war and death.

Chicago area unions have a proud history of joining efforts to defend black rights against the union-hating lynchers of the Ku Klux Klan, from the June 1982 labor/black mobilization which spiked a Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day to the January 1994 Springfield mobilization against a KKK race-hate rally on the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1987, the ATU and other unions joined forces to beat back the racist frame-up of black transit worker Cassandra Seay. Many of these same unions supported the successful fight waged by the PDC to defend the Anti-Klan Three, who faced imprisonment for their role in stopping a violent Klan attack in Daley Plaza in June 1996.

There must be no illusions that the capitalist state lacks either the power or the will to execute Mumia. There must be no illusions that Mumia can get a fair trial in the capitalist courts, despite massive evidence of his innocence in the December 1981 killing of a Philadelphia policeman. From the sham trial in 1982 to the rigged appeal hearings in 1995-96 to the latest ruling, Jamal's case itself has shown that this "justice" system is racist and anti-working-class to the core.

Neither must there be any illusions in the Democratic Party, which is no friend of labor and blacks but a party of big business no less than the Repuhlicans. Clinton has condemned millions of women and children to starvation through the devastation of welfare. His White House has implemented a vast intensification of racist "law and order," including the "war on drugs" which has filled the prisons to overflowing and a massive expansion of the death penalty. For the social power of the working class to be unleashed, labor must be independent of the political parties and the state that represent the enemy class. That also means ridding the labor movement of cops and opposing court intervention. The working class cannot effectively fight the racist frame-up of Jamal with cop-infested and government-controlled unions.

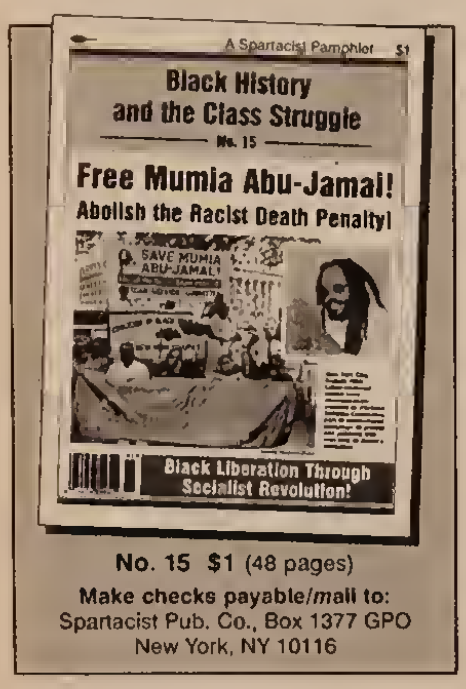
WV Photo

Springfield, Illinois: Chicago unions joined in PDC-initiated labor/black mobllization against KKK provocation on Martin Luther King Day, January 1994.

The Partisan Defense Committee is a non-sectarian, class-struggle legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the views of the Marxist Spartacist League. We understand that the cops, courts and prison system which have persecuted and seek to kill Mumia are at the core of an apparatus of repression which protects the rule and profits of the employing class. The death penalty is at the pinnacle of this system of capitalist repression. And Mumia's case symbolizes what the death penalty is all about: it is legal lynching pure and simple, rooted in the Southern slave system smashed by the Civil War and in the oppression of the black masses which has been the bedrock of American capitalism ever since.

We seek to bring together the broadest possible forces in labor-centered united-front actions—where all participants are free to express their own particular views—to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty. In taking up the fight for Mumia's freedom, the working class will be striking a blow against an entire system predicated on the brutal exploitation of labor and rooted in the racist oppression of the black population. The fight for black freedom is central to the emancipation of labor itself. Those who labor must rule!

Trade unions, civil rights organizations, students and youth, all opponents of racist injustice: Mobilize now to bring out your members for a mass, defiant protest at Federal Plaza on November 21! Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

All Out for Labor/Black Rally—Chicago, November 21

12 Noon, Federal Plaza (Adams and Dearborn)

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Jennifer Beach

We print below the call for the Chicago demonstration issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on November 5.

An innocent man, an award-winning writer, a lifetime fighter for the oppressed is in danger of execution. Any day now, Republican Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge may sign a death warrant for Mumia Abu-Jamal. On October 29, the state Supreme Court upheld the racist frame-up conviction that railroaded Mumia to death row more than 16 years ago. This is a fight for more than the life and freedom of one courageous man. They want to kill Mumia because of what he represents: defiance of this racist system which saps the lifeblood from the many millions to ensure fabulous profits for a wealthy few. ***All of labor must mobilize now to demand: Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!***

Mumia, a MOVE supporter, has been in the cross hairs of the racist rulers from the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party, which was targeted for destruction by the FBI's COINTELPRO terror operation against black revolutionaries. If they get away with killing Mumia, it will be a blow against all black people, all minorities, all working people—because the state will have strengthened its forces to move against all of us. It will embolden the cops in "Segregation City" to intensify their daily terror in the ghettos and barrios. ***Black rights and union rights go forward together or fall back separately.***

Those who howl for Mumia's execution—from the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police and District Attorney's office to the governor on up—are the same forces which bust up picket lines, break strikes and seek to criminalize the very unions which were built to defend our jobs and livelihoods. The unions are the only racially integrated mass organizations in this country. The bosses and their state hate and fear the integrated union movement because there lies the power to challenge the racial divisions they promote to weaken the working class. And it is precisely the power of the integrated trade unions that must be mobilized to free Mumia. In mobilizing to defeat the frame-up of Jamal, the unions will take a huge step forward in becoming instruments of struggle to defend not only their own immediate interests but those of all the oppressed.

When Philadelphia transit workers went out on strike last summer, Mumia spoke out powerfully on their behalf from the dungeons of death row. Now all of labor must speak out and *act* on Mumia's behalf. Every union in the Chicago area should follow the example of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241, which has taken up the call by the Partisan Defense Committee to build for a powerful united-front labor/black mobilization to demand

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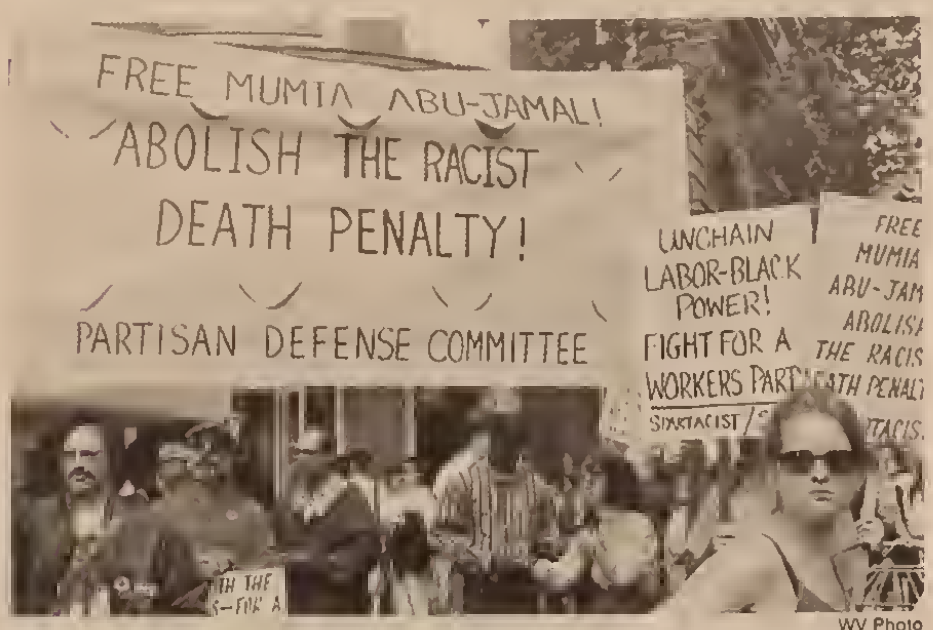

WV Photo

SL/PDC contingent at October 31 emergency demonstration in San Francisco. Multiracial labor movement is key to fight for Mumia's freedom.

"We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black demonstration in Chicago on November 21 to deliver the urgent message: All Out to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"

Partial List of Endorsers as of 16 November 1998

Craig Aaron, Editor, *In These Times*,* Chicago, IL
Florine Allen, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, ATU Local 308, Chicago, IL
Robert L. Allen, Senior Editor, *The Black Scholar* journal,* Oakland, CA
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Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers, Chicago, IL
Chicago Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal
Chicago Refusa & Resist!
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October 22 Student/Youth Network, Chicago, IL
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Jolonda Young, Reporter, *Illinois Times*,* Springfield, IL
Richard Zieball, President, UAW Local 477,* Chicago, IL

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the Partisan Defense Committee printed above.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 702 — 4 December 1998

Mobilize Labor in the Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

WV Photos

Chicago, November 21: Demonstration to free Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty drew committed core of trade unionists. Chicago ATU transit union spokesman Marcellus Barnes addresses rally from podium.

For a Workers Party That Fights for All the Oppressed!

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The following is a statement by the Spartacist League to the November 21 labor/black demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal at Chicago's Federal Plaza.

Mumia Abu-Jamal—an innocent man—has spent more than a third of his life on death row. The October 29 decision by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania upholding his conviction on false charges of killing a policeman has moved Jamal closer to the executioner's chamber. Let it be clear that this former Black Panther Party member, MOVE supporter and eloquent spokesman for all the oppressed was framed up because he is a fighter against oppression and injustice. His conviction was based on lying, extorted testimony without a shred of physical evidence. His death sentence was secured by the prosecution interrogating Jamal about his revolutionary beliefs and Panther membership.

In that sense, the drive to execute Jamal is the "official" consummation of the COINTELPRO terror unleashed by the secret police of the FBI against the Panthers, resulting in the assassination of dozens of its members. In 1969, Chicago cops murdered Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, riddling their bodies with bullets as they lay in bed. Today, it is the same fear of black revolt against this racist system that inspires the rulers' determination to execute Jamal.

Since the defeat of Reconstruction in the aftermath of the Civil War, America's rulers have, with deliberation, fostered and maintained the race-caste segregation of black people as a wedge to divide the laboring masses and thus attempt to assure the perpetuation of the rapacious and racist rule of capitalism. The state apparatus of the ruling class—its cops and courts—wages a campaign of police terror and outright murder in the ghettos. A full third of the young black male population is either re-enslaved in America's prison hellholes or ensnared in the capitalist "justice" system. Simultaneously, the picket line—and thus effective strikes—is under attack by these same forces who are out to destroy the weapons available to the working class to fight the increasingly grinding exploitation demanded by the profit-bloated bosses.

Based on the only significant integration in racist America—the workplace and the factory floor—the trade unions have the social power and potential to become battalions in the struggle against racism and exploitation and to shake the foundations of this decaying capitalist system. If undertaken with a mobilization of the union movement, the fight to free Mumia, to abolish the racist death penalty, would be a first, giant step in that direction. To that end, labor must break the chains forged by the trade-union misleaders that have shackled the unions to the political parties and the state agencies of the enemy class.

Appealing to the capitalist government to intervene to bring "democracy" to unions, bringing the deadly forces of state terror and repression—from cops to prison guards—into the labor movement, embracing the predatory interests of American imperialism as their own, the union tops serve to subordinate the working class to the rule of capital. The working class cannot effectively fight the racist frame-up of Jamal with unions riddled with cops or under the control of the very state which seeks to execute him. ***Government, cops and courts out of the unions!*** For the social power of labor to be mobilized in its own class interests and in the interests of blacks, immigrants and all those at the bottom of this society, there must be a new leadership of the unions, one which will fight things out on the basis of ***class struggle*** against the entire capitalist class and its government.

It is the purpose of the Spartacist League to forge a revolutionary working-class party in the U.S. which links the struggle for black liberation to the fight against capitalist immiseration. Acting as a tribune of the people, such a party is central to the fight to overturn the savage U.S. imperialist order through socialist revolution. The 1917 October Revolution

continued on page 6

Chicago Rally Demands

"Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"... 4

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David North's "Left" McCarthyism

David North, Joseph McCarthy

Bulletin | Wide World

It's not often that the *New York Times*, liberal mouthpiece for U.S. imperialism, deems letters from ostensible socialists "fit to print." But the *Times* (22 October) clearly saw some value in publishing a missive by David North of the Socialist Equality Party (SEP, formerly Workers League). Having ceased publication of his fake-Marxist *International Workers Bulletin* last year in favor of a pseudo-academic Web site, the national secretary of the now organless SEP descended from cyberspace to engage in polite "debate" with professional anti-Communist Ronald Radosh. Radosh has made a career out of retrying, reconvicting and re-executing Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were executed as "Soviet spies" in 1953 in an anti-Communist, anti-Semitic witchhunt.

In commenting on a *Times* (18 October) "Week in Review" piece titled "Rethinking McCarthyism, if Not McCarthy" which cited Radosh, North whines: "Mr. Radosh's assertion that the debacle of the American Communist Party has discredited the entire Socialist movement is indefensible." North begs to set the record straight: "In fact, before the cold war, anti-Stalinism was associated principally with the Socialist left—above all with Trotskyists. Long before anti-Stalinism became fashionable among liberals, who had previously embraced 'popular front' alliances with the Communist Party, left-wing anti-Stalinists had insisted that the Kremlin's policies had nothing in common with Marxism or with the Socialist program."

And North's SEP has nothing in common with Trotskyism—the Marxism of our time. "With the approval of North," the SEP Web site assures us, his letter was abridged by the *Times* to omit even passing references to anti-Communism or the October Revolution of 1917. But even the unabridged version does not so much as hint at the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union when it existed—nor, to be sure, of the remaining deformed workers states (China, Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam) today—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. Nor does North raise a finger in defense of the heroic Rosenbergs in the face of Radosh's calumnies. Recognizing a kindred spirit, Radosh replied to North in ever so polite terms that McCarthy "gave a bad name to the very legitimate cause of anti-Communism" (*New York Times*, 24 October). In fact, this aptly captures North's own view.

North falsely amalgamates revolutionary Trotskyism with that wing of the "socialist movement" which opposed the Bolshevik Revolution and supported its "own" imperialist rulers in World Wars I and II, as well as with the liberals who were the left wing of the post-WW II anti-Communist crusade. He reduces Trotskyism to an anti-Soviet loyalty oath. Polemicizing against North's forebears in a 1947 article titled "Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism," James P. Cannon, leader of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), wrote at the onset of the Cold War witchhunt:

> "We Trotskyists, as everybody knows, are also against Stalinism and have fought it unceasingly and consistently for a very long time. But we have no place in the present 'all-inclusive' united front against American Stalinism. The reason for this is that we are anticapitalist. Consequently, we can find no point of agreement with the campaign conducted by the political representatives of American capitalism in Washington, with the support of its agents in the labor movement and its lackeys in the literary and academic world. We fight Stalinism from a different standpoint.
>
> "We fight Stalinism not because it is another name for communism, but precisely because of its betrayal of communism and of the interests of the workers in the class struggle."
>
> —Cannon, *The Struggle for Socialism in the American Century* (1977)

As Cannon pointed out, the Stalinists paved the way for their own isolation during the red purge by their class betrayals—in league with the social democrats—in the service of U.S. imperialism, from support to Democrat Roosevelt's "New Deal" coalition in the 1930s to the wartime no-strike pledge. But while fighting for proletarian political revolution against the Kremlin bureaucracy and politically combating the Stalinist syphilis in the labor movement, the Trotskyists rallied to the defense of Stalinist and other militants driven out of the trade unions (of which not a word in North's letter) by "left-wing anti-Stalinists" like Walter Reuther. The SWP denounced the murder of the Rosenbergs as "a bestial act of capitalist class terrorism intended to help intimidate into silence all who would criticize or oppose Wall Street's policies abroad or at home."

The heritage North defends is not that of Trotskyism, which was embodied through the 1950s in the now-reformist SWP, but of anti-Communist renegades like Irving Howe and George Orwell, who spied for His Majesty's secret service against "Soviet totalitarianism." During the 1980s Cold War against the Soviet Union, North's outfit was on the same side as social-democratic witchhunters like Radosh—cheering CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats against the Soviet Red Army in Afghanistan, marching lockstep toward capitalist counterrevolution with clerical-nationalist Solidarność in Poland, enthusiastically promoting the fascist-infested Sajudis in Lithuania and the rest of the reactionary Baltic "captive nations" trash.

North was schooled in the political banditry of Gerry Healy's International Committee (IC). In 1979, North joined Healy in hailing the execution of 21 members of the Iraqi Communist Party by the bourgeois-nationalist Ba'ath regime, while Healy's outfit spied on Iraqi oppositionists in Britain. When the flow of petrodollars from various Arab regimes for services rendered dried up, Healy's outfit imploded and North modestly proclaimed himself leader of the international proletariat.

Shortly before that, in 1983, the IC whipped up an anti-Communist furor against British miners leader Arthur Scargill over his correct denunciation of Polish Solidarność as "anti-socialist." This crusade, picked up by the capitalist media and right-wing labor misleaders, was aimed at isolating the miners union on the eve of a bitter strike against the Coal Board and the government of Conservative prime minister Margaret Thatcher. With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, North & Co. wrote off the trade-union movement as a whole as a tool of bourgeois rule, while extolling scabs as those who have the insight to recognize

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TROTSKY

LENIN

Latin America and Permanent Revolution

As the workers and poor of Latin America come under the lash of the burgeoning financial crisis, the need is starkly posed for a perspective of socialist revolution to sweep away capitalist rule. Yet the nationalist labor misleaders and reformist and centrist "socialists" preach confidence in the national bourgeoisie as the natural ally of the workers against imperialism. What is needed is an internationalist vanguard party committed to the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. As Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky underlined, only on the basis of intransigent class independence can the proletariat, leading behind it all the oppressed, wage a successful struggle for state power.

Latin American society, like every society—developed or backward—is composed of three classes: the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, and the proletariat. Insofar as the tasks are democratic in a large historical sense, they are bourgeois-democratic tasks, but the bourgeoisie here is incapable of resolving these democratic tasks, as the bourgeoisie was incapable in Russia or in China.

In that sense, during the struggle for the democratic tasks, we oppose the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. The independence of the proletariat even in the beginning of this movement is absolutely necessary, and we especially oppose the proletariat to the bourgeoisie in the agrarian question, for that class will rule in Mexico as in every Latin American country which has the peasants. If the peasants remain in support of the bourgeois class, as is now the fact, then it will be such a semidemocratic, semi-Bonapartistic state as now exists in every country of Latin America....

As the first step of the new stage of American imperialism, Roosevelt or his successor will show the fist to Latin America in order to assure their economic-military tutelage over Latin America, and that will provoke a more decisive revolutionary movement, as in China—we believe with more success. Under these conditions the workers of Mexico can come to power before the workers of the United States. We must encourage them in this direction.

But that does not signify that they will build their own socialism. They will resolve to fight against American imperialism and they will, of course, reorganize the agrarian conditions of the country and abolish the perfidious and parasitic society which plays a tremendous role in these countries, giving the power to the workers' and peasants' soviets and fighting against the imperialists. The future will depend upon events in the United States and the whole world.

—Leon Trotsky, "Latin American Problems: A Transcript" (November 1938)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to: *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is December 1.

No. 702 **4 December 1998**

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Spartacist Group Japan

Protest Racist Murder of Korean Leftist in Japan!

We publish below the translation of a statement issued by the Spartacist Group Japan on November 23.

On October 15, Ra Hun, vice-chairman of the Chiba branch of Chosen Soren [pro-North Korea organization in Japan], was brutally murdered. The context for this hideous crime is the climate of hysteria and fear whipped up by the Japanese bourgeoisie following North Korea's launching of a satellite on August 31. A 20-year cadre of Chosen Soren, Ra was on night duty when he was strangled and stabbed; his ribs were broken, he was hit on the head, wrapped in a blanket that was soaked with oil and then set on fire. The office of the Chiba branch was destroyed by fire, and money and documents were stolen. More than 50 attacks —spanning the entire island of Honshu— against people of Korean ancestry have been reported in the last month, with schoolchildren being targeted the most. On November 5, a Korean schoolgirl wearing her *chima chogori* [Korean school uniform] was knifed in Shinjuku Station [in Tokyo] during the evening rush hour. On November 4 at 4:30 a.m., after being besieged by right-wing armored sound trucks for more than a month, the Tokyo headquarters of Chosen Soren was firebombed. The next day, a Molotov cocktail was thrown at the Kanagawa branch office in broad daylight.

The brutal murder of Ra, the first member of Chosen Soren to be murdered since its inception more than 40 years ago, represents an escalation of state-sanctioned terror against the Korean population in this country and harks back to the xenophobic hysteria which led to the massacre of more than 6,000 Koreans following the Kanto earthquake of 1923 [in Tokyo]. It is the elementary duty of all those in the workers movement— trade unions and leftist organizations—to defend Chosen Soren and all minorities who are in the cross hairs of right-wing/fascistic terror.

For more than a month, the ruling class has sent a green light to the fascistic right wing by pounding out various bizarre scenarios of the supposed threat that the grotesquely deformed North Korean workers state poses to the second most powerful imperialist nation on earth, which has at its disposal some of the most advanced military technology.

Our political differences with the Stalinist Chosen Soren, which hails North Korea as the "great socialist fatherland" and promotes dangerous illusions in a "peaceful reunification" with South Korea, are many. As Trotskyists, we stand for the unconditional military defense of North Korea and the other bureaucratically deformed workers states—China, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. We call for the revolutionary reunification of Korea through a proletarian socialist revolution in the South and a proletarian political revolution in the North to oust the Confucian Stalinist bureaucracy, which has brought the country to the brink of starvation and capitalist counterrevolution.

The heinous murder of Ra Hun underlines the urgent necessity of united workers defense actions to crush the right-wing vermin. This is our perspective. We place no reliance on this capitalist government, which does not represent the general interests of society as a whole, but is the enemy of the working class and oppressed. At a November 11 demonstration in Tokyo held by Chosen Soren, the organizers called on the Japanese government "to prosecute those responsible for the firebombing attacks, to end the harassment of Korean school students and to lift sanctions imposed on North Korea." But the capitalist state is not a neutral power standing above classes. It is an armed body of men—the police, courts, prisons, military—whose job it is to defend and protect the property and privileges of the bourgeoisie, which arrests striking workers, deports immigrants, carries out the death penalty and attacks the minimal gains which women have won. The Japanese imperialist state has a long and bloody history of crimes against the working class here and the workers and toilers of Asia. The ruling class today is the political heir of the butchers of Nanjing during the bloody occupation of China in the 1930s, the rapists of hundreds of thousands of *ianfu* ["comfort women"] and the organizers of the infamous Unit 731 [which carried out inhuman, Nazi-like "experiments" on Chinese prisoners] during the [1941-45] Pacific War.

To defend the besieged Korean population and its organizations, one must look to an aroused and class-conscious proletariat and its potential allies among all the oppressed, not to the government. Our tactic is the united front, where all can present themselves under their own banners and slogans as they strike together against the common enemy. We fight for a class-struggle leadership of labor. A union movement worthy of the name would actively mobilize against racist and anti-communist terror. Worker/minority defense guards should be formed to defend the offices and public events of Chosen Soren. This requires an uncompromising fight against the poisonous racism which divides the working class.

It is the responsibility of the labor bureaucracy and their left-wing tails that the virulent racism of the bourgeois order in Japan continues to permeate the working class, dividing and disarming it before the class enemy. The leaders of all three trade-union federations have criminally refused to organize non-Japanese workers into common unions with their Japanese brothers and sisters. The labor movement must demand an end to the exclusion of Zainichi Chosen-jin [longtime ethnic Korean residents of Japan] from employment at major corporations and must organize integrated industrial unions. The labor movement must also champion full citizenship rights for everyone who lives in this country, regardless of race or national origin, and fight for social integration, full access to education including in the "imperial" universities, housing, hospitalization, social services and welfare, and the right to vote and run for office. We demand that the *gaijin* [foreigner] cards and the *koseki* [government registry of families] system be ripped up. All forced assimilation policies must be opposed, and the right of minorities to retain any and all vestiges of their culture, language and customs—including the right to use their given family names—must be defended.

The complete prostration of the Japanese left and trade-union bureaucracy before their own bourgeoisie has helped create the social climate where acts of fascistic terror can occur unanswered. Criminally, virtually the entire left has lined up behind its own bourgeoisie's crusade to brand North Korea as a

continued on page 11

Chosen Soren

Chosen Soren leader Ra Hun, victim of racist killers emboldened by chauvinist Japanese bourgeoisie. Osaka, 1994: cops attack Chosen Soren headquarters.

Benefit for Class-War Prisoners

Organize for Mumia Abu-Jamal's Freedom

Join us for the 13th annual Holiday Appeal to raise funds for those imprisoned for championing the rights of labor and the oppressed. In sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners and additional funds to them and their families during the holidays, the PDC continues a tradition dating back to the International Labor Defense of the 1920s.

This year's benefits are particularly focused on the urgent struggle to free black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. With the rejection of Jamal's appeal by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, there is an immediate danger that Governor Tom Ridge will sign a death warrant, aiming to silence forever this courageous fighter against racist injustice. Build the Holiday Appeal—Build the fight to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty!

New York	Chicago	Bay Area
Friday, December 4	**Sunday, December 6**	**Sunday, December 6**
5 to 9 p.m.	**3 to 7 p.m.**	**1 to 4 p.m.**
AFSCME District Council 1707	UE Hall	ILWU Local 34 Hall
75 Varick St. (at Canal)	37 S. Ashland (at Monroe)	4 Berry St., San Francisco
For more information:	For more information:	For more information:
(212) 406-4252	(312) 454-4931	(510) 839-0852

SPONSOR: PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Chosen Soren

6,000 Koreans were massacred in state-sponsored pogrom following 1923 Tokyo earthquake.

Chicago Rally Demands:

"Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"

WV Photo

On Saturday, November 21, some 250 trade unionists, youth, socialists and other anti-racist activists rallied in Chicago's Federal Plaza in response to the Partisan Defense Committee call: "All Out to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Endorsed by a wide range of trade unions from the Chicago area as well as nationally and internationally, the demonstration consisted at its core of black trade unionists who showed their commitment by arriving early and signing on as marshals to ensure a militant, disciplined protest.

With the October 29 Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling rejecting Jamal's legal appeal and rubber-stamping the racist frame-up that put him behind bars 17 years ago on false charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman, Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge could sign an execution warrant at any moment. In a statement from death row read to the demonstration, Mumia wrote: "On behalf of all of us facing death in America's gulags my thanks to all of you who have come out in Chicago to abolish the racist death penalty."

These workers came out because they saw in this united-front, labor-centered protest a chance not only to fight to free an eloquent spokesman for the oppressed from the clutches of the racist "justice" system and its machinery of death, but also to raise their voices against the whole array of attacks which the ruling class has leveled against labor and minorities. They cheered when Marcellus Barnes, spokesman for Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241 and president of the ATU's Black Caucus, declared from the podium: "This is what labor is all about. We represent the working people. We are the ones to stand in the forefront and carry on the message."

Joining Local 241 in endorsing the PDC-initiated protest early on was ATU Local 308. Groups of transit workers stood side by side in Federal Plaza on Saturday with members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Locals 551 and 890 and Teamsters Local 705. Communications Workers (CWA) Local 4250 members held their union banner near the speakers platform. Union statements of solidarity came from as far as Australia, from the SNJ-CGT journalists union in France and the Berlin branch of the German IG Medien union, of which Jamal is an honorary member. Noting that "Abu-Jamal has been on the forefront of the struggle against injustice and man's inhumanity to man," a letter from the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, which also made Mumia an honorary member when he was under imminent threat of execution in 1995, declared: "We call upon the entire working class movement to unite against the Pennsylvania state ruling." A statement from the Mexican Union of Electricians concluded: "Long live Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

The call to mobilize for Jamal's freedom and against the racist death penalty struck a chord particularly among Chicago's black proletariat, who are fed up with decades of brutal attacks on the living standards and rights of workers, blacks, immigrants and the poor. That anger was evident in the solidity and huge popularity of the 1997 Teamsters strike against UPS and last summer's shutdown of the GM empire by Flint UAW workers. In a letter to the Chicago rally, a Flint UAW District Committee rep wrote with passion about the need to free Jamal from his would-be executioners: "This lynch mob needs to be stopped at all cost."

In the absence of a death warrant hanging over Mumia's head and with much of the reformist left boycotting the PDC-initiated united front, the turnout on November 21 was slightly smaller than that at a liberal Jamal demonstration in Chicago the week before. But where the previous rally consisted overwhelmingly of petty-bourgeois leftists and student youth, this one mainly drew black working-class militants who represent the promise of a class-struggle fight to free Jamal and bring down the whole system of racist capitalist rule. Demonstration co-chairman Brian Mendis of the PDC told protesters: "You guys are the hard core, and it is up to you to go back into your communities and your unions to organize and mobilize the thousands for the next demonstration to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty!"

That means fighting to unleash the *social power* which the multiracial proletariat has as a result of its numbers, its organization and its role as the producers of all the wealth of this society. The proletariat is kept from wielding that power by the trade-union misleaders who tie workers to the capitalist class enemy, its state and political parties. The PDC's call for the demonstration stressed:

> "The unions are the only racially integrated mass organizations in this country. The bosses and their state hate and fear the integrated union movement because there lies the power to challenge the racial divisions they promote to weaken the working class. And it is precisely the power of the integrated trade unions that must be mobilized to free Mumia. In mobilizing to defeat the frame-up of Jamal, the unions will take a huge step forward in becoming instruments of struggle to defend not only their immediate interests but those of all the oppressed."

Fighting Racist Terror in "Segregation City"

In the weeks preceding the PDC-initiated protest, the issues of racist cop terror and the death penalty were very much at the fore in "Segregation City." Only three days before the rally, the Illinois Supreme Court granted a last-minute, 90-day reprieve to Willie Enoch, who was about to be executed on the basis of a murder conviction in which the prosecution had refused to turn over evidence to the defense. The weekend before, Chicago had hosted a much-publicized conference which featured dozens of people who had been released from years on death row after proving their innocence. Also much in the news was the city's attempt to end court-imposed constraints on "red squad" spying against political activists. And, as throughout the country, the ghettos and barrios are subjected to a cop state of siege called the "war on drugs." Announcements for the November 21 rally were broadcast not only by black radio stations but by a Spanish-language station as well.

Demonstration organizers met with an enthusiastic response. At one auto factory, 500 rally leaflets were quickly distributed and several people took large stacks to hand out inside the plant. A bus driver took a bundle of leaflets to pass out on her bus. The protest was heavily built by the Spartacist League, while the Spartacus Youth Club brought out students from the University of Chicago, DePaul and other local campuses. SYC speaker Michael Davisson told the rally:

> "This racist frame-up should resonate among youth because Mumia first joined the Black Panther Party when he was 15. Youth in racist capitalist America face not schools but prison, no welfare, no drinking, anti-sex and anti-smoking campaigns, no jobs. To end the misery and the racism of capitalism, to end the threat of imperialist world war, youth can and must mobilize behind the social power of labor."

An SYC banner at the protest read: "Capitalism Means Racism and War—For Socialist Revolution!"

The revival of labor militancy seen at UPS, GM and other recent strikes has left its mark on working people and the oppressed around the country. At the same time, the unions continue to be constrained by the AFL-CIO misleaders. And among the black masses, there is a widespread perception that there is no leadership representing any challenge to the racist status quo. The ephemeral enthusiasm over the middle-class "Million Man March" for black "atonement" organized by anti-Semitic and anti-Asian demagogue Louis Farrakhan three years ago has disappeared. One black trade-union speaker at the protest pointedly remarked, "I'm not talking about a voice of atonement, I'm not talking about a voice of reconciliation."

The resonance among Chicago's black working people of the PDC call for a labor-centered Jamal rally came out in the fact that Jesse Jackson's Rainbow/PUSH Coalition felt compelled to call the PDC and endorse the action. Jackson himself is in the hip pocket of Democratic president Bill Clinton, who has presided over a vast augmentation in the forces of racist "law and order," including a massive expansion of the death penalty. And the black daily Chicago *Defender* not only published a favorable article on Jamal's case but publicized the PDC rally. Democratic Congressman Danny Davis addressed the rally to affirm: "We are in disagreement with the death penalty, we are in disagreement with use of the death penalty and we are asking that we free Mumia Abu-Jamal." Also speaking was Norm Roth, a former president of International Harvester UAW Local 6 and long associated with the views of the Communist Party. Pointing to the Federal Building behind him, Roth urged: "Send delegations to see every Congressman there, regardless of how he voted."

The Communist Party has for decades pushed pressure politics and "fight the right" rhetoric in order to garner support for the Democrats. In this it echoes the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, whose allegiance to the Democratic Party is the chief expression of class collaboration in this country—as well as the chief obstacle to mobilizing labor's potential power in its own interests and those of all the oppressed. The PDC call underlined, "There must be no illusions that Mumia can get a fair trial in the capitalist courts.... Neither must there be any illusions in the Democratic Party, which is no friend of labor and blacks but a party of big business no less than the Republicans." Bernard Branche, spokesman

WV Photos

Left: ATU militants led successful defense of Chicago bus driver Cassandra Seay (center) against 1987 cop frame-up. Right: transit workers protest layoffs, cuts in services, 1981.

for the Chicago Labor Black Struggle League, said at the rally: "It is the *duty* of the integrated labor movement to defend black rights. The fight to defend Mumia is today central to developing that consciousness throughout the working class." He continued:

> "We are for the complete independence of labor from the bosses' parties, Republicans and Democrats. Working people need their own party, a party forged in the battle against the racist rulers."

Branche noted that among those supporting the protest was Cassandra Seay, a black transit worker who was brutalized and framed up by the Chicago cops in 1987. The LBSL was initiated by the Spartacist League out of the successful struggle by Seay's ATU brothers and sisters and others to beat back that racist frame-up. Many of the black workers who turned out for the Jamal protest stayed all afternoon at a post-demonstration party to engage in argument and discussion with LBSL and SL comrades over such questions as whether Democratic Party politicians could be allies of workers and minorities, how the unions could be mobilized in struggle, how decent schools and jobs could be ensured for their children instead of a future of cop terror and despair.

It is out of such militants that the LBSL will be built as a fighting arm of the multiracial revolutionary vanguard party needed to lead the workers to power. Branche read the statement by Karl Marx at the time of the Civil War—the second American Revolution—which is printed on the front of LBSL membership cards: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." The LBSL speaker concluded: "It's going to take a third American Revolution, one that wipes away the rule of the racist capitalist class, to finally liberate the black population. There is no other road for black liberation or for working-class freedom. Join us in the Labor Black Struggle League in this fight!"

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The Chicago protest was organized under the watchword of the united front—"march separately, strike together"—which is based on unity in action while allowing for the free debate of contending strategies and programs that is vital to advancing the consciousness of the working class, anti-racist youth and others. Among the other speakers at the rally were death penalty abolitionist Seth Donnelly, Mike Elliott of the UAW Local 551 Civil Rights Committee, Stan Willis of the Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers, and representatives of the Labor Party, Solidarity and the League for the Revolutionary Party.

Similar labor-centered protests initiated by the PDC in the face of Mumia's threatened execution in the summer of 1995 were part of the international outcry, including by unions representing millions of workers, which stayed the executioner's hand. As Mumia wrote at the time, "Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all!"

WV Photo

Black workers drawn to Chicago rally represent potential for class-struggle fight to free Jamal, smash racist capitalist frame-up system.

In the eleven years that the PDC has actively championed Jamal's cause, it has based itself on the class-struggle understanding of its forerunner, the International Labor Defense (ILD). As pioneer American Trotskyist James P. Cannon, an early leader of the ILD, wrote in his 1927 article "Who Can Save Sacco and Vanzetti?" amid the worldwide campaign of labor protest on behalf of the anarchist workers, the ILD followed the "policy of the class struggle":

> "It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts....
>
> "The other policy is the policy of 'respectability,' of the 'soft pedal' and of ridiculous illusions about 'justice' from the courts of the enemy."

The *other* policy is precisely that pursued by the reformist left, notably including the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which some time ago launched a liberal "Campaign to End the Death Penalty." In the labor movement, the ISO promotes economism and worse, hailing "strikes" by cops and prison guards and jumping on the bandwagon of virtually every bureaucratic "reform" movement which has invited the capitalist courts or Justice Department to meddle in the unions. The ISO abhors any hint of a perspective centered on mobilizing labor in the fight to free Mumia or combat racist oppression.

At an emergency united-front protest initiated by the PDC in New York City in October, ISO spokesman Sherry Wolf inveighed against "sectarian splits and divisions." Yet like its social-democratic big brothers, the Democratic (Party) Socialists of America, the viscerally anti-communist ISO not only refused to endorse the labor-centered protest in Chicago but boycotted it. In fact, the ISO seemingly did all in its limited power to sabotage the broadest possible mobilization. Participants at a November 9 meeting of the Chicago Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal later told SL comrades that a majority of the committee voted to endorse the protest only in the face of the ISO's vehement *opposition*. To justify its petty sectarian sabotage, the ISO trotted out a timeworn slander—first raised during the campaign to stop Jamal's execution in 1995—that SL supporters had physically attacked one of its members (see "ISO Goons Beaten Back," *WV* No. 625, 30 June 1995). Such violence-baiting smears serve only the Fraternal Order of Police and the other forces that want to see Jamal dead and his cause disrupted and destroyed.

The capitalist state has demonstrated its determination to suppress the struggle for Mumia's freedom in countless ways, from the lies and coercion which sent him to death row to incessant attacks on his supporters. Mumia's son Jamal Hart has been thrown in prison for 15 years on trumped-up charges for fighting for his father's freedom. Veronica Jones, who courageously came forward to testify on Mumia's behalf at his appeal hearings in 1996, was literally dragged off to jail from the witness stand. Seeking to suppress labor mobilization for Jamal, suburban Chicago cops last month illegally detained ATU Local 308 member Keith Anwar, who addressed the November 21 rally, and Service Employees union member Dan Smith on misdemeanor charges as they were building support for the protest outside a UPS facility.

Our fight to mobilize labor on Jamal's behalf is part of the fight for a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement forged in political combat against the pro-capitalist union tops. We strive to build a revolutionary vanguard party which will act, in the words of Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin, as a tribune of the people. Such a party must fight every manifestation of oppression and tyranny—from the death penalty and the racist "war on drugs" to anti-gay and anti-woman bigotry—in order, as Lenin explained in *What Is To Be Done?* (1902), to "produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation...in order to set forth *before all* [our] socialist convictions and [our] democratic demands, in order to clarify for *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat." As the SL statement to the November 21 protest concluded:

> "The way forward is to mobilize the working class to free Jamal, to smash the racist death penalty. The way forward is to forge the multiracial proletarian party necessary to lead the American socialist revolution. Only a victorious socialist revolution can end for all time blood-soaked imperialist rule." ■

"We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black demonstration in Chicago on November 21 to deliver the urgent message: All Out to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"

Partial List of Endorsers, 21 November 1998

Craig Aaron, Editor, *In These Times*,* Chicago, IL
Walter Alexander, Chairman, UAW Local 333,* Chicago, IL
Florine Allen, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, ATU Local 308, Chicago, IL
Mark Allen, Field Director for Rev. Jesse Jackson, Sr., Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, Chicago, IL
Robert L. Allen, Senior Editor, *The Black Scholar* journal,* Oakland, CA
Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, Chicago, IL
Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago, IL
Amnesty International—Midwest Region
Australasian Meat Industry Employees Union, Sydney, Australia
Australian Manufacturing Workers Union (Metals Division) Shop Stewards Committee at Holden Engine Operations, Melbourne, Australia
Marcellus Barnes, President, Black Caucus, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Chicago, IL
Nancy J. Bolhne, Regional Director, Amnesty International—Midwest Region, Chicago, IL
Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Vancouver Local, Vancouver, British Columbia
Chicago Branch of Solidarity
Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers
Chicago Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal
Chicago Refuse & Resist!
Robert C. Clay, Executive Board member, ATU Local 241, Chicago, IL
Leroy Collier, President, National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA
Tod Conner, Chair, UAW Local 551 Civil Rights Committee, Chicago, IL
Michael E. Deutsch, Past Legal Director, Center for Constitutional Rights,* Chicago, IL
Seth Donnelly, Case Manager, Hull House Association,* Chicago, IL
Dr. Michael E. Dyson, Professor, Columbia University,* New York, NY
Earlham Socialist Alliance, Richmond, IN
Mike Elliott, Co-Chair, UAW Local 551 Civil Rights Committee, Chicago, IL
Henry L. English, President/CEO, Black United Fund of Illinois,* Chicago, IL
John Eriksen, Membership and Solidarity Committee, Labor Party, Chicago Chapter,* Forest Park, IL
Prof. Peter Erlinder, Immediate past President, National Lawyers Guild,* St. Paul, MN
Jearlean Fleming, OPEIU 391,* Chicago, IL
Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Director, W.E.B. Du Bois Institute;* Chair, Department of Afro-American Studies, Harvard University,* Cambridge, MA
Tom Hannan, National Secretary, Australasian Meat Industry Employees Union, Sydney, Australia
Robert Earl Hayes, Former death row inmate, Camden, MS
International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10, San Francisco, CA
Mary L. Johnson, Coalition Against Police Torture,* Chicago, IL
Walter L. Johnson, Secretary-Treasurer, San Francisco Labor Council,* San Francisco, CA
Troy L. Jones, Former death row inmate, Fresno, CA
José Solis Jordán, Professor of Education, University of Puerto Rico,* Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico
Katie Jordan, President, Coalition of Labor Union Women,* Chicago, IL
Labor Black Struggle League, Chicago, IL
League for the Revolutionary Party
Leon London, Executive Board member, ATU Local 241, Chicago, IL
Brian McWilliams, President, International Longshore and Warehouse Union,* San Francisco, CA
Selim Muwakkil, Senior Editor, *In These Times* magazine,* Chicago, IL
National Union of Journalists (SNJ-CGT), Paris, France
October 22 Student/Youth Network, Chicago, IL
Dale Odberg, President, Union of Veterans Affairs Canada Local 20029,* Delta, British Columbia
David D. Owen, Executive Board member, Rail-North, ATU Local 308, Chicago, IL
Partnership Against Racism, Chicago, IL
Aaron Patterson Defense Committee, Chicago, IL
JoAnn Patterson, Mother of Aaron Patterson on death row, Aaron Patterson Defense Committee, Chicago, IL
R. Eugene Pincham, Retired Justice, Appellate Court,* Chicago, IL
Que Ondee Sola/Union for Puerto Rican Students, Chicago, IL
Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, Chicago, IL
Brenda Rayford, Secretary-Treasurer, ATU Local 308, Chicago, IL
Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (Chicago Chapter)
Norman C. Roth, Past President, UAW Local 6,* Stone Park, IL
Earl Silbar, Steward, Executive Board at-large, AFSCME Local 3506,* Chicago, IL
Chris Slobogin, Law Professor, UF Law School,* Gainesville, FL
Spartacist League
Spartacus Youth Club, Chicago, IL
D. Sieng, President, Telecommunication Workers Union Local 1, Vancouver, British Columbia
Jed Stone, Attorney, Chicago, IL
Syndicat CNT-PTT, Paris, France
Jean-François Tealdi, National Secretary, National Union of Journalists (SNJ-CGT), Paris, France
Telecommunication Workers Union Local 1, Vancouver, British Columbia
Lowell Thompson, Partnership Against Racism, Chicago, IL
Darby Tillis, Pastor-President, Friends To Strangers Ministry,* Chicago, IL
UAW Local 551 Civil Rights Committee, Chicago, IL
UAW Local 719, Countryside, IL
University of Chicago MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán), Chicago, IL
Bettina Wegner, singer and lyricist, Berlin, Germany
Cornel West, Professor of Afro-American Studies, Department of Afro-American Studies, Harvard University,* Cambridge, MA
Jerry W. Williams, Sr., President, Business Agent, ATU Local 308, Chicago, IL
John Williams, Shop Steward, Australian Manufacturing Workers Union (Metals Division) Shop Stewards Committee at Holden Engine Operations, Melbourne, Australia
Standish E. Willis, Chair, Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers, Chicago, IL
Worker-communist Party of Iran (Abroad–Canada)
Jolonda Young, Reporter, *Illinois Times*,* Springfield, IL
Gerald Zero, Secretary-Treasurer, Teamsters Local 705,* Chicago, IL
Richard Ziebell, President, UAW Local 477,* Chicago, IL
Christine A. Zook, President/Business Agent, ATU Local 192,* Oakland, CA

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

We want to make it very clear that endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with written material about the mobilization published by the Partisan Defense Committee in initiating the mobilization or by others.

Mobilize...

(continued from page 1)

in Russia, the only successful working-class revolution to date, occurred precisely because it was led by a proletarian-internationalist revolutionary Bolshevik party. There is no other way for the working class to achieve its destiny as the gravediggers of capitalism than for its most advanced and militant layers to come to the full realization that the working class shares no interests with the capitalist exploiters. The working class must grasp that the struggle against international capital, i.e., imperialism, must itself be international. Based on the hard-won lessons of the class struggle, the power of labor must be organized to lead a social revolution, overturning the ruling class and forming the basis for a socialist society. This is the legacy of the October Revolution and the essence of a Marxist revolutionary party.

Decades of betrayals by the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy paved the way for the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state at the hands of Yeltsin's imperialist-inspired counterrevolution in 1991-92. This was a historic defeat for the world working class. The imperialists declared the "death of communism" along with peddling pipe dreams of eternal prosperity. Last year's UPS strike and the Flint UAW strike this summer which shut down the GM empire gave the lie to this snow job. These strikes exposed the seething anger at increasing exploitation and joblessness

Contreras/Chicago Tribune

AP

Chicago cops brutalize black youth. Right: striking auto workers in Flint, Michigan shut down GM this summer. Labor must champion fight for black rights.

AP

D. Michael Cheers

Jesse Jackson ropes in black votes for Clinton as Democrats join in axing welfare, leading to massive increase in misery.

that workers face and asserted the reality of the class struggle, the greenhouse of red revolution.

It is no accident that with the destruction of the Soviet Union, the death machine of American "justice" is running full out. The machinery of state repression, augmented by the ideology of racism and sexism, finds its extralegal reflection in the terror carried out by anti-gay and anti-abortion bigots like those who murdered Matthew Shepard, a young gay student, and who assassinated courageous doctor Barnett Slepian. The liberals who appeal to the government, the cops and courts to protect gays and women and who cry for a "fair trial" for Jamal serve only to sow the most treacherous illusions in the very forces of oppression.

Mumia's freedom and the abolition of the racist death penalty would be a victory for all workers, for all the oppressed. One thing is certain. Without the beginning steps to forge a revolutionary proletarian party, not only are the prospects for Mumia bleak but the very future of humanity is at stake as American imperialism vies with its competitors for world domination—a "competition" that leads directly to world war and ultimately to nuclear annihilation.

The primary obstacle to forging such a party is illusions in the main war party of U.S. imperialism, the Democratic Party. In the trade unions these illusions are fostered by the union tops, and in the ghettos by Jesse Jackson, the Congressional Black Caucus and their local black counterparts. When the social struggles of the 1960s wound up safely contained within the confines of the Democratic Party, and especially with the presidency of Jimmy Carter, a renewed whirlwind of reaction began that has continued up to now under Clinton.

The smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union, scabherding, strike-breaking, the disappearance of good industrial jobs led to the decimation of the trade-union movement (with the acquiescence of the union misleaders). This was accompanied by all-out attacks on the scant gains of the civil rights movement, on immigrants and on the right to abortion. The '70s and '80s saw a number of black mayors elected in major cities to assure peace amid this urban carnage. In Chicago, Harold Washington, an ordinary Democratic politico who promised nothing and whose major "accomplishment" was looting the pension funds of the heavily black Chicago transit union, was elected, re-elected and died in office. His name is still held in reverence to this day, a reverence which is in direct proportion to the hopelessness in the ghetto and the rampant racism in "Segregation City." And it is a reverence kept alive by Chicago union tops who turn a blind eye to the desperation of the black masses while seeking to keep labor tied to the city's Democratic Party machine.

The slow starvation and bloody bombings of the Iraqi people by the U.S. imperialist rulers is echoed in the end of welfare, medical care and food stamps —punctuated by escalating cop terror— for the masses in America's ghettos and barrios. The attack on wages, living standards and full-time employment reflects, albeit on the much wealthier terrain of the U.S., the draconian policies of the International Monetary Fund in the underdeveloped countries on the planet. The engine of capitalism, of American imperialism, is profits extracted from the living labor power of workers. The Democrats and Republicans alike pursue this end. The armed force of the capitalist state exists to ensure that the bosses will get their due no matter what the price in human misery.

Jesse Jackson and the anti-Semitic demagogue Louis Farrakhan, although from different points of the bourgeois political spectrum, share in blaming black people for their own oppression. Arguing that the ghetto masses must pull themselves up by their bootstraps, they push the cynical myth that black capitalism will lead to "empowerment." AFL-CIO head John Sweeney peddles the program of racist America-first protectionism against the workers of other countries. This deadly chauvinism is played out at home in the war against immigrants. The respective messages of Jackson, Farrakhan and Sweeney are simply packaged differently for different audiences.

The International Communist League, of which the Spartacist League is the U.S. section, stands alone in its resolute opposition to all forms of collaboration between the working class and the exploiting capitalist class. ***Break with the Democrats! Build a revolutionary workers party! Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution!***

In contrast, the rest of the "socialist" left has repeatedly demonstrated their fealty to the "democratic" credentials of the imperialist rulers. This was most dramatically underscored in their embrace of the imperialist-backed forces of counterrevolution that destroyed the deformed workers states of East Europe and the degenerated Soviet workers state. Given the magnitude of this betrayal, it is not surprising that the class-collaborationist proclivities of these sham "socialists" have accelerated in response to the "death of communism" pressures they did their small part to create.

That said, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) deserves an Oscar for its supporting role to the chauvinist trade-union tops. The ISO supported state intervention in the Teamsters, in the service of former union president Ron Carey (who was removed by the bourgeois state he so ardently courted). It promotes the quest for some "class-struggle" cops to add to the thousands of armed hirelings of the bourgeoisie who already infect labor's ranks. Its anti-communism is so visceral that the ISO has refused to endorse any of the thousands-strong labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, *including this demonstration* for Mumia's freedom and to abolish the racist death penalty.

The Progressive Labor Party (PL) arrives at the same station by a different train. They anoint themselves the sole fighters for communism. PL deems all others to be fascists or the bosses' tools—including the trade unions—while refusing to fight against the special oppression of women and homosexuals. Adding a new page to their characterization of such struggles as "diversions," in the aftermath of the brutal murder of Matthew Shepard PL despicably equated the fight for gay rights with the sadistic gay bashers as "two sides of rulers' fascist coin." Similarly, they reject defense of Mumia because he is a "black nationalist."

The newly formed Black Radical Congress, which was organized by reformists in the Committees for Correspondence, the Communist Party and others, has similarly avoided endorsing today's mobilization. Meanwhile, its constituent parts carried the torch for Harold Washington and today continue to tout the myth of his progressive regime. To its credit, Refuse & Resist (R&R) has gone all out in Mumia's defense. But its posture of electrifying the masses and "jamming" the state notwithstanding, R&R exhibits a fatuous liberalism and faith in the powers that be. This was exemplified in 1995 by their call for a "debate" with the racist thugs of the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police who stand at the fore of the campaign for Jamal's death. More recently, such illusions in the benevolence of the capitalist state were demonstrated by the call of R&R's Los Angeles branch for "no death penalty for political dissent."

Class collaborationism, sectarianism and mindless rumble-in-the-streets adventurism share two features: an underestimation of the savagery of the bourgeois state and a pessimism in the ability of the working class to rally around the banner of socialist revolution and overturn the seemingly invincible imperialist rulers. The way forward is to mobilize the working class to free Jamal, to smash the racist death penalty. The way forward is to forge the multiracial proletarian party necessary to lead the American socialist revolution. Only a victorious socialist revolution can end for all time blood-soaked imperialist rule. Among the first acts of victorious socialist revolution will be the erection of a monument to the heroes who died fighting for the working class and oppressed. Let Mumia's name not appear there—let his voice remain among the living! The commitment of the Spartacist League to these ends stands in the sharpest contrast to the policies of the liberal reformers and the sham socialist left. Join us!■

WV Photo

San Francisco, November 17: Trotskyists protest Clinton's threatened terror bombing of Iraq.

Speeches from Chicago Rally

Fight for Labor and Black Rights!

Black trade unionists saw in Chicago rally a chance to raise their voices against decades of brutal attacks on labor and minorities.

WV Photo

We print below extracts from a selection of speeches at the November 21 labor/black demonstration to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty.

Jon Piper

Partisan Defense Committee; member, Jamal legal team

Mumia Abu-Jamal is in grave danger. He is only one signature away from a new death warrant setting a new execution date. Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man. He has been framed up solely for raising his pen and his voice against racism and capitalist oppression. They want to silence Jamal to send a message to all who would stand up against this repression.

Our legal team will pull every legal lever on Mumia's behalf. But we can have no illusions in getting "justice" from this unjust system, which defends the profits of the few while enforcing the immiseration of the many. The death penalty, the ultimate instrument of repression against blacks and labor, is itself rooted in the Slave Codes and lynch law.

WV Photos

From left: Epluribus Mays, Katie Jordan.

Look at the case of Dred Scott on the eve of the Civil War, when the United States Supreme Court declared that blacks could not have the rights of citizens. In that decision, the Court said that if blacks could be free they could go in the South, they could organize, they could write and speak, they could arm themselves, and this would threaten the rule of the slavocracy and spell the risk of social revolution against slavery.

One hundred and ten years later, in 1968, J. Edgar Hoover launched his COINTELPRO conspiracy against the Black Panther Party, saying: "The negro youth must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." And kill them he did. Murdering Mark Clark and Fred Hampton in Chicago. Trying to kill Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) in L.A. and then framing him up so that he was buried in prison for 27 years. They pinpointed another troublemaker in Philadelphia named Wesley Cook, now Mumia Abu-Jamal. He was 15, he had just formed the Black Panther chapter there in Philly. They could not find anything to pin on him because all he did was his constitutionally protected protest and journalism. But they continued trying to get him, and finally when he was shot in the street by a police officer they framed him, denied him all his rights, like Dred Scott.

This is why we place no faith in this state, and place all our faith in the mobilization of the working people and the oppressed against this vicious, racist frame-up system.

Marcellus Barnes

Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241

The Amalgamated Transit Union is the union that moves people across this great city. As it was said, we have been involved in this movement for a long time.

A couple of years ago, when I spoke at another rally for Jamal, I met a young man for the first time. And when I finished speaking, that young man walked up to me and he looked into my eyes and I looked into his eyes and he simply said, "Thank you for what you said about my father." And it's very sad today to hear that that young man has also been put in prison on trumped-up charges.

Often I'm amazed that some of our labor leaders find a reason *not* to get involved. Other things will detour them for rallies such as these. This is a labor movement! This is a cause. This is what labor is all about. We represent the working people, the people that cannot speak for themselves. We are the ones to stand up in the forefront and carry on the message. And so I'm saying to my other labor brothers and sisters, "Get involved. Help to save Jamal!"

Brian Mendis

PDC rally co-chair

Thank you for mentioning Jamal Hart, Mumia Abu-Jamal's son who is in federal pen right now on a frame-up charge. They framed him up—just like they framed up his father—15 years on a weapons charge, 15 years with no chance of parole, 15 years for a crime he did not commit. They framed him up because he was a spokesman for his father. We say: Free Jamal!

Epluribus Mays

Member, ATU Local 241; chairman, People's Organization

What we have to do is to continue to mobilize and to organize, organize and mobilize and be able to take our forces and take our voices anywhere they need to be heard. And I'm not talking about a voice of atonement, I'm not talking about a voice of reconciliation, I'm not talking about a voice to tell "the man," as I might say (if I can say that), or the government that we're "sorry" for this demonstration, we're "sorry" that we're doing this.

If Mumia is killed, any one of you all who stand up and struggle against this system can be killed—just as well, just as easy as anyone. You must understand that the reason that Mumia is in jail in the first place is because he was a direct threat to this system, a ***direct threat***. Any time that you're a direct threat against this system, they've got to take it down—just like the Black Panther was, they just took them down. *That's* why he's in jail. He's not in jail because he's changed his coat. He's not in jail because he's changed his viewpoint. He's not in jail because he now says, "I'm sorry." He's in jail because he's still talking about ***revolution***. And he's not changing.

We've got some politicians today that have changed their coat; they're even Congressmen now. I know one Congressman that was so much as a revolutionary with the Black Panther Party—I think they called him Bobby Rush. I don't know, he might have made a change because he thought he might be able to help black people by going through the system. But see, you can't change the system by just changing a screw. The system is a ***machine***.

Katie Jordan

President, Chicago chapter, Coalition of Labor Union Women

I'm going out to talk about the right of Mumia Abu-Jamal to be able to live so that he can continue to contribute as he has always contributed to the working people of this country. His life should not be determined by the racist regime who decides that if you are black you need to be on death row but if you are white, working against the racist system, speaking out for the working class, then you, too, need to be on death row. Unless you're one of the rich of this country, and the politicians who favor the rich, you're subject to being in Mumia's shoes. And we don't want to forget that.

The only way we're going to free Mumia and those who will come after him is to get rid of the death penalty. The Coalition of Labor Union Women is in support of freeing all political prisoners and we will be working within our unions, to talk to our unions about their responsibility of speaking out.

Ed Clarkson

Spartacist League

What we have here on this cold day is the core of the committed. Mumia's life remains at stake. We must go out and

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Join the Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Contact the Partisan Defense Committee. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

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- Court Hearings: New Evidence of Frame-Up
- From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal "*La Amistad* and American Law"
- The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal
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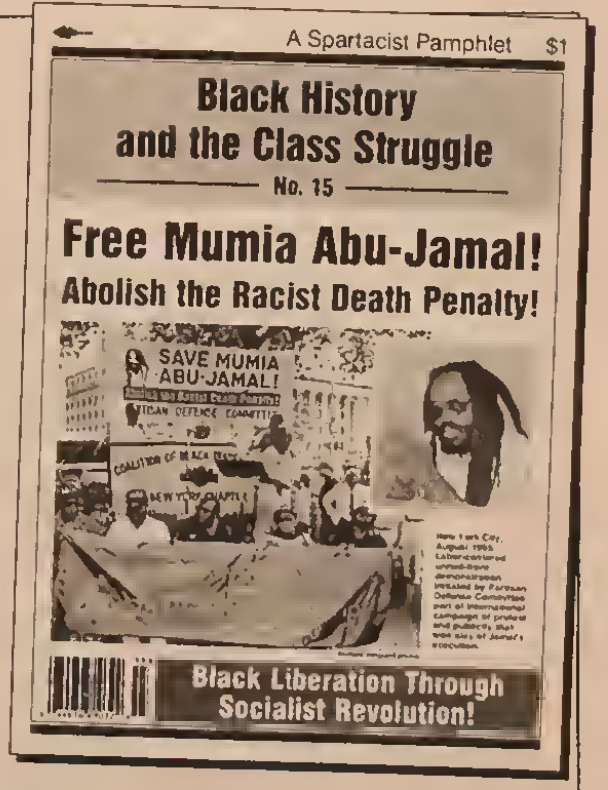

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Smash Disney/ABC Union-Busting Against NABET!

Over 2,000 members of the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET) have been locked out by ABC-TV ever since a one-day strike on November 2 protesting the company's refusal to provide details of a proposed new health plan. Members of NABET, an affiliate of the Communications Workers of America, had already been working for over a year and a half without a contract when the Walt Disney Company, which owns ABC, tried to force them to accept a plan pushing higher health costs onto the workers. Now, with its vindictive lockout, Disney/ABC is out to break NABET.

With technicians, cameramen, engineers, videotape editors and other highly skilled workers among its ranks, the union has considerable leverage, which has already hurt ABC's programming. A range of entertainers have honored NABET picket lines. In New York City, UPS Teamsters workers have refused to deliver or pick up packages from ABC. Even a number of Democratic Party politicians have refused to cross NABET picket lines. Meanwhile, the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists and other skilled trades unions have stabbed NABET in the back by crossing picket lines. This treachery must stop—*picket lines mean don't cross!*

On November 19, the New York City regional director of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ruled that the ABC lockout was "legal." This emboldened the company to cut off health coverage and insurance benefits to NABET members in an attempt to break them. The NLRB's action also underscores the futility of the NABET bureaucracy's appeals to the Clinton administration for support against Disney. Illusions in the Democratic Party or federal "mediators" and "neutral arbitration" are suicidal. The capitalist Democrats are no "friends of labor." And government bodies like the NLRB, far from being "neutral," are agencies of the capitalist state no less than the strikebreaking cops and anti-union courts. This state exists to protect the property, profits and rule of the exploiters. To unchain labor's power requires a break with the union tops' strategy of looking to the parties and government of the capitalist class enemy and the forging of a new, class-struggle leadership of the unions.

Behind the "sweet-'n'-magical" myth, the Disney Company has a tradition of savage union-busting going back to its rabidly right-wing founder. Walt Disney was for 25 years a fink for J. Edgar Hoover's FBI. When the Cartoonists Guild struck Disney in 1941 against the firing of union organizers, "Uncle Walt" retaliated by turning over photos of strikers to government witchhunters. He fired virtually every worker who participated in that strike, and went before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) six years later to denounce the strike leaders as "Commies." Disney was also instrumental in getting HUAC to investigate the movie industry and helped build up the Hollywood blacklist of union militants and suspected leftists (see Marc Eliot, *Walt Disney: Hollywood's Dark Prince* [1993]).

Today, Disney CEO Michael Eisner ostentatiously scatters billions of bucks like pixie dust for his garish building projects and grandiose palaces. Noting that Eisner could pay the insurance costs being extorted from NABET members "out of his own pocket and not even notice it," columnist Juan Gonzalez pointed out in the New York *Daily News* (12 November): "Michael Eisner, remember, earned $10 million in salary and bonus last year and cashed in more than $575 million in stock options."

NABET's resistance to Disney's union-busting is an important fight for all labor. Shut down ABC! Victory to NABET! ■

Statement by Mumia Abu-Jamal in Solidarity with NABET

The following statement was issued by death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal on November 19. In solidarity with NABET members locked out by ABC-TV, Mumia has told the network, which is preparing a program on him, that he will not grant an interview while the lockout continues.

We support the efforts of labor to make righteous demands upon capital, and therefore are loath to break (even by indirection) the picket line erected by NABET against ABC, and their corporate masters, Disney.

We continue to believe any effort to circumvent this proper picket line violates the rights of labor to fight for a fair and just return; this we will not do.

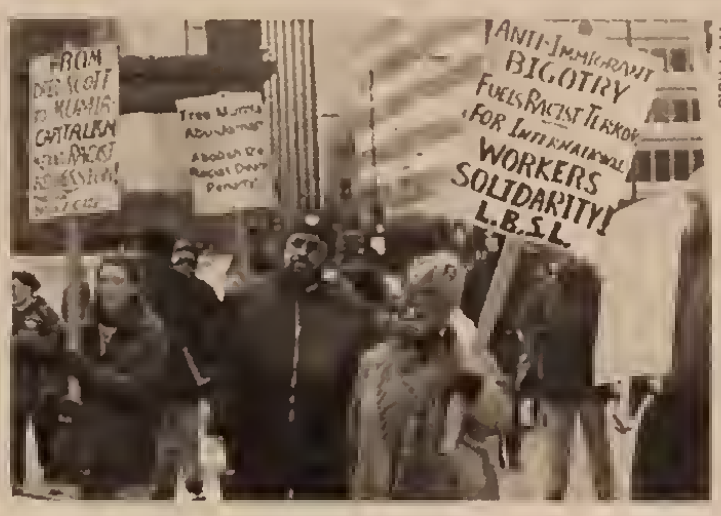
We urge all of our friends and supporters to support NABET's efforts, to the extent NABET wants that support, on the line; and in the studio.

Speeches...

(continued from page 7)

multiply our forces and go forward to free him, to smash the racist death penalty.

Now many here today have spoken well about Mumia Abu-Jamal. One thing must be recognized. He was sentenced to death because he was seen as a black revolutionary. Why such concern? Blacks, after all, only constitute somewhere between 10 and 15 percent of the American population. It is because the cause of black freedom and the fight against the grinding exploitation of labor and this racist capitalist society are potential social dynamite if combined.



WV Photo

November 21 Jamal protest. Labor Black Struggle League fights for class-struggle program against racist oppression. Join us!

Racism, the race-caste segregation of blacks at the bottom of this society, is a primary obstacle to the mobilization of this potential. The trade-union movement, significantly black at its core, has the social power and potential to become battalions in the struggle against racism and exploitation, if mobilized in a revolutionary party operating to oppose *all* injustice, as the tribune of *all* the people, to overturn this decaying imperialist order. Black liberation through socialist revolution!

Now the seriousness of Mumia's plight must be recognized. Thousands of fighters against racist oppression, many who fought to build the unions in this country—from John Brown to the Black Panthers, from Albert Parsons and the Haymarket martyrs to Sacco and Vanzetti—went to their graves by one route or another, slaughtered by the state minions of America's racist system of exploitation. It must be said plainly that this struggle is a dangerous business. There will be more victimizations, future heroes enchained and executed until America's capitalist masters are overthrown by a working-class socialist revolution.

It is equally plain that if this course is not taken, the working masses will face the slow death of increasing exploitation and poverty, the hopelessness of the ghetto; today's youth will have no future. These processes have accelerated with the overturn of the October Revolution in the USSR, a historic defeat for the world's working class, with the resultant increasing competition between the imperialist powers which once again will lead to world war, this time ending in nuclear annihilation.

The starvation and episodic bloody bombing of Iraq by American imperialism in its drive to dominate the world, to assure the profits of our capitalist masters, is echoed in the end of welfare, cop mayhem in the ghettos and the attack on the living standards of all in the service of the very same drive for profits. The primary obstacle to mobilizing the revolutionary proletarian party to bring an end to the devastation caused by American imperialism is illusions in the main war party of American imperialism, the Democratic Party.

AFL-CIO head John Sweeney peddles America-first protectionism against foreign workers, played out at home in the war against immigrants. He and his ilk bring the capitalist government into the trade unions, betray the power of picket lines in strikes to the bosses' courts and cops. Indeed, they bring the armed enemies of the working class and the oppressed—cops and prison guards—into the trade unions. Such unions cannot effectively fight to save Jamal.

This is racist America. We will fight together against the state and its capitalist masters or go down separately. The way forward is to forge the multiracial proletarian party necessary to lead the American socialist revolution. ■

Contact the Chicago LBSL
Labor Black Struggle League
Box 6938
Chicago, IL 60680

David North...

(continued from page 2)

the "futility" of union struggles.

North's own witchhunting credentials are impeccable. Beginning in the mid-1970s, he devoted over a decade to the crazed "Security and the Fourth International" campaign launched by the corrupt, thuggish and megalomaniacal Healy with the aim of smearing the SWP leadership (primarily Joseph Hansen) with supposed complicity in Trotsky's assassination by Stalinist agents in 1940. In the 1980s, North's outfit virtually prepared the prosecution brief which resulted in the conviction and imprisonment of SWP trade unionist Mark Curtis on frame-up rape charges. Meanwhile, the "Socialist Equality" Party spits on the fight against the oppression of women, blacks, homosexuals and national minorities.

The McCarthyite witchhunt was aimed at preparing the country for war against the Soviet Union and driving the reds out of the unions. The "anti-Stalinist" social democrats embraced by North shared that aim but opposed McCarthy for going "too far" by targeting Cold War liberals as well. It is notable that Radosh's hatchet job, *The Rosenberg File* (co-authored by Joyce Milton), was published in the early 1980s to facilitate a new Red Hunt as U.S. imperialism again geared up for war against the Soviet Union (see "Cold War Rad-Libs Embrace FBI Frame-Up: They're Trying to Kill the Rosenbergs All Over Again," *WV* No. 340, 21 October 1983). It is also notable that North's Workers League never appeared on the FBI's ADEX list of organizations—including the SL and a range of other groups—to be rounded up in the event of a "national emergency."

The current grotesque "rehabilitation" of McCarthyism, seizing on CIA "revelations" that those who were witchhunted and murdered got what they deserved because they were indeed "Soviet spies," is part of an all-sided attempt to again demonize communism. Even as the bourgeoisie and its mouthpieces proclaim that "Marxism is dead," they seek to warn off militant workers and radicalized youth from revolutionary politics, aware that the growing gap between the rich and poor and the other enormous contradictions in this society have created seething discontents and are leading to a revival of labor militancy.

The kind of respectability North now craves can only come to those who did their bit in aiding the cause of capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR, a historic defeat for the world's working class. As Leninists, one of our primary responsibilities is to expose especially the "left" (should North remain so positioned) opponents of proletarian revolution, who today join in seeking to bury the legacy of the October Revolution under a mountain of lies while rehabilitating the bloodsoaked imperialist world order. Indeed, a rapprochement between North and Radosh might well be possible —perhaps even a new joint Web site, "godthatfailed.anticom." ■

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Brazil...

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extreme deflationary measures. Interest rates were raised to 50 percent, leading to thousands of layoffs in the public and private sectors. In August, the government introduced a package of measures which includes a reduction in the average workweek to 25 hours—with a corresponding cut in wages—and allows employers to suspend workers' contracts for two to five months.

At the same time, since the beginning of September the central bank has been depleting its foreign-exchange reserves at the rate of ***$1 billion a day*** to keep the *real* from falling through the floor. Wall Street and other international financiers are worried—and rightly so—that the Brazilian government and major companies will be forced to default on their foreign loans. Economist Jeffrey Sachs warned: "In March, American banks had a reported $27 billion in loans to Brazil, four times their exposure in Russia. A disaster in Brazil would surely rattle the world economy and further tarnish the credibility of the United States and the IMF" (*New York Times*, 14 October). What Sachs, who is the architect of starvation austerity plans ravaging millions from Bolivia to Poland, means by "disaster" is disaster for the imperialist bankers—not the further impoverishment of the Brazilian masses—in the form of a Russia-type default or a partial default achieved, for example, by reimposing limits on the outflow of "hot money" (short-term capital).

So on November 13, IMF spokesmen in Rio announced a typical "bailout" package—designed chiefly to bail out U.S. banks in Brazil—to be made available "as the Brazilian Congress enacts the conditions required." Dancing to the tune of the imperialist bloodsuckers, Brazil's government responds to each new American declaration by announcing more austerity measures to make the country safe for international financiers, including deeper spending cuts in social services and massive attacks on workers' social security benefits.

Nationalism and Reformism Prop Up Bourgeois Order

Running in opposition to FHC in the presidential elections was Luis Inácio "Lula" da Silva as candidate of the "People's Unity" (União do Povo—UP) coalition. In addition to Lula's social-democratic Workers Party (PT), the UP included the formerly pro-Moscow Communist Party (PCB), the formerly pro-Albania Stalinists of the PC do B and the bourgeois Workers Democratic Party of longtime capitalist politician Leonel Brizola, a big landowner in southern Brazil who idolizes former dictator Vargas. Like the Frente Brasil Popular headed by Lula in the 1989 elections and a similar popular front in 1994, the UP is a class-collaborationist coalition tying the workers movement and left to the politicians and institutions of the bourgeoisie and its state.

According to its public platform, the UP is a big social movement that includes workers, unions, people's movements of the countryside and cities, youth, women and businessmen committed to a new national development project. The appeal of Lula's program is nationalism. But while it may be solacing to imagine depriving the Yankee imperialists of the profits wrung from the masses, a semi-colonial country like Brazil, above all in the imperialist epoch, cannot liberate itself from these predations short of a thoroughgoing socialist revolution.

Utilizing the masses' illusions born of desperation, Lula offers himself as an alternate way for capitalism to bleed the masses, appealing to sections of the bourgeoisie who have seen their profits decline as protective tariffs were lowered

Financial Times

Military police patrol impoverished neighborhood in Rio de Janeiro. Cop death squads are notorious for murdering black street children in the huge *favelas* (slum areas) around major cities.

under the Real Plan. Lula invited the vice president of Brazil's largest industrial conglomerate (Votorantim) to collaborate with the PT and the CUT trade-union federation in a plan to "defend" national industry.

The nationalist/reformist Latin American left aims all its fire at IMF-sponsored "neoliberalism." But this is by no means the only form of capitalist economic policy. Indeed, in Latin America the dominant form historically has been nationalist corporatism associated with anti-Yankee and populist demagogy—especially on the left but by no means limited to it (e.g., Peronism in Argentina). This program entails industrial protectionism and government controls over foreign-exchange transactions and capital movements. Nationalist corporatism did not insulate Latin American countries from the economic shocks and sharp ups and downs endemic to the world capitalist system, and the so-called "debt crisis" of the 1980s ushered in a decade of stagnation and savage austerity against the workers and urban and rural poor (see "Lurching Toward Economic Crisis?" *WV* No. 619, 24 March 1995). .

As Marxists, we fight for ***working-class independence*** from the bourgeoisie. The interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the two fundamental social classes in capitalist society, are irreconcilably counterposed. This basic principle is systematically obscured by *reformist* currents. Such currents (as Lenin stressed in his pamphlet *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*) historically arose based on the more privileged strata of the working class in the imperialist countries, as the workers' leaders reconciled themselves with the capitalist system in exchange for crumbs from the bourgeoisie's table. Since the onset of World War I in 1914, when such misleaders cheered on their "own" rulers as the imperialists plunged the earth into wholesale slaughter, socialist-talking reformists have actively worked against the prospect of proletarian revolution, including through naked support for bloody counterrevolution at those crucial moments when the survival of the capitalist system was at stake (e.g., Germany 1919-1923).

Reformist parties, such as the Labour Party in Britain or the Social Democrats in Germany, have amply and repeatedly proven their willingness to administer the capitalist state on behalf of the capitalist ruling class. In this framework, popular-front electoral coalitions have been very useful to the reformist leaders, who can point to their bourgeois "partners" as the excuse for every sellout and anti-working-class attack. By putting a "working-class" face on the *capitalist* government, reformists like Lula aim to make more palatable the devastating attacks on the working class and minorities and to dissuade the exploited and oppressed from fighting back. But as Tony Blair's Labour government demonstrates, even governments composed solely of reformist workers parties are capitalist governments. As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin stressed in *The State and Revolution*, the working class cannot use the bourgeois state apparatus for its own ends but must smash it and replace it with a workers state.

Class collaboration is not only fruitless but ultimately suicidal. We remember the 1965 bloodbath in Indonesia, as the Communist Party's support to the bourgeois-nationalist Sukarno paved the way to the massacre of hundreds of thousands of leftists, workers and peasants; we remember the deadly fruits of class collaboration under Allende's "Popular Unity" coalition in Chile, which led to Pinochet's bloody military coup in 1973. Such so-called "left" governments promise to alleviate the plight of the masses but are in reality committed to serving the enemies of the workers and oppressed. They can only enrage the local capitalist rulers and their imperialist patrons without breaking their power, preparing the way for new rightist regimes which will swiftly exact bloody revenge against the working class and its allies.

A hallmark of class collaboration in the semicolonial countries is the dominance of nationalist ideology—a bourgeois ideology which is inimical to the proletariat's class interest and is thus a decisive obstacle to the thoroughgoing social revolution which is necessary to break the stranglehold of imperialism over the countries of the "Third World." The basic Marxist understanding that "the workers have no country" is no less true in these countries than it is in the imperialist centers. Revolutionaries must struggle intransigently to break the working class from the illusion that its "own" ruling class can be any kind of ally in the fight for national and social liberation. Such a struggle is anathema to those who falsely posture as "leftists" in Brazil, who prefer to subordinate themselves to bourgeois forces in the name of "anti-imperialism."

Brazilian "Left" vs. the Fight for a Revolutionary Party

The PT was forged in February 1980 under Lula, a metal workers union leader, coming off a broad and militant strike wave in the late 1970s. Yet from its inception, the PT leadership had close ties with the Catholic church and its program did not challenge the capitalist status quo. In 1981, Lula's PT actively cheered for Polish Solidarność. This "workers movement" was in fact a huge company union, an instrument for capitalist counterrevolution based on anti-Soviet nationalism and backed by the CIA, Western bankers and the Vatican. The PT's program says nothing in defense of abortion rights for women. The PT hails the racist popular-front government in France for supposedly taking important steps to ensure economic growth, fight unemployment, preserve sovereignty and widen democracy. And in Brazil, it was a PT governor in Brasília who ordered a murderous attack on a demonstration against the FHC government's austerity measures at the "Palácio do Planalto" last May.

We fight for a Leninist internationalist vanguard party as the necessary instrument to bring communist consciousness to the proletariat and to lead it to power at the head of all the oppressed. Rejecting this perspective, the Brazilian "left" prefers to maneuver inside the PT and the CUT union bureaucracy. These "leftists" cultivate the deadly illusion that the bourgeois state can be pressured to serve the interests of the workers and oppressed and that socialism can be achieved through a series of gradual reforms. Although filling their newspapers with

continued on page 10

Landless peasants march on Brasilia, April 1997. Expropriation of landed estates requires socialist revolution placing proletariat in power.

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Brazil...

(continued from page 9)

left rhetoric, these organizations act in practice as an obstacle to raising the consciousness of the proletariat, ultimately placing themselves on the side of the capitalist state. Even after a red purge inside the PT resulted in the expulsion of pseudo-Trotskyists like Causa Operária (PCO—affiliated with the Altamira group in Argentina) and the Morenoite Convergência, they continued voting for Lula, while openly admitting that the PT-led coalitions in 1989 and 1994 were popular fronts. In 1994, the Morenoites were an official part of this class-collaborationist lash-up.

This time, reflecting the unpopularity of the new popular front, the Morenoite PSTU was not an official part of it. What was finally too much for them to swallow was the alliance with Brizola in particular. The PSTU proposed an alternative

John Maier Jr.

Black landless peasants in Brazil's Northeast. Leninist party must champion agrarian revolution, combat pervasive racist oppression.

"class" candidacy of Lula for president and the leader of the MST landless movement as vice president. In its absence, they ran their own candidate—but on a program no different from the 1994 popular front's program. Moreover, fearful of being blamed for Lula's defeat and hewing to their ultimate program of "fight FHC," they called for support to *both* Lula and their own candidate on the first round!

The centrist Liga Bolchevique Internacionalista (LBI, which recently split from the Argentine PBCI) did not call for a vote for the PT either in 1994 or this year. But the LBI does not oppose popular frontism in principle, as shown by its support to the PT in the 1989 elections. In an issue of *Luta Operária* (September 1998) preceding the elections, the LBI talks out of both sides of its mouth in an attempt to conceal its underlying "lesser evil," "fight the right" politics. The LBI admits that no matter who wins the vote a "war plan" will be unleashed against the working people. But to "fight" the popular front, the LBI comes out for a so-called "revolutionary workers front" to unite various "sectors." This is just another recipe for a rotten propaganda bloc—a lowest-common-denominator bloc antithetical to building a hard, programmatically homogeneous party fighting for the political clarification needed to break the workers from the pro-capitalist misleaders.

IG/LQB: Militant Economism and Class Betrayal

The U.S. Internationalist Group (IG) and its affiliate, the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB) are not that far behind in capitulation. An LQB "Information Bulletin" (October 1998) posted on the Internet, which ritually denounces the popular front and calls for not voting for it, presents as its central slogan a general strike:

> "The bourgeois offensive against all the working people must be answered with a class-struggle workers offensive fighting for power. The necessary response would begin with a strike of all public workers, then extending to the private sector in a general strike paralyzing all large industry, transport and commerce, which would be a showdown with the bourgeois power. To lead this fight, it will be necessary to throw out the existing pro-capitalist leaderships and form organs of struggle, workers councils, led by a genuine revolutionary workers party which can head the masses of landless peasants in a fight for a workers and peasants government and the extension of revolution to the imperialist centers."

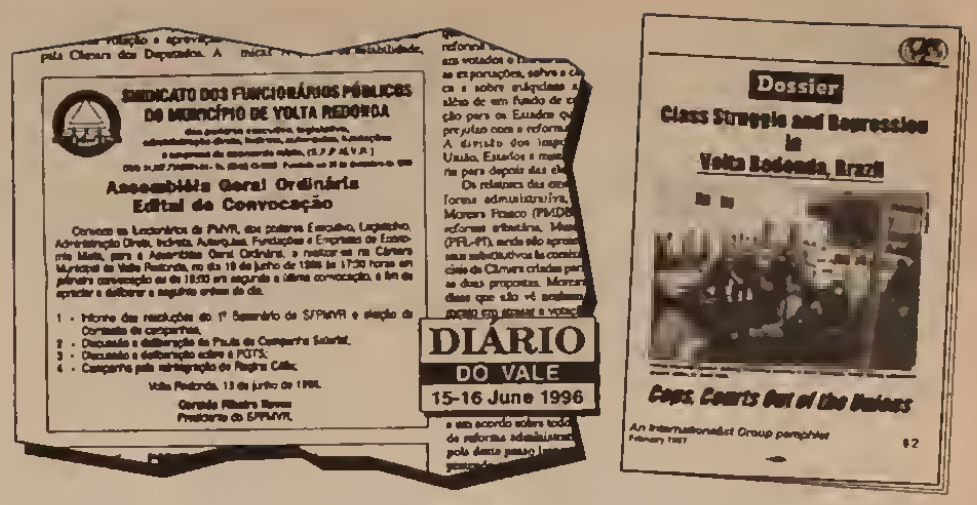
For all its rhetoric about a revolutionary party, the IG clearly sees such a party as arising spontaneously from mass struggle. But in the absence of a revolutionary party in Brazil today and on the eve of a presidential election, what would the LQB's call for a "general strike" mean if not support to the workers' current leadership—the PT and its popular front? Sloganeering for "the general strike," which the IG does in common with centrists all over the world, is merely a militant-sounding way to pass off the glorification of trade-union struggle as a "revolutionary" strategy. The idea is that if only strikes can become militant enough and "general" enough, the struggle itself will objectively lead the oppressed masses to an all-out confrontation with the state power, regardless of the workers' level of consciousness, and the reformist misleaders' hold on the workers will just disappear. The class struggle is a great teacher, but a vanguard party is crucial to drive home and keep alive the lessons of experience.

As Lenin insisted over and over in polemicizing in *What Is To Be Done?* against the Economists who wanted to "lend the economic struggle a political character," militant trade-union consciousness in itself remains within the framework of bourgeois ideology, and socialist politics must—and can only—be brought to the working class through the intervention of conscious revolutionaries:

> "*Any* subservience to the spontaneity of the mass movement and *any* degrading of Social-Democratic [i.e., socialist] politics to the level of trade-unionist politics mean preparing the ground for converting the working-class movement into an instrument of bourgeois democracy. The spontaneous working-class movement is by itself able to create (and inevitably does create) only trade-unionism, and working-class trade-unionist politics is precisely working-class bourgeois politics."

A proletariat under the sway of "working-class bourgeois politics" cannot be tricked or cajoled into making a revolution! The IG/LQB glorifies proletarian militancy as a substitute for the necessary fight to directly confront the workers' illusions in reformism and unmask the PT's subservience to the bourgeois order. This worship of spontaneity can only prepare new defeats.

The shameless class-collaborationist capitulation of the Brazilian "left" takes its worst form when self-styled "revolutionary" groups extend a hand to the racist, strikebreaking cops, calling them "workers" who belong inside the unions. During last year's police strikes, the Morenoite PSTU and the POR (associated with the Bolivian Loraites) called for "solidarity" with striking military police. The Altamiraite PCO sometimes calls for the dissolution of the military police, proposing instead "military police under the direct control of the population" (*Causa Operária*, 1 July 1997), suggesting that the hired thugs of the capitalist state can be made to serve the interests of the workers and oppressed. We Marxists understand that cops are not workers, but the mailed fist of the capitalist class.



IG "dossier" covers up for class betrayal. Public call for 19 June 1996 Volta Redonda union meeting, supposedly called to oust cops from union, made no mention of cops! Meanwhile, IG's Brazilian allies dragged union into bosses' courts three times.

Along with the courts, prisons and armed forces, the cops are committed to the defense of private property and capitalist rule, enforcing the exploitation of workers and the oppression of women, blacks and indigenous people.

Meanwhile, the LBI and the IG/LQB were fighting each other for control of the cop-infested SFPMVR municipal workers union in the town of Volta Redonda. Each of the warring factions claimed the union presidency for their man: Artur Fernandes, supported by the LBI, is an openly pro-cop thug, while the LQB supports Geraldo Ribeiro, a former cop. In their sordid battle, both sides sued the union in the bosses' courts! This shameless class betrayal confirmed the correctness of the International Communist League's decision to break fraternal relations with the LQB in June 1996 over the latter's inveterate trade-union opportunism and refusal to forge a Bolshevik vanguard nucleus.

Earlier, the two union factions had been allies in the "Municipários em Luta" slate, a bloc which broke down only when the LQB forces, at the urging of the ICL, belatedly came out against the presence of cops in the union. After this falling out among competing bands of craven trade-union opportunists came the suits and countersuits through which the LQB and its LBI rivals invited the bourgeois courts, another agency of the same capitalist state, to "settle" the union's internal affairs.

The IG has brazenly continued to deny suing the union even after the ICL published the proof in our press: Volta Redonda court case numbers 30.831 (15 July 1996), 30.832 (8 August 1996), 30.833 (26 July 1996). (For further information, see "Lies, Damned Lies and Anti-Union Lawsuits: IG's Brazil Fraud Exposed" and "Court Papers Prove They Sued the Union—IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies," *WV* Nos. 669 and 671, 30 May and 11 July 1997). Recently, these cowardly defectors from Trotskyism have had little to say in their press or Internet postings about the travails of this union which they formerly presented as the very vanguard of the Brazilian working class. But in arguing with our comrades outside Spartacist League/U.S. public meetings, the IGlets call the SFPMVR a court-rigged formation. In other words, they claim it is no longer a trade union—because they no longer control it! The cynicism is breathtaking: don't the Volta Redonda municipal workers have a right to know that their union is no longer a union? We challenge the IG/LQB: bring your self-serving new line out into the open—put it in writing for the Brazilian proletariat!

Maneuvers and lies in the service of grotesque trade-union opportunism are what the IG/LQB is all about. The IG/LQB is a "party" which rejects the need for and purpose of a vanguard party—the fight to win the proletariat to the authentic program of Leninism and Trotskyism. The LQB and its IG godfathers are interested only in creating the fiction of a "working-class base," just like myriad other little groupings in Brazil and elsewhere which play politics inside the unions with utter contempt

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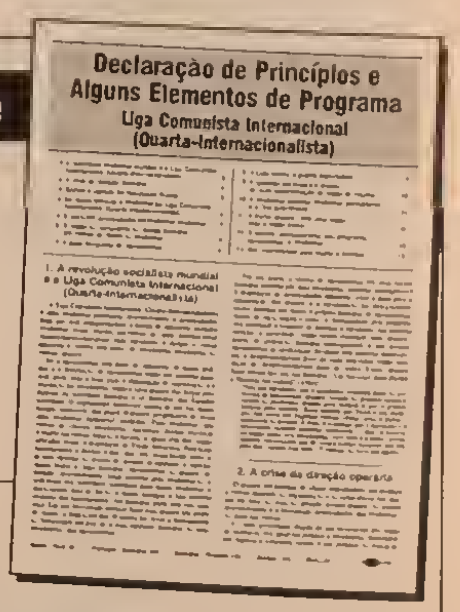

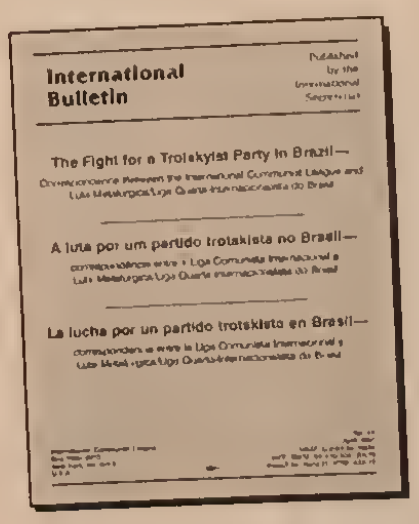

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for the workers who suffer the consequences. The LQB and its "party press" are simply window-dressing for an operation which is really about doing anything to capture positions of influence in the unions behind the backs of the union members, including and especially delivering the unions into the hands of the capitalist state.

Agrarian Revolution and Permanent Revolution

The posture of the IG toward the MST peasant movement has been a textbook case of centrist amorphousness and tailism. The landless peasants' courage notwithstanding, the MST is a petty-bourgeois formation fully in the grip of Lula's program. On their own, the landless peasants lack social power, and they are treated accordingly by the capitalist state and its repressive thugs. Brazil presents a classic case of "combined and uneven development," where pre-industrial forms of exploitation and modern industry co-exist and are intertwined. In such countries, no wing of the bourgeoisie can lift society out of semicolonial oppression. While defending the militant landless peasants and the MST leaders against state repression, we understand that in a country like Brazil "the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy* and *natianal emancipatian* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses" (Leon Trotsky, "What Is the Permanent Revolution?" [1930]).

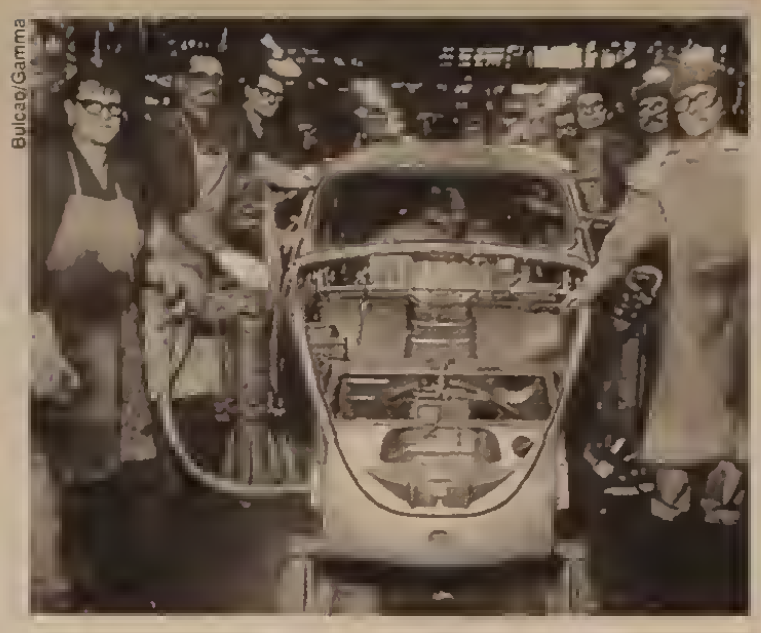
As was also shown in Mexico, where the Chiapas rebellion of Indian peasants was contained and now finds itself pulling the cart of the bourgeois-nationalist PRD of Cárdenas, petty-bourgeois strata such as the peasantry cannot play an independent class role. They are inevitably pulled in the wake of either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. With the Brazilian proletariat politically disarmed, the landless peasant movement is delivered, with Lula as the intermediary, to an impotent perspective of militant pressure politics.

With the recent large-scale land takeovers and consequent clashes with the "forces of order," the MST has become very popular among youth. Accordingly, the left portrays the MST as some sort of revolutionary leadership, and the LQB/IG in turn refuses to criticize it when it is so popular. The latest issue of the LQB's *Vanguarda Operária* (April 1998) is silent about recent struggles of the landless peasants. An article in the previous *Vanguarda Operária* (August 1997), while correctly defending two arrested leaders of the MST, had no criticism of this petty-bourgeois movement and instead implicitly associated the leaders of the landless peasants with the Bolsheviks. In the best centrist style, the LQB article in its first paragraph quotes MST leader João Pedro Stédile saying at a forum at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul:

> "Only the organized people can make social changes, and the social problem can only be resolved through class struggle. It is necessary to discover magic banners to mobilize the people in rebellion against the government, as the Bolsheviks did with their slogans of 'peace, land and bread' which thus implanted communism in Russia."

Thus the LQB introduces the MST to its readers as Bolsheviks! So it seems that the Pabloite IG has found in this volatile petty-bourgeois sector a potential "new mass vanguard"—a substitute for the conscious proletariat. Through such centrist ploys big and little, the IG/LQB takes its place in the "syphilitic chain" of opportunists who tail the popular front.

In the LQB's October Internet statement on the elections, which has little to say about the landless peasants and never mentions the MST by name, it is stated no less than *four* times that the LQB is for "agrarian revolution," not agrarian reform. This is a masterpiece of centrists trying to mean all things to all people. Marxists understand that successful peasant seizures of the landed estates can only come in the context of a proletarian assault on the bourgeois state power resulting in a victorious workers revolution. Agrarian revolution can be nothing other than the ***expropriatian without compensation*** of all the land owned by the big capitalist landlords and agribusiness corporations by a ***workers state***. But to the MST and its myriad leftist enthusiasts, the LQB's unexplained reference to "agrarian revolution" could mean the program of the MST!



Bulcao/Gamma

Workers at Brazilian Volkswagen plant. Imperialist investment has created huga, combativa proletariat.

And in place of the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution—the centrality of the proletariat fighting for socialist revolution as the only way to bring to fruition the struggles of all the oppressed non-proletarian masses—the LQB calls vaguely for a "worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat." This differs little if at all from the Maoist-Stalinist formula of "proletarian hegemony" in the "bloc of four classes"! Moreover, the "Program of the Class Struggle Caucus," the LQB's trade-union front (translated in *Internationalist*, January/February 1998), says not a word about the need to combat rampant nationalist influences within the Brazilian left. Yet the fight against bourgeois nationalism is key to the perspective of permanent revolution, the road to the actual destruction of American imperialism and the capitalist world order.

Against all the capitulations of the pseudo-Trotskyist left, whose appetites for class collaboration (to the extent that they are able to influence events) will be paid for in more blood of landless peasants and workers, we seek to build a revolutionary vanguard party like the Bolsheviks. Workers revolution in Brazil would send shock waves not only throughout Latin America but around the world. A Brazilian Trotskyist party must be based on a perspective of socialist revolution throughout the Americas and into the imperialist heartland of the United States. Workers in the U.S. have a special responsibility to protest the atrocities of the murderous governments of American imperialism's neocolonies. The ICL fights to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution that will expropriate the bourgeoisie and open the road to social emancipation and a decent life for all.■

Japan...

(continued from page 3)

"rogue state," thereby hearing some responsibility for the attacks on Koreans in this country. In its bid to join a capitalist coalition government, the mass reformist Communist Party (CP)—itself the target of right-wing/militarist terror, most recently during the Akahata Matsuri [CP annual festival]—has joined the bourgeoisie's hysteria over the launching of the North Korean satellite. In less than 24 hours, they issued a press release that sounded as if it had been written in the halls of Nagatacho [Japanese government headquarters], denouncing North Korea for violating Japan's "national sovereignty." Their Diet [parliament] members, along with members of the Social Democratic Party and New Socialist Party, then proceeded to vote unanimously for the government's resolution condemning North Korea. This is the logical response of a party which refused to defend North Korea during the Korean War, and whose organizational rules border on outright racism, stipulating that only Japanese citizens can be members.

The Japan Revolutionary Communist League was more concerned about the safety of Japanese boats and ships than the warmongering coming out of the mouths of the Japanese bourgeoisie. They issued a clear statement of support for counterrevolutionary forces in North Korea who "seek democratization and oppose the Kim Jong Il regime" (*Kakehashi* No. 1550, 14 September). These are the same words used by the United Secretariat, the international co-thinkers of the JRCL, to back the forces which helped destroy the workers states in East Europe and the Soviet Union. The Bund [another left group, formerly called Senki] advised this racist government, which is attempting to *starve* North Korea into submission, that its "hysterical response was not in the interest of Japan" and that North Korea should stop "scaring" its neighbors, and sit down and talk with them (*Senki* No. 951, 15 September).

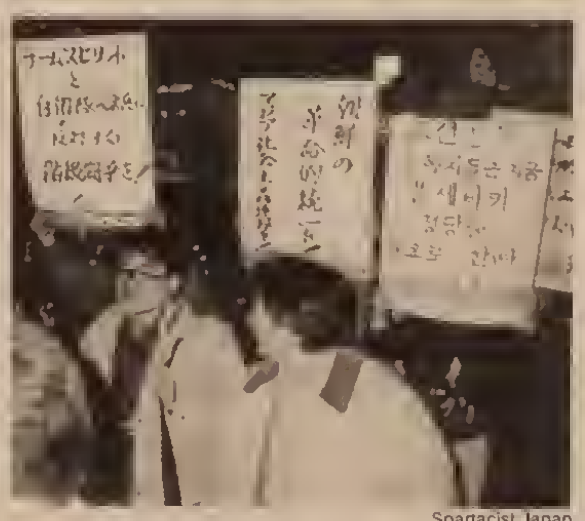
The Japanese ruling class is determined to divert attention away from the worst economic crisis since World War II and has proposed spending billions of yen on a theater military defense system. Together with the expanded role for the imperialist Self Defense Forces (SDF) embodied in the new military guidelines, this system poses a mortal danger to the workers and toilers of Asia, as demonstrated by the dispatch of SDF planes to Cambodia and Indonesia. Revanchist Japanese nationalism is also aimed at the bourgeoisie's main trade competitors—American and German imperialism—as each imperialist power seeks to redivide the world into rival trading blocs. And trade wars lead to shooting wars, as the Pacific War showed.

As the imperialist powers seek a new carved-up world in the wake of the destruction of the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state, they more viciously squeeze the colonial and semicolonial world, imposing starvation austerity from Indonesia to South Korea. The domestic reflection has been a wave of attacks internationally against the working class and the oppressed, as the capitalists drive to maximize profits by intensifying the exploitation of labor. Today in Japan most of these attacks are directed against those who are affiliated with Chosen Soren. But, as demonstrated by the death threats and bomb threats against award-winning novelist Yu Mi I, who had to cancel numerous speaking tours last year, all Korean residents will be targets as xenophobic racism escalates.

The interests of labor and minorities must advance together or they will fall back separately. When Iranian immigrant workers were being deported in 1993, we warned that the government's attacks against the most vulnerable layer of the proletariat were a precursor of the coming attacks against the entire working-class movement; that defense of immigrant workers was a defense of all workers in this country. Since that time, the ruling class has unleashed a frontal assault on the working class, including attempts to strengthen repressive laws such as Haboho [Anti-Subversive Law] and Sotai-ho [similar to U.S. RICO "conspiracy" law, allowing for almost unlimited wiretapping]. With the highest unemployment rate since World War II and *karoshi* [death from overwork] on the rise, the revision to the 1947 Labor Standard Laws allows for increased exploitation of labor. There is no such thing as "capitalism with rules"; capitalism is based on the anarchy of production, which leads to crises, increased interimperialist rivalries and wars. The only way to eradicate unemployment, to provide decent housing, education and social services to all, to eliminate the dangers of new imperialist wars is through ***the expropriatian af the bourgeaisie*** by proletarian revolution and the creation of an egalitarian socialist society internationally.

The Spartacist Group Japan, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), seeks to build a multinational, proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist party, a genuine Leninist-Trotskyist party that fights as a tribune of the people for a workers republic in Japan as part of a socialist federation of Asia.

For labor/minority defense to smash racist terrar! Full citizenship rights far everyane who lives here! Defend the North Korean deformed workers state against imperialist pravacatians! ■



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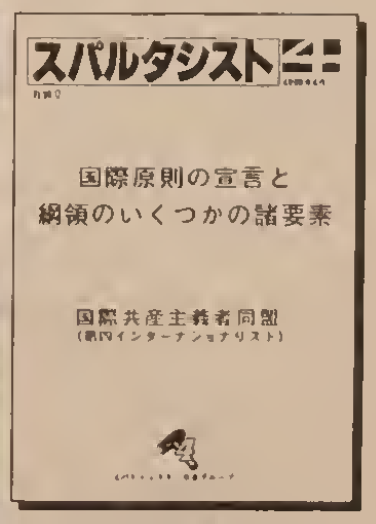
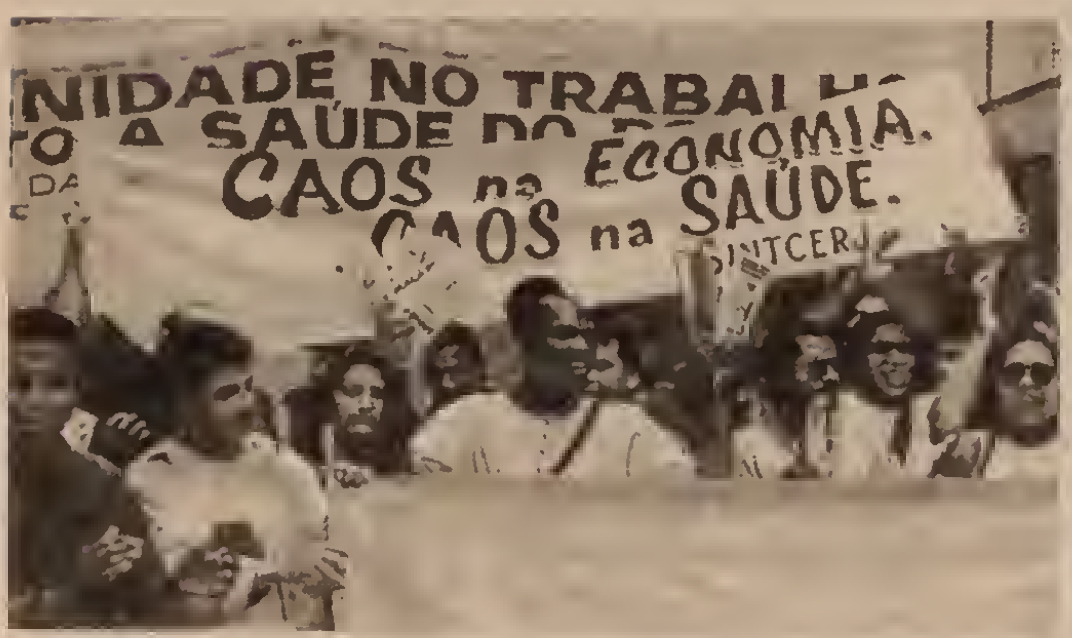


Spartacist Group Japan at 1994 protest against anti-Korean attacks. Now available in Japanese: ICL Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program, $2.00. Order from Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Ravaged by Imperialism, Hit by Financial Crisis

Brazil: Cardoso Regime Bleeds Workers, Poor



AP

John Maier Jr

Brazilian health care workers in November protest against new austerity plan. Tens of millions live in poverty, as children are forced to sleep on city streets.

No Illusions in Lula's Social Democrats!
For a Trotskyist Party—
For Permanent Revolution!

The $41.5 billion "rescue package" for Brazil announced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in mid-November underlined widespread concerns that the largest economy in Latin America and the fifth-largest country in the world is about to be hit by the spreading international financial collapse. The growing economic crisis was also the backdrop of recent presidential elections in Brazil.

After four years in office engineering massive layoffs and other attacks on the working class and minorities, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, known as FHC, was re-elected president in the first round of voting on October 4. Cardoso first rode in to office in 1994 on his infamous Real Plan—the monetary plan named after Brazil's currency, the *real*. Introduced to "cure" economic instability, the Real Plan constituted an arsenal against the working class and the huge masses of poor people. While Cardoso was re-elected, his supporters in key state governments were not. And though voting is obligatory and enforced by huge fines, abstentions and invalid votes totaled *30 percent*!

With 150 million people, Brazil contains half the total population of South America. Some 60 million—40 percent—live in poverty and 32 million are hungry. Huge cosmopolitan cities like São Paulo are surrounded by desperately impoverished *favelas* (shantytowns), and in mountainous Rio there is not a hill left without a *favela*. Unemployment is now up to 20 percent in those cities, and an uncounted number of black street children have been murdered by police death squads.

Brazil is the world's ninth-largest economy. Seen as an emerging power, it has attracted massive foreign investment. While U.S. imperialism leads the way, European and Japanese capitalist interests are also substantially represented. High-tech multinational industries were built, and with them was created a huge, young, highly combative proletariat.

Brazil is a semicolonial country where Trotsky's program of permanent revolution powerfully applies: in the imperialist epoch, the democratic tasks historically associated with the bourgeoisie in the period of its ascendancy—such as "land to the tiller"—can be accomplished only through the seizure of state power by the revolutionary proletariat as part of a perspective for international socialist revolution reaching into the imperialist centers.

The agrarian question is a burning issue in Brazil. The country is rich in natural resources and land, but a mere 2.8 percent of the population owns 57 percent of the countryside—an area greater than Spain, France, Germany and England combined—exploiting a rural proletariat which includes more than 23 million workers over the age of 14, according to figures a decade ago. And while 50 percent of all agricultural lands remain idle, nearly five million peasant families are landless.

The land question has been especially explosive in the heavily black, impoverished Northeast, where drought has brought the landless peasants to the brink of starvation. The past year was a year of conflict between the landless peasants and the state. The struggle peaked in June and July, with militant land occupations on a large scale. In addition to trying to seize the land of large landowners and multinational corporations, rural militants also intercepted government food trucks and raided supermarkets and food warehouses, distributing food to the starving population. When the *sem terra* (landless peasants) movement, the MST, organized a 750-mile march to Brasília last year to demand land and protest the killings of landless activists, it was welcomed into the capital by 25,000 supporters.

Financial Times photos

Brazilian president Cardoso, popular front candidate Lula. Lula's Workers Party pushes nationalist class collaboration, chaining Brazilian masses to their oppressors.

The FHC government has responded to the struggles of the rural poor with brutal repression. Since 1995, 331 members of the militant MST have been arrested. In an April 1996 confrontation with the military police in Eldorado, 19 landless peasants were killed and 69 wounded. This past July 9 in Paraná, in the southern part of the country, 340 families were evicted from the Santa Gertrudes farm which they had occupied since June 25—700 cops descended on the farm in a predawn raid at 3 a.m., shooting and beating the landless peasants.

The International Communist League seeks to build a revolutionary *vanguard party* to lead the Brazilian proletariat to power. As we wrote in "Brazil: IMF Candidate Wins Election" (*WV* No. 608, 14 October 1994):

> "Such a party must be a Leninist 'tribune of the people.' In Brazil this means taking on the issue of black oppression, which has been an 'unspoken question' on the Brazilian left, which echoes the bourgeoisie's myth of 'racial democracy.' More than half of the Brazilian population consists of blacks and mulattos, who are concentrated in the proletariat and poor peasantry....
>
> "The Brazilian proletariat can liberate itself only by taking on the historic mission of emancipating all the oppressed and smashing the rule of capital and putting this country's immense resources and energies at the service of the working people."

"Global Economy," Global Crises

What is now happening in Brazil is part of a financial chain reaction which began in East Asia in the summer of 1997 and spread to Russia earlier this year. After the Yeltsin government defaulted on its loans, some *$30 billion* in short-term capital was suddenly withdrawn from Brazil as part of a global "flight to quality." In response, the Cardoso regime moved to "defend" the *real* through

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 703

25 December 1998

Democrats, Republicans Target Right of *Habeas Corpus*

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Sometime before year's end, a prisoner somewhere in this country will be taken from his cell to become the 500th person to be electrocuted, injected with lethal chemicals or otherwise killed since 1977, when the assembly line of death was started up again after a four-year pause. Five people were executed just in the week ending December 10. A sixth, Canadian national Stanley Faulder, narrowly avoided the Huntsville, Texas death chamber after the U.S. acquiesced to Canadian demands for a temporary stay because his sentence was imposed in violation of international law. No such diplomatic niceties have been accorded Washington's Mexican neocolony, whose nationals have repeatedly been executed in the U.S. despite international outcries.

Of the more than 3,500 people on death row in racist capitalist America, over 40 percent are black, more than three times their proportion of the population as a whole. Among them is Mumia Abu-Jamal, whose death warrant could be signed by Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge at any moment. Framed up on false charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman 17 years ago, Mumia is threatened with death solely because of his history as a former Black Panther Party activist and MOVE supporter, because of his eloquent, outspoken opposition to the system of racist oppression.

As Marxists, the Spartacist League opposes the death penalty on principle: we do not accord to the state the right to decide who shall live and who shall die. Mumia's case symbolizes what the death penalty is all about. A legacy of medieval torture rooted in the U.S. in the slave system which was smashed by the Civil War, the death penalty—legal lynching—is at the pinnacle of the racist machinery of repression wielded by the capitalist rulers against workers and minorities. Seeking to contain the explosive contradictions generated by the growing gap between a handful of filthy rich and those at the bottom, the parties of capital—Democrats and Republicans—join in intensifying capitalist repression.

Starr/Picture Group

Reuters

Florida's electric chair. Democrat Clinton has presided over massive increase in capitalist state repression, including expansion of death penalty.

As more than two million, largely unionized manufacturing jobs have been slashed over the past couple of decades, the prison population has tripled. Over 1.7 million people, overwhelmingly black or Hispanic, fill the country's jails and prisons. Some 130 years after the passage of the 14th and 15th Amendments granting citizenship and the right to vote to black people, fully 13 percent of black men are today disenfranchised because of felony convictions. In states of the former slavocracy, which also lead the country in the rate of executions, up to 30 percent of black males have effectively been stripped of citizenship rights.

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Union Tops Rigged Contract Vote for Giuliani

Government Hands Off District Council 37!

Cops, Prison Guards Out of AFSCME!

NEW YORK CITY, December 14—The escalating government vendetta against District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) is aimed at placing the largest municipal union in the city directly under the thumb of the capitalist state. Admissions by cohorts of ousted D.C. 37 executive director Stanley Hill that they had rigged the vote on the 1996 contract to secure a victory for NYC mayor Rudolph Giuliani only underlines the extent to which the union had already been shackled to the class enemy. But the screams of corruption coming from government snoops and the union-hating press, and from their favored "reformers" within D.C. 37, are cynical in the utmost. There is no greater evidence of corruption within the labor movement than inviting the agencies of the capitalist rulers into the unions. *Government hands off D.C. 37!*

In recent months, the FBI and the Manhattan District Attorney have launched multiple probes into alleged embezzlement of union funds, seizing financial records from every one of the 56 locals in D.C. 37 and sticking their noses into every aspect of the union's internal affairs. Media spokesmen for the Wall Street tycoons dutifully churn out the standard "exposés" about "mob ties," union officials' "lavish" lifestyles and even a kickback scheme for overpriced Thanksgiving turkeys. Scrambling to stay a step ahead of the feds, the AFSCME International has taken direct control of D.C. 37, suspending Hill and booting out a number of other district and local union officials.

Those now being moved up into the D.C. 37 leadership include leaders of a bureaucratic "reform" fish-up, the Committee for Real Change (CRC), who last month filed a lawsuit against the union under the notorious Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO). RICO has long been the feds' weapon of choice in going after the unions. It was a RICO suit—wielded by Giuliani when he was a federal prosecutor—which opened the way for the government takeover of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT).

Indeed, the state's intervention into D.C. 37 is part of a stepped-up offensive against the entire union movement, particularly the IBT, in response to the solid and widely popular Teamsters strike against UPS in 1997. Immediately after that strike, the courts voided the re-election of Ron Carey, who was himself

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Against Racial Slurs

Newtown, Australia
14 September 1998

Dear Comrades,

The article "'Workplace Violence' Witchhunt Targets Unions, Minorities" (Workers Vanguard No. 695, 28 August) contains a paragraph that illustrates a problem in eiting racial pejoratives in quotations.

On page 5 the following appears, "...One of the managers who has it in for Kim displays a bumper sticker on his truck, 'Friends don't let friends buy Jap trucks.'... The union has filed grievances against this same manager for calling black workers 'n-----s'."

In this country, "Jap" is a commonly used racial slur, reflecting deeply held Laborite anti-Asian phobias. Japanese-American internees in West Coast concentration camps and the victims of fire/nuclear terror bombing of Japanese cities are among the more horrific examples of the ultimate effect of the anti-Asian racism/racial oppression that is not unknown in the United States. Given the increasingly anti-Japanese atmosphere in the U.S., I would venture to say that this particular term is again commonplace.

That the struggle against black oppression is central to the American Revolution goes almost without saying, but your glaringly different treatment in the citations of anti-black and anti-Japanese pejoratives is, at best, inconsistent. In any case, I see the device of "lining out" as half-assed—you're not printing it, but you are. I think it would be better to have a policy of not printing this kind of thing at all.

The real point is that whatever literary device one employs, you do not print these things without pain. To treat them differently as in the example cited above implies that one is perhaps not as painful. I do not believe that to he the case.

Fraternally,
John S.

WV Replies

We agree with the objection John S. raises. We do not print racist epithets on principle, and that should and will in the future include the word "J--." As we wrote in "Huck Finn in Racist America" (*Young Spartacus* No. 101, Summer 1982, reprinted in our pamphlet "American Workers Revolution Needs Black Leadership"), use of "n----r" represents a *program*, one that "means not only racist terror and lynch mobs but that the victims 'deserve it'."

Likewise, use of "J--" represents a program of racist terror against Japanese. This emerged most clearly during World War II, when this epithet was a chauvinist battle cry not only for the indiscriminate slaughter perpetrated by U.S. imperialism against Japan, capped by the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, but for the brutalization and imprisonment in concentration camps of more than 110,000 Americans of Japanese descent. The genocidal intent behind such acts was explicitly voiced at a 1943 Congressional hearing, when Lieutenant General John L. De Witt, head of the Western Defense Command, opposed the release of imprisoned Japanese Americans with the argument that the entire Japanese people had to be "wiped off the face of the map" (see John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy* [1986]).

However, the necessary fight to mobilize labor to actively combat racial oppression and all forms of chauvinist bigotry would not he served, as John S. suggests, by "not printing this kind of thing at all," even "lined out." Pretending that such racist slurs don't exist will not eliminate the acts of violent higotry they serve to promote. Reporting the fact that Bay Area union militant Randy Kim was the target of such racist abuse by management illustrated the connection between anti-Asian and anti-black higotry and attacks on the unions.

FSP Sneers and Smears

12 October 1998

Dear Editor,

Reading your attack on Freedom Socialist Party founder Clara Fraser, "Sex Lies and Pre-videotape" [sic] (Aug. 28, 1998), gave me a creepy feeling. Misogyny seeped from every line and it was hard to tell whose lies were greater—yours or those of Frank Krasnowsky who wrote the accompanying diatribe against Fraser.

I have noticed over the years that the only people who call the Freedom Socialist Party a cult, and Fraser a ball cutting, brain frying guru, are sidelined male leftists who suffer from performance envy. While the Spartacists dwindle (woman-hating doesn't have a big draw these days except on the right) and Krasnowsky left the FSP in 1966 to found nothing, we "polyvanguardists" of socialist feminism keep on keeping on. This year we ran candidates for public office in four states. Last year our sister organization Radical Women led the International Feminist Brigade to Cuba.

We are happy to be known by these and other works. Call us cockeyed optimists but we think feminism, interracial solidarity and gay liberation are transforming the U.S. and world working class à la Permanent Revolution.

The last 30 years have given us no reason to change this assessment. Cult, shmult. Time will tell who is right; history judges us all.

In the meantime we will continue to work with the Spartacists and other left organizations to oppose the rise of fascism, promote civil liberties, and fight for a broad range of issues we already agree on. While we recognize that there are real differences between your organization and ours, we believe that sectarianism is a deadly left disease and that it is important to emphasize areas of agreement and to seek out united front work wherever possible.

Sincerely,
Guerry Hoddersen
Freedom Socialist Party
National Committee

WV Replies

An organization for whom the mere acknowledgment of veteran American Trotskyist Dick Fraser is considered a misogynist attack on their "founder" Clara Fraser has more than a whiff of cultism to it. As for the FSP's appeal to join forces in united-front actions, to paraphrase Trotsky, we will join with tbe devil and his grandmother as long as the cause is just. But don't blame us if we have a jaundiced view of the integrity of their call to "oppose the rise of fascism."

In 1993, when our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada joined 500 other anti-fascist protesters in sending a gang of neo-Nazi skinheads packing in Vancouver, British Columbia, the FSP denounced us as "machos" impelled by "testosterone politics." They didn't, however, apply the same hormonal yardstick to the white, male, riot-equipped cops *whose side the FSP stood on* in trying to stop the anti-fascist protesters (see "FSP Liberals: Still Liars," *Spartacist Canada* No. 95, January/February 1994). And here you have the measure of what the charge of "misogyny" means coming from the mouths of the FSP.

Lenin on Proletarian Class Independence

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Russian October Revolution of 1917 was prepared by the Bolsheviks' intransigent struggle for the class independence of the proletariat. In contrast, the Mensheviks called for a political alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie against the tsarist autocracy. This key difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism was evident early on, when the two tendencies were still formally part of a unitary party. In the 1907 elections, held in the wake of the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin insisted on the need for revolutionary socialists to run candidates in opposition to the party of the liberal bourgeoisie, the Cadets. This provoked furious denunciations from the Mensheviks and the bourgeois liberals.

If Bolshevism ever needed justification for its revolutionary and class tactics, it has now found it in the fury with which it is being attacked by the entire bourgeois press. If the petty-bourgeois revolutionary democrats, sincerely striving to carry out their slogans, needed an object lesson, they are getting it now in the contempt with which they have been treated by the big and middle bourgeoisie, in the policy of compromise (with the government) which the Cadets are pursuing behind the backs of the people.

The revolutionary Social-Democrats say to all democrats among the urban and rural poor, only in alliance with the proletariat, only by throwing off the tutelage of the Cadets, only in a determined and consistent struggle against the autocracy will you find salvation. If you are mature enough for this, you will follow the proletariat. If not, you will remain under the tutelage of the Cadets; and, whatever the upshot of the election campaign, whatever the result of your bargaining among yourselves for seats, the proletariat will continue to pursue its own class revolutionary road.

—V.I. Lenin, "The St. Petersburg Elections and the Crisis of Opportunism" (January 1907)

Why We Don't Raise the Slogan "No Platform for Fascists"

Chicago
10 November 1998

To the editor:

I am writing concerning the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club leaflet, reprinted in *WV* No. 699 (23 October) under the headline "Protest Nazi Holocaust Apologists at UCLA!" In the first sentence it is stated that "The Spartacus Youth Club...protests the *Daily Bruin* (31 August) giving a platform to the fascist 'Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust' (CODOH) to spew their genocidal filth." The leaflet then goes on to point out, correctly, that fascist mobilizations are not a question of "free speech" or "debate" but rather recruitment drives for racist murder and genocide.

Comrades will remember we had earlier corrected an episodic but, nevertheless, errant use of the slogan "no platform for fascists." As we pointed out in the June 1987 Spartacist League conference

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Len Meyers
EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Jacob Zorn
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jane Patterson
EDITORIAL BOARD: Ray Bishop (managing editor), Bruce André, Helene Brosius, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 E-mail address vanguard@tiac.net Domestic subscriptions $10.00/22 issues Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is December 15

No. 703 **25 December 1998**

Available in Russian

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program
International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)
Adopted in 1998 at the Third International Conference of the ICL.

$1 (16 pages)

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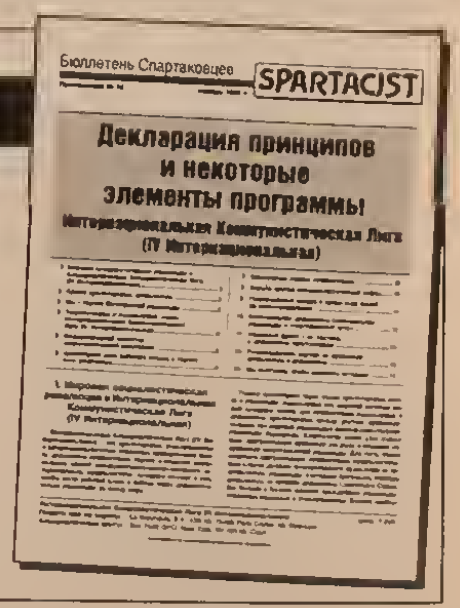

ABC "20/20" Hatchet Job on Jamal: Set-Up for Legal Lynching

The following statement was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on December 15.

ABC-TV

Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

20/20's Sam Donaldson with Joseph McGill, former Philadelphia prosecutor who sent Jamal to death row. Philly cops screaming for Mumia's execution besiege hospital workers union hall, 1995.

ABC-TV's *20/20* broadcast on Mumia Abu-Jamal on December 9 was an unvarnished statement of the intent of the rulers of this country to murder an innocent man, this time brought to you by the bought-and-paid-for capitalist media. In a December 12 message to his supporters from death row in Pennsylvania, Jamal captured the sinister objective of the program: "To make me 'killable'." Jamal was portrayed as a coldblooded, depraved killer by ABC's Sam Donaldson, who retailed "evidence" manufactured by the prosecution and secured through police intimidation and terror. Those who have raised their voices in defense of Jamal were portrayed as "duped" Hollywood celebrities and isolated bands of radical crazies.

There could hardly be a more blatant example of how the media serves as the propaganda machine for the purposes and interests of those who rule this society. *20/20* didn't even offer the pretense of "objective" journalism. The ABC broadcast was produced in ***direct collusion*** with the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.), which has long led the charge for Jamal's execution. The program was a follow-up to the scurrilous full-page "advertisements" screaming for Jamal's death which were sponsored by the F.O.P. and carried in major newspapers around the country last June. In a June 30 letter to the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections, ABC likened Jamal to Nazi war criminals (!) and other "convicted killers" and stressed: "We are currently working in conjunction with Maureen Faulkner [the widow of policeman Daniel Faulkner, whom Jamal was falsely convicted of killing] and the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of the Police."

The program was timed to air on the anniversary of the 1981 killing of Faulkner. It was broadcast as the threat of a new death warrant hangs over Jamal's head following the Pennsylvania Supreme Court's rejection of his appeal in late October. Its intent was to create a climate of opinion for the execution of Jamal and more broadly to sanctify the state's machinery of death. As the death chambers of Texas and South Carolina work overtime to slaughter as many people as possible before the year's end, Donaldson inveighed against the "larger purpose" of Jamal's supporters in opposing the racist death penalty.

Before the show aired, Donaldson told the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (9 December) that "everything that we looked at compellingly points to the fact that Mumia shot Faulkner in cold blood." He argued, "As long as it's on the books, the death sentence has to be carried out." While *20/20* purported to have carried out a "four-month investigation," every shred of the brief for the prosecution presented by Donaldson has repeatedly been demolished—including at Jamal's 1995-96 Post-Conviction Relief court hearings—as documented in the 1995 PDC pamphlet, "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (reprinted and updated in the Spartacist League's *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15).

• Donaldson cited the "three eyewitnesses" who supposedly saw Jamal shoot Faulkner, covering up the fact that the only one who claimed to see Mumia with a gun in his hand was a prostitute and police informant who repeatedly changed her story in response to cop coercion, blackmail and bribes. The truth is that *at least five eyewitnesses from five different vantage points* told police that they saw a black man flee the scene, including one who identified him as the shooter. This could not have been Mumia, who was found at the scene bleeding profusely after being shot in the chest by Faulkner.

• Donaldson trumpeted as "a nail in Jamal's coffin" the hospital "confession" he supposedly uttered as he lay near death. *There was no confession! 20/20* presented as good coin the prosecutors' tale that this "confession" surfaced *more than two months after the event* only because the cop they say had heard it supposedly "forgot."

• Donaldson dismissed out of hand the medical examiner's report that Faulkner was "shot with .44 cal[ibre]," while Jamal's legally registered gun was a .38 calibre. In fact, there is no evidence that Jamal's gun was even fired that night!

The star attractions of the *20/20* program were Faulkner's widow and Joseph McGill, the Philly District Attorney who sent Jamal to death row in 1982 for a murder the cops and prosecutors knew he did not commit. That McGill was the centerpiece of *20/20*'s presentation is enough to discredit this "investigative report." McGill once secured a murder conviction by waving a shotgun in the courtroom that he claimed was the murder weapon. The man McGill put away was freed 12 years later when it came out that the coroner's report showed the murder victim had been stabbed, not shot!

McGill is entirely representative of a frame-up system in which planting of evidence, coercion of witnesses and racist jury-rigging are routine—a frame-up system so blatant that hundreds of convictions have been thrown out in the city in recent years, and even the Justice Department felt compelled to file suit against Philadelphia police and city officials three years before Mumia's trial. In Jamal's case, McGill secured a death sentence by arguing that Mumia's membership in the Black Panther Party made him a committed "cop killer." ABC retailed the same deadly amalgam.

About the only truthful statement made by Donaldson was his closing remark that Mumia refused to be interviewed by the network as long as it continued its union-busting lockout of NABET workers. But the trade unions representing *millions of workers internationally* who have spoken out or mobilized on Mumia's behalf were disappeared by Donaldson, whose intent was to demean Jamal's supporters as mindless disciples of a new "prophet." A shot of Jamal from death row, his voice distorted through a sinister echo chamber as he says "Revolution is my religion," was aimed at portraying him as some new cult leader. Look no further than the bodies of eleven black men, women and children burned alive in the 1985 bombing of the MOVE commune by the Philly cops to see the deadly purpose of this message.

In his message to supporters, Jamal spoke to the objective of the *20/20* program "to divide and dilute and destroy

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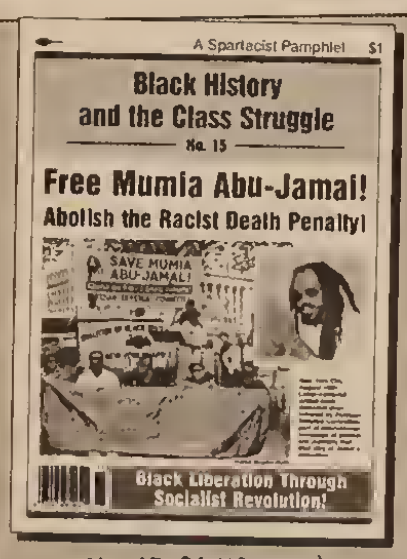

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From Death Row

Statement by Mumia Abu-Jamal About "20/20" Program

I watched with growing, mounting outrage as the ABC News program, 20/20 performed a carefully edited piece of deadly propaganda designed to secure my murder at the hands of the state. The name 20/20 presumably comes from the measurement for perfect vision; but, if the 20/20 program on my case is any indication, perhaps it should be called 20/200, for surely, they are virtually blind in one eye.

Using police, FOP and prosecution sources, they were able to paint a picture that screamed for death, while screaming so-called "facts" that were unbelievable! Consider, for instance, that claimed "confession"—Did anyone notice that *two* cops, officers Bell and Wakshul, *both* claimed to have conveniently forgotten it—for months? Isn't *thot* unbelievable?

They, 20/20, never truly wanted my interview, for it would have spoiled their carefully crafted package; they went through the motions, wrote a few letters, and hemmed and hawed about getting a camera in. Does that sound like one of the most powerful networks in America? Instead, *our* lawyers—with extremely limited resources, fought in court for the opening of these hellholes to cameras—they *still* are fighting. 20/20 criticized a coroner's report where the .44 caliber is written, by saying the medical examiner wasn't an expert—ignoring the fact that the very same court *did* qualify him as an expert!

20/20, (or better 20/200) had two basic objectives—to present the state's brief, and by so doing, to damp down popular support for a new trial; time will tell if they were successful—but let me say this loud and clear—I am *innocent* of the crime of murder; yesterday, today, and still tomorrow.

WV Photo

ABC has proven itself a worthy subsidiary of the Disney chain—with their Mickey Mouse presentation they have transformed truth into cartoonish fiction;

The NABET strikers, battling for simple, humane health coverage have quite a battle ahead of them against the bosses; but, I'd rather be on their side, than the side of the millionaires, any day of the week—I urge you *all* to support them;

Finally, any suggestion that any of our people have threatened people is a damnable and dangerous lie; *Our* people have been beaten from San Francisco to Minneapolis, from Philadelphia to Chicago—not "threatened"—beaten, locked up, and hurled into jail, for daring to demonstrate, for wearing a T-shirt, for singing a slogan for freedom—but, conveniently, 20/200 didn't see that; obeying the whims of their corporate masters, they are bent on destroying a popular movement for life, for freedom, for justice! Will you let them?

I'll continue to do my part—I hope you'll do yours—Ona Move! LLJA! [Long Live John Africa!]

9 December 1998

Report from Russia

The destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 and the restoration of capitalism there have led to grinding poverty for the mass of the population. The ravages of capitalist counterrevolution are generating widespread desperation and discontent, including recently some strikes, occupations and other labor protests. What is sorely lacking is a proletarian revolutionary leadership committed to the internationalist aims of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. The so-called Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF) of Gennady Zyuganov is a thoroughly bourgeois-nationalist formation which spews Great Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism in league with outright monarchists and fascists and has no organic links to the proletariat. For its part, the corporatist Federation of Independent Unions (FNPR) completely accepts the framework of capitalist rule. We publish below edited extracts from a report by a sympathizer of the International Communist League in St. Petersburg on the October 7 national day of labor protest organized by the FNPR and the November 7 "Revolution Day" events dominated by the KPRF and its "red-brown" coalition.

* * *

A few words on the October 7 "All-Russian Protest Action" organized by the FNPR. Rallies, demonstrations and marches involved millions, even those who rarely take part in such events, including very many students, teachers, medical workers and those who had lost their jobs after the August economic crisis. In many regions, contingents were headed by local government administrators. While there was a sharp line between the unions and "Communists," the most common slogan was "Yeltsin Out."

In these actions, the KPRF took second place, since in the main the masses marched under the blue banners of the unions who had originated the idea of an autumn action. The KPRF took a long time to decide whether to join in with the unions or to organize their own event. Unable to agree on common slogans, there were attempts to hold separate actions. In Moscow, the result was that thousands of people who came out turned around and went home when they were unable to find "their own" at the various gathering points. The desire of the unions to fully separate themselves from the "Communists" found its expression even in that not one KPRF leader spoke from the podium of the demonstration. KPRF head Gennady Zyuganov, aware of this, spent no more than 15 minutes at the demo and left.

Driven to desperation, the working people are ready to march under any banner in order to get their back pay and receive their salaries on time. At the current stage, people would be happy to lead a normal life without crises and convulsions, subsisting on their miserably low wages and pensions, even though after the August events, living standards have dropped no less than two and a half times.

Many people were driven into a state of shock this November when the Duma [parliament] refused to condemn—and many supported—vile anti-Semitic outbursts by KPRF Duma deputy Albert Makashov. People in major cities of European Russia have become accustomed to stridently racist statements and are not bothered by racist actions against "Caucasians." But Makashov's anti-Semitic statements have provoked a wide response—"for" and "against." In the entire KPRF Duma fraction, only one person voted to denounce Makashov.

The final dot was put on the "i" at the November 7 demonstration in St. Petersburg's Winter Palace Square, where all the speakers supported or defended Makashov's speeches in one way or another. The KPRF marshals of the demonstration were joined by youth of Russian National Unity—outright, 100 percent fascist anti-Semites.

There were fewer people at the demonstration than ever: about 5-7,000. The "red-brown" coloration was also more distinct than usual. That the KPRF and other "Communist" organizations have even further degraded over the past period is obvious to all, which is precisely why so few toilers rallied under their banner. And those who did were fanatic, orthodox Stalinist types. After the appearance of books by L.D. Trotsky, of which there weren't any before 1991, there has arisen an interest in Trotsky and his ideas. The main task of the ICL today remains that of active propagandists—teaching cadres and attracting advanced workers and youth through an explanation of our views while counterposing them to the views of our enemies and opponents.

Letters...

(continued from page 2)

document, "Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture," this slogan "does not suggest the necessary mechanism of labor/black action but in fact implicitly dovetails with the standard liberal-reformist call upon the capitalist state to 'ban the Klan' by such means as pressuring city councils to deny them parade permits.... [It] is at best abstract and moralistic and cuts against our strategy for militant action of labor and the black masses to defeat the race-terrorists and drive them back into their holes."

The universities and those student papers bound to the administrations, as the think tanks of bourgeois class rule, are no less required than is the capitalist state to retain "space" for the fascists as counterrevolutionary shock troops should bourgeois "democracy" prove itself insufficient to perpetuate capitalist class rule in the face of significant working-class insurgency. Indeed, in Germany prior to Hitler's rise to power, the universities were hotbeds of National Socialism (Nazism).

We should of course continue to denounce as outrages the publicizing of the fascists' genocidal filth by newspapers, TV stations, university panels, etc., as long as we make it clear that such "outrages" are a necessary feature of rapacious capitalist rule, requiring redress by the mobilization of the working class, with the ultimate destruction of fascism being dependent on triumphant proletarian revolution.

Comradely,
Ed Clarkson

How Philippine Fake Leftists Falsify Lenin

8 December 1998

To the editor:

Your article "Philippines: Estrada Regime Turns Screws on Workers, Poor" (*WV* No. 701, 20 November) correctly noted how Liga Sosyalista (LS) leader Sonny Melencio misuses Lenin's *"Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder* to justify political alliances with "democratic" bourgeois forces. In the speech cited in the article, which Melencio gave to the Democratic Socialist Party of Australia in 1997 (reprinted in *Links*, July-October 1997), he defended the line that revolutionaries during the dying days of the Marcos dictatorship should have "tactically" formed "a coalition encompassing a range of classes and political blocs united by the single objective of dismantling the dictatorship and using all available means of struggle." However, the *WV* article missed a point in not addressing the specific citation from Lenin which revisionists like Melencio falsely use to defend their class-collaborationist politics.

In polemicizing against ultraleftists who rejected temporary tactical alliances with reformists or bourgeois liberals on principle, Lenin noted, "Prior to the downfall of tsarism, the Russian revolutionary Social-Democrats made repeated use of the services of the bourgeois liberals." He referred parenthetically to the fact that around 1907, in areas where the Bolsheviks were a minority to the Mensheviks in the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, they had agreed to the Menshevik policy of according votes to the Cadets (bourgeois liberals) "during second rounds of elections." Where the Bolsheviks had a majority, Lenin held that they should either vote for socialist candidates or, if given no other choice, abstain. Lenin spoke at the time of "two definite trends: the Mensheviks and the Bundists are in favour of blocs with the Cadets; the Bolsheviks, Poles and Letts are unreservedly against such blocs, but admit the possibility of agreements with the revolutionary democrats [e.g., the Socialist-Revolutionaries]" ("The Social-Democratic Election Campaign in St. Petersburg," January 1907).

Lenin fought for the ***political independence of the proletariat***. At the time, however, Lenin considered the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks to be two factions within a common party. Lenin's view on the party question evolved over time. After the Bolsheviks formed a distinct party in 1912, they never supported bourgeois formations politically. A compelling example is the period from February to October 1917, when the Bolsheviks steadfastly refused to give any support to the popular-front Kerensky government. As Lenin wrote in *"Left-Wing" Communism*:

> "The parliamentary representatives of this [Bolshevik] party preferred exile in Siberia to taking a road leading to ministerial portfolios in a bourgeois government. The revolution that overthrew Tsardom and established a democratic republic put this party to a new and tremendous test—it did not enter into any agreements with its 'own' imperialists, but prepared and brought about their overthrow."

Electoral blocs with bourgeois candidates are unprincipled and in reality mean an "alliance" where the bourgeoisie is the rider and the proletariat is the horse. In some instances, it is appropriate to give critical electoral support to reformist workers parties. The purpose of such tactics is to advance the proletariat's consciousness on the need for an authentic communist party and to expose the reformists—whom Lenin called "agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement"—as an ***obstacle***. Lenin's famously scathing application of the tactic of critical support to the British Labour Party is enunciated thus in *"Left-Wing" Communism*: "I want to support Henderson in the same way as the rope supports a hanged man."

When the Russian Menshevik Plekhanov argued, "We must prize the support of the non-proletarian parties and not drive them away from us by tactless behavior," Lenin countered: "The liberals among the landed gentry will forgive you millions of 'tactless' acts, but they will never forgive incitements to take away their land." Genuine Leninists believe it is possible to engage in common ***actions*** with non-proletarian forces; however, the proletarian party must march under its own banner and continue to champion its distinct class interests ***against*** the bourgeoisie during such temporary tactical alliances.

In the Philippines, most of the left supported Cory Aquino and the myth of "people power" in the mid-1980s, liquidating into a ***bourgeois*** movement against the Marcos dictatorship. Instead of struggling with a program to bring the working class to power, such "leftists" foisted on workers and peasants dangerous illusions that bourgeois liberals were their friends and that capitalism could be reformed.

Bolshevik greetings,
George R.

Mumia...

(continued from page 3)

popular support for our cause and within our movement; because our strength and breadth has frightened them." The American rulers want to kill Jamal because in their eyes he represents what they hate and fear—a black revolutionary. They want to vilify those who would support him because the cause of his freedom has the potential to ignite the social power of the multiracial working class against racist capitalist rule. As we wrote in our 30 October statement following the Pennsylvania Supreme Court's unanimous rejection of Jamal's appeal:

> "After decades of defeat, the labor movement has demonstrated renewed combativity, from last year's UPS strike to the walkout which shut down the GM empire this summer. In taking up the fight for Jamal's freedom, the working class will be striking a blow against an entire system predicated on the brutal exploitation of labor and rooted in the racist repression of the black population. The fight for black freedom is central to the emancipation of labor itself."

The entire history of the vendetta against Jamal by the cops, courts and media gives the lie to the liberal illusion that the agencies of the capitalist rulers, their state and their Democratic and Republican politicians can somehow be pressured to provide justice for Mumia. All who are committed to the fight for Mumia's freedom must mobilize in the unions, on the campuses, in communities across the country and around the world. Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Contact the PDC. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201 @compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

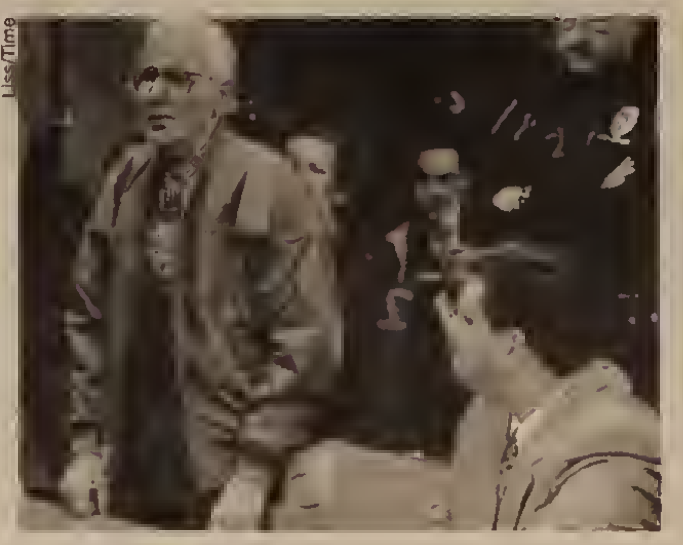
Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370. ■

In Defense of the Right to Privacy

What is at issue in the murder charges brought against Dr. Jack Kevorkian on December 9 is the most fundamental right to privacy, the right to he left alone in intimate, personal matters like death and sex. Anyone who has suffered through the slow, painful last months of a relative or companion dying in a noisy hospital ward or in a nursing home surrounded hy strangers is intensely aware of what the right to choose the time and manner of one's death would mean. And all too often this option is most needed when the dying person is least able to act alone in the face of a wall of bureaucratic obstacles.

After repeated, unsuccessful attempts to get a jury to convict Kevorkian for assisting the suicide of terminally ill patients, the state has now vindictively charged Kevorkian with first-degree murder because he himself administered the lethal injection which Thomas Youk had requested. Youk was suffering from advanced-stage Lou Gehrig's disease. Kevorkian gave the videotape of the suicide to CBS, which aired it on *60 Minutes*.

The hypocrisy surrounding the issue of assisted suicide is astounding. In a survey of 2,000 doctors for AIDS patients in the San Francisco area, over half said they had at least once agreed to a patient's request to help him die. Yet even though polls show that most of the population —up to 75 percent, according to *Time* magazine (December 7)—supports some form of the "right to die," politicians continue to enact laws against it. Kevorkian's only "crime" is to openly challenge intrusive government hans and the hypocrisy of the medical establishment.



Liss/Time

Dr. Jack Kevorkian arraigned on murder charge in Michigan court for assisting suicide of terminally ill patient.

As we wrote in an earlier article, "In Defense of Dr. Kevorkian" (*WV* No. 593, 4 February 1994):

> "The big problem is the state, priests and preachers, and the upper echelons of the medical establishment who ordain that they, and only they, have the 'god-given right' to determine how you live and how you die....
>
> "Any veterinarian will put a fatally sick dog or cat out of its misery. The opposition to applying the same elementary humanitarianism to human beings is derived from the Christian concept of the human 'soul,' which only god can take. Unless, of course, the 'soul' is one of a 'criminal'—in which case often the same bible-thumping 'pro-lifers' will campaign for your death."

In Texas, the "Right to Life Committee" got Republican governor George Bush to veto a statute last year allowing for "living wills," which instruct doctors that you do not want to be artificially maintained if you become hopelessly incapacitated. Texas also happens to have the highest rate of execution—i.e., state-sanctioned murder—in the country. And Democrat Clinton, who opposes assisted suicide on "moral" grounds, has overseen a vast expansion in the racist, barbaric death penalty.

In this society, it seems that everything that ought to be purely private and consensual is either proscribed or prescribed: you are either forbidden to do it or you must. Every aspect of human sexuality—from teen or gay sex to childbearing and abortion—is hedged with a thicket of intimidating legislation or outright bans like "age of consent" and anti-sodomy laws propped up by religious taboos and superstitions. And the same religious fanatics who terrorize abortion clinics in the name of "life" are a moving force to ensure that you die in agony in the name of "god."

Last year, the Supreme Court ruled that individual states were free to permit or ban physician-assisted suicide. In a brief to the Court railing against the supposedly dangerous precedent that would be set by endorsing the right to assisted suicide, the Catholic Conference wrote: "A decision to use hallucinogenic drugs for recreation, engage in a consensual duel, sell one's body into prostitution, or any number of other equally personal and intimate activities currently subject to state prohibition would he constitutionally protected." In fact, we oppose all laws against so-called "crimes without victims," such as gambling, drug use and prostitution. In "Impeachment Drive Threatens Right to Privacy for All" (*WV* No. 697, 25 September), we declared: "For Marxists, opposition to government interference in people's personal lives is a matter of principle, regardless of who is on the receiving end."

More liberal opponents of assisted suicide argue that it will encourage uncaring bureaucracies to kill off the "unwanted." The racist rulers of American capitalism are *already* killing off those they deem unwanted—particularly wide swaths of the ghetto masses—through the axing of welfare and other vital social benefits, hunger and homelessness and all-round vicious neglect. As we concluded in our previous article on Kevorkian:

> "When the wealth, tremendous resources and medical technology of this society are put to the service of the many, not the profits of the few, we will be able to build a society where human life, human worth and human dignity count. But that will take a socialist revolution to bring down the decaying system of capitalism which sells human life for dollars. In the here and now, we defend Dr. Kevorkian's fight for human beings to die with dignity."■

New York City Transit

Foremen Out of TWU!

An accident on the New York City subways earlier this month when a train ran into a cluster of electrical cables which had fallen onto the track is the latest example of how massive speedup has resulted in a dangerous deterioration of maintenance and safety conditions. While subway and bus ridership has surged in the last couple of years, giving the NYC Transit Authority (TA) a hefty surplus of nearly $400 million, the TA workforce has been slashed by 10 percent since 1995. Meanwhile, the TA has targeted Transport Workers Union (TWU) safety officers for victimization.

Instead of organizing the class-struggle fight needed to defend jobs and safety conditions and reverse speedup, the TWU leadership under Local 100 president Willie James has colluded with TA management, even dismissing Earl Kelly as a safety officer in September after a transit supervisor had the cops arrest him for protesting safety violations. And earlier this summer, the TWU leadership invited the foremen into the union itself.

This is a betrayal of the most elementary principles of working-class struggle. Transit supervisors and foremen are part of management. Their joh is to drive workers to meet the demands of the money-hungry Transit Authority by enforcing speedup, flaunting safety regulations and gutting the power of the union. Foremen are the ones who initiate disciplinary proceedings, drag workers in for drug tests and serve as a reserve army of strikebreakers. By signing up these agents of the class enemy, the TWU bureaucracy undercuts the very purpose of the union, which was forged in struggle *against* the bosses' attacks. ***Foremen out of the union!***

New York transit workers should be outraged that the TWU leadership has brought foremen into the union. In announcing that the Transit Supervisors Organization had been granted a charter as TWU Local 106, the TWU tops even bragged about their "unique understanding of line supervisors needs and concerns" as a result of having brought transit supervisors in Philadelphia and San Francisco into the union (*TWU Express*, 30 June). The supervisors' "concerns" are those of the bosses! Last August, as the *Chief* (21 August) reported, a TA supervisor in New York even smashed a union safety officer over the head as he attempted to document track violations. And when Philly transit workers shut down public transport last summer, the TWU-organized foremen acted as scabs, doing their best to smash the strike.

The recruitment of foremen into the TWU is part of a whole class-collaborationist perspective through which the pro-capitalist union misleaders undermine workers' class consciousness and tie them to the class enemy, its state and political parties. And this is hardly limited to the TWU. In the construction trades, not only are foremen generally members of the union but a number of them actually hold leadership positions. In New York City, the Communications Workers of America (CWA) "organizes" supervisors of city workers.

Following the same treacherous logic, the AFSCME public employees union, Teamsters and CWA include cops and prison guards—the armed enforcers of capitalist rule. Across the board, the unon misleaders act to bind workers to the bourgeois state. Thus, the TWU tops bow down before the anti-strike Taylor Law, as they did in strangling the 1980 transit strike. The TWU already includes in its ranks TA security guards. Police and company cops have no place in the labor movement. ***Security guards out of the TWU!***

Two years ago, the Willie James bureaucracy shoved through a contract mandating the replacement of hundreds of unionized cleaners by desperately poor welfare recipients forced into slave-labor "workfare" (see "NYC Transit 'Workfare' Deal: Enslaving the Poor, Busting the Unions," *WV* No. 652, 27 September 1996). Last year, they endorsed racist Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani for re-election. Now Giuliani is about to implement the use of a thousand "workfare" recipients in the subways. The TWU should organize those used by the city to clean the subways as full union members getting equal pay for equal work. But the TWU leadership is dead set against any such perspective. The union hureaucrats' support to the partner parties of capitalism—especially the Democrats, whom they treacherously present as "friends of labor"—is the chief vehicle through which they tie labor politically to the bourgeoisie. It is necessary to oust the hetrayers at the head of the TWU and other unions and to replace them with a class-struggle leadership that fights

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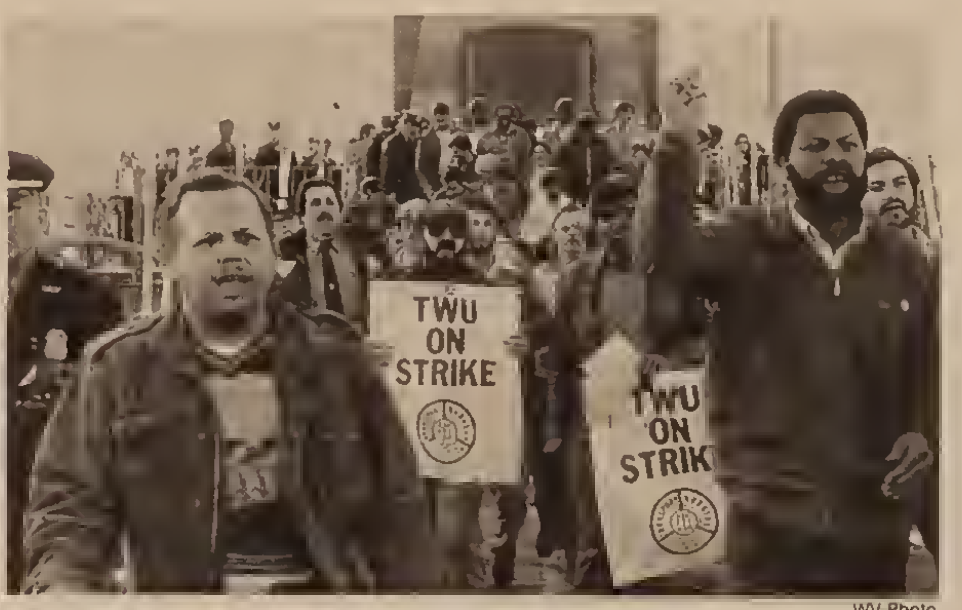

WV Photo

1980 New York City transit strike. Unleashing power of integrated working class requires political struggle against pro-capitalist union bureaucracy.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

In a move undertaken to consolidate the party's political resources, the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee voted last year to suspend publication of *Women and Revolution*, the journal of its Commission for Work Among Women, for the immediate future. As mandated by the delegates at last winter's Third International Conference of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), *Spartacist*, the theoretical journal of the ICL's International Executive Committee, will now regularly publish articles under the *Women and Revolution* masthead on the woman question and related issues of special oppression. The first such article, "Women and Permanent Revolution in South Africa," appeared in *Spartacist* No. 54 (Spring 1998).

Women and Revolution was established in 1971 as a special journal seeking to intervene with a communist program into the women's movement developing out of the breakup of the New Left in the United States. While that movement dissipated years ago, the SL maintained *W&R* as the only Marxist journal in the United States dedicated to the question of the liberation of women, a question which intersects social struggle in every country. Because the woman question is so deeply rooted in culture and society, *W&R* became a natural vehicle for our Marxist party to treat a wide range of subjects such as art, religion and anthropology.

We are proud to offer the first bound volume of this unique journal, containing *W&R* Nos. 1 through 20 (May/June 1971 to Spring 1980), with an index of the articles. Most notably, this volume includes our articles on the history of early communist work among women. We look to the tradition of the Russian Bolsheviks, to the authority of their paper *Rabotnitsa* (*The Woman Worker*) and to the Leninist principles of the early Communist International (CI), which established a women's section and an international women's journal. The Bolsheviks rejected the demeaning notion that the liberation of women was "women's work" and saw it as a task of the party as a whole. Early issues of *Women and Revolution* printed "Methods of Work Among the Women of the Communist Party" from the CI's Third Congress in 1921, which advocated national and international women's sections of the party aimed at extending the influence of the party to layers of working-class and peasant women whose participation in the revolutionary movement was vital.

WV Photo

Spartacist/PDC contingent at 1989 Washington, D.C. abortion rights rally. ICL campaigned for aid to embattled city of Jalalabad following Soviet leader Gorbachev's treacherous withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan.

The active championing of the emancipation of women is crucial to the struggle to forge a vanguard party capable of overthrowing the capitalist order, the source of oppression and exploitation today. The oldest social division of labor was along sex lines. Later, when leaps in productivity generated social surplus, society became divided into classes, bringing with it the institution of the state as the executive committee of the ruling class. In *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, Friedrich Engels explained that the monogamous patrilineal family arose "to make the man supreme in the family, and to propagate, as the future heirs to his wealth, children indisputably his own." Under capitalism, the institution of the family remains the central source of the oppression of women and is crucial in ensuring that the bourgeoisie's property is transmitted from one generation to the next through "legitimate" heirs. For the proletariat, the institutionalized family means the burden of raising the next generation of workers, caring for the sick and aged, and instilling bourgeois codes of "morality" and obedience to authority.

While each country has its own particular social reality, the family and the oppression of women are central to class society everywhere. Proletarian women, subjected to double oppression, play a key economic role as part of the reserve army of the unemployed, drawn into wage labor at boom time and fired at the next downturn. Today in imperialist-dominated countries such as Indonesia and Mexico, women workers are a vital component of a young, vibrant proletariat. As we emphasized in the ICL "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" adopted at the Third International Conference (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

> "In countries of belated capitalist development, the acute oppression and degradation of women is deeply rooted in pre-capitalist 'tradition' and religious obscurantism. In these countries the fight against women's oppression is therefore a motor force of revolutionary struggle. The condition of women in the most advanced capitalist countries, while far different, shows the limits of freedom and social progress under capitalism; revolutionists are the most consistent champions of women's elementary democratic rights such as free legal abortion and 'equal pay for equal work'."

In seeking to forge a Leninist party as a tribune of the people, championing the rights of all the oppressed, we fight for the workers movement to take up the struggle for women's rights as an integral part of its battle against the capitalist system. At the same time, we expose bourgeois feminism, whose aim is the promotion of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois women into the old boys' club of power and privilege, as an enemy of proletarian women. In this we stand in the tradition of Clara Zetkin and the revolutionary wing of the German Social Democracy before World War I, whose struggle for women's emancipation and against bourgeois feminism so effectively polarized the women's movement along class lines that with the ascension of the Third Reich the bourgeois feminists flocked to support the Nazis.

Partly as a result of our intervention for a revolutionary program linking the struggle against special oppression to the fight against the entire capitalist order, in 1977 the Spartacist League won over and fused with the Red Flag Union (RFU), a collective which developed out of the gay liberation/Maoist/New Left milieu. The last issue of *Red Flag* appeared as a special fusion supplement to *Workers Vanguard*; *W&R* (No. 16, Winter 1977-78) reprinted the RFU document "Homosexual Oppression and the Communist Program."

As our organization extended its inter-

In the tradition of the women's section of the early Communist International, *Women and Revolution* applied Marxist worldview to a range of issues, from sex and culture to class battles internationally.

Women and Revolution

Bound Volume

We are proud to make available the first bound volume of *Women and Revolution*, journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League/U.S. Now incorporated into *Spartacist*, the theoretical and documentary repository of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), *Women and Revolution* reflects our commitment to the fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution.

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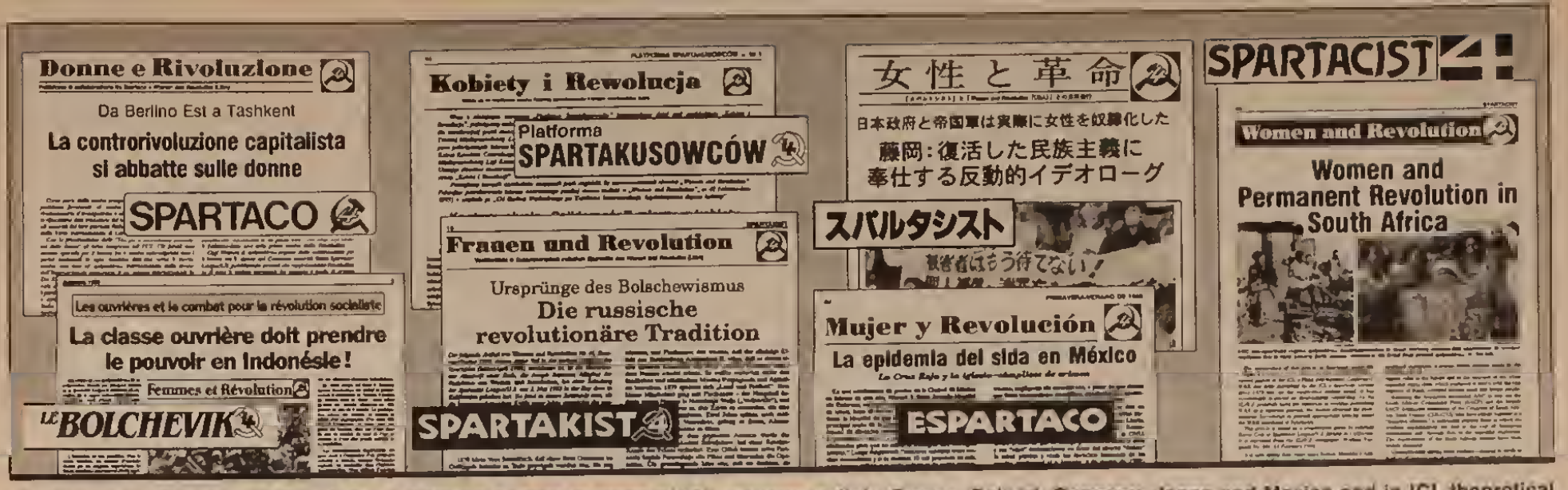

Articles under *Women and Revolution* masthead appear in press of ICL sections in Italy, France, Poland, Germany, Japan and Mexico and in ICL theoretical journal, *Spartacist*.

national roots, *Women and Revolution* increasingly reflected this change. While it formally remained the journal of the SL/U.S., *W&R* came to serve as a journal of the ICL as a whole, soliciting contributions from all ICL sections. We expanded *W&R*'s editorial board and initiated the regular publication of *Women and Revolution* pages in the presses of our non-English-language sections. *W&R* earned a modest but enthusiastic readership, particularly among immigrant and minority women, from London to Toronto to Sydney, Australia. Our article "80 Million Women Maimed: The Crime of Female Genital Mutilation" (*W&R* No. 41, Summer/Autumn 1992) was sold to many African women in Europe and was translated in the press of the ICL's French section. The same issue of *W&R* featured "Korean Women Expose 'Comfort Girl' Atrocities: Japanese Imperial Army Enslaved Women," which also appeared in *Spartacist Japan* No. 13 (September 1992) and intersected events in Japan organized by Japanese ol' Korean descent.

Meanwhile, in the United States the tumultuous social struggles of the civil rights and Vietnam antiwar movements in the 1960s and early '70s had ebbed. Concessions wrung from the capitalist rulers when they feared social unrest came under new attack. A vicious anti-sex witchhunt was part of the attempt to regiment the American population behind the global anti-Soviet war drive. As women's right to abortion came under increasing attack by the capitalist state and organized religion, bourgeois feminist groups like NOW attempted to channel protests into electoral support for the capitalist Democratic Party and appeals to the state to "protect" abortion clinics.

As our comrades joined in defense of the abortion clinics, *Women and Revolution* fought against feminist ideology and stressed that the struggle to defend and extend abortion rights necessarily meant a fight against state intervention in all areas of private life. Meanwhile, the feminists and their fake-left supporters entirely bought into the right-wing crusade to stamp out "deviant" sex. This has included hysteria over pornography, deranged fantasies of day-care "sexual abuse" leading to the victimization or imprisonment of hundreds, the "date rape" frenzy (which conflated the real crime of rape with unpleasant sexual experiences) and, most recently, the "sex predator" witchhunt. The "date rape" and anti-pornography furor is a reversion to the old double standard in which women are stereotyped as passive victims. Most ominously, the anti-sex witchhunt has led to an enormous strengthening of the forces of bourgeois repression.

The relative lack of social struggle in the United States and the growing opportunities for our party around the world motivated the ICL's decision to put more of our too-scarce resources into international extension. As a result, the SL/U.S. now finds itself, for the time being, without sufficient resources to continue the regular publication of *Women and Revolution* as a separate journal. This decision was taken reluctantly, especially as the struggle for women's rights has continued to be a major political issue worldwide, particularly with the rise of Khomeini's Islamic dictatorship in Iran in 1979.

The status of women emerged as a vital issue in the renewed Cold War drive to destroy the Soviet Union launched by the imperialists when Soviet troops intervened in Afghanistan in late 1979. This was particularly clear in the case of the

***Rabotnitsa* (*The Working Woman*), Bolshevik women's journal. Communist cadres of Zhenotdel, Soviet commission for work among women, teach literacy in Soviet Central Asia, 1924.**

Central Museum of the Revolution, Moscow

Afghan civil war, which pitted a Soviet-backed left-nationalist regime against CIA-armed, tribalist *mujahedin* cutthroats. We raised the call: "Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" However degenerated by Stalinist bureaucratic misrule, the USSR remained a workers state. The fight to defend women's rights was integrally linked to the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution and of proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Kremlin's withdrawal of Soviet forces in 1989, foreshadowing capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR itself, led ultimately to the victory of the Taliban Islamic reactionaries who have driven women back to social seclusion and murderous subjugation. And in Poland, the rise of imperialist-sponsored Solidarność in 1980 marked the beginning of an ultimately successful crusade—using Pope Wojtyla's Catholic church as a battering ram—for capitalist restoration, which has driven women out of the workplace and eliminated the right to abortion.

Women have been among the biggest losers in the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states, as the profit system of capitalist "democracy" dismantled social gains like abortion rights, free education and plentiful day-care centers. While every other left tendency on the planet capitulated to the ideological pressure of imperialist anti-Communism, the ICL mobilized our entire international to intervene in the incipient proletarian political revolution in East Germany in 1989-90 as part of our fight to preserve and extend the revolutionary gains of the working class.

In China today, where the very existence of the remaining gains of the 1949 Revolution hang in the balance, the Beijing regime's introduction of capitalist market "reforms" has already brought back not only massive unemployment throughout the country and untrammeled exploitation in the so-called "special economic zones" but rampant prostitution and the buying and selling of women as "brides" (see "China: 'Free Market' Misery Targets Women," *W&R* No. 45, Winter/Spring 1996). As the only road foward, the ICL calls for proletarian political revolution in China and the other remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam—to oust the bureaucracy and establish workers democracy as part of the global struggle for socialist revolution.

The downfall of the Soviet degenerated workers state was a world-historic defeat. As we wrote in our "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program":

> "History speaks its verdicts loudly. The ascendancy of counterrevolution in the former USSR is an unparalleled defeat for working people all over the world, decisively altering the political landscape on this planet....
>
> "Trotsky's assertion in the 1938 Transitional Program that 'The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat' predates the present deep regression of proletarian consciousness. The reality of this post-Soviet period adds a new dimension to Trotsky's observation. The only way in which this regression can be overcome and the working class can become a class *for* itself, i.e., fighting for socialist revolution, is to reforge an international Leninist-Trotskyist party as the leadership of the working class. Marxism must once again win the allegiance of the proletarial."

The fight for the emancipation of women is a powerful lever in the struggle for proletarian revolution worldwide. Thus it is particularly appropriate for *Women and Revolution* pages to be incorporated into *Spartacist*. Articles on the woman question will still be published under the *W&R* masthead in sectional presses of the ICL, and *Workers Vanguard* will continue to expose every manifestation of the oppression and inequality of women which the entrenched power of organized religion and the whole system of capitalist rule engender in the U.S. and abroad.

Only the overthrow of the capitalist system once and for all will secure our rights and lay the foundations for a new world in which the institution of the family will be replaced with collective childcare and housework. *Women and Revolution*, as part of *Spartacist*, is a valuable tool in the rebirth of an authentically communist Fourth International in the wake of the collapse of Stalinism. It remains one of the most effective vehicles for the International Communist League to champion the liberating goals of communism and the necessarily global struggle for a classless society. ■

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Racist Death Penalty...

(continued from page 1)

The speedup on death row is part of a broad assault on civil liberties, particularly by the Clinton White House. This is embodied in the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, signed by Clinton in 1996, which not only vastly expands the use of the federal death penalty but mandates the jailing and deportation of permanent residents, no matter how long these immigrants have been residents of the U.S., on the basis of the most minor prior convictions. This law also guts the fundamental right of federal *habeas corpus*, a means for prisoners to seek redress in the federal courts against unconstitutional state court proceedings. With some 40 percent of *habeas corpus* appeals resulting in reversal of death sentences in the federal courts, the right of *habeas corpus* has been a principal target of the forces of repression for decades. And a December 14 U.S. Supreme Court decision sharply curtailed the ability of federal courts to reverse state death sentences even in cases where a constitutional violation is found.

WV Photo

PDC-initiated labor-centered protest for Jamal, Chicago, November 21. Multiracial proletariat must be mobilized in struggle for black rights.

Habeas Corpus and Radical Reconstruction

Just as the death penalty is rooted in slavery, federal *habeas corpus* has its roots in the abolition of slavery. It is one of the gains of the Reconstruction era after the Civil War, the most democratic period in American history. The Habeas Corpus Act of 1867 extended to state prisoners a right previously accorded only to federal prisoners, to sue in federal court for their freedom.

Originating in English feudal law, the writ of *habeas corpus* did not begin as a tool for prisoners to gain their freedom but as a vehicle for the monarch to expand his power. The earliest writ of *habeas corpus* was simply a device—similar to a summons—for the king's courts to call prisoners before them. It served to consolidate the power of the royal courts over the various local courts with the aim of cohering a centralized absolutist state. Over time, this writ evolved into a vehicle for prisoners, particularly from the nobility, to protest their confinement. This right was strengthened under the Habeas Corpus Act passed in 1641 by the Long Parliament. The Long Parliament also abolished the hated Star Chamber—used by the king to persecute his opponents—and ushered in the Cromwellian revolution that briefly overthrew the monarchy.

In America, the contours of *habeas corpus* were dictated by the co-existence of two social systems, one based on slave labor and the other on so-called "free labor," the right to buy and sell labor power. The federal system of 1789 was a compromise between the Northern bourgeoisie and the Southern slavocracy, which both profited from the resulting creation of a national market and a standing army to put down popular unrest. The right of *habeas corpus* was lauded as the "Great Writ." But the intractable contradictions of a country which was "half slave, half free" made it unthinkable that state prisoners could be allowed to challenge their prosecution in the federal courts.

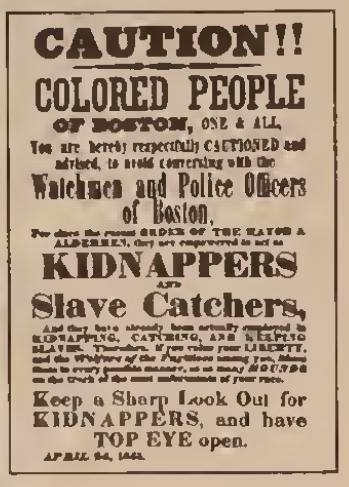
The single exception to this rule came during the "nullification" crisis of 1832-33. When South Carolina's slaveowners threatened to imprison federal tariff collectors, Congress passed a law allowing federal officials imprisoned by state governments to sue for release in the federal courts. That provision came into its own in the 1850s amid pitched battles over the hated Fugitive Slave Act, which required federal marshals in Northern states to hunt down escaped slaves and return them to their owners. In their heroic efforts to wrest escaped slaves from the hands of their captors, Northern abolitionists often broke them out of jail. In some cases, the abolitionists were aided by local justices of the peace, who would imprison the federal marshals. The marshals would then turn to the federal courts to get them out of county jails.

It took a bloody Civil War, in which 200,000 black troops helped tum the tide, to smash the Southern slave power. The system of federal government established in its aftermath was an expression of the unification of the nation on the basis of a capitalist economy. Within weeks of the ratification of the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery in December 1865, the chair of the House Judiciary Committee put forward a bill aimed at empowering the federal courts to enforce the new measure by extending the right of federal *habeas corpus* "to persons held in slavery or involuntary servitude contrary to the Constitution." The committee then approved a much broader bill, which was finally enacted in early 1867, granting the right to any state prisoner "restrained of his or her liberty in violation of the Constitution."

When Southern racists tried to use the new law in their attempts to sabotage the work of Reconstruction state governments, Senator Lyman Trumbull stressed in 1867 that it had been designed specifically "to protect loyal [Union] men in the rebel States from oppression under color of State laws administered by rebel officers; to protect especially those who had formerly been slaves, and who, under color of vagrant and apprentice laws in some of the States, were being reduced to a bondage more intolerable than that from which they had been recently delivered." Three years later, when North Carolina Reconstruction governor William Holden called out the state militia to suppress the counterrevolutionary terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan, Southern Democrats again appealed to the federal courts to secure the release of imprisoned Klansmen. It was to stop such attempts to subvert Reconstruction that Congress passed the Ku Klux Klan Act in 1871, allowing President Grant to suspend *habeas corpus* in the fight against the KKK.

The Compromise of 1877, which pulled the last federal troops out of the South, sealed the defeat of Reconstruction and gave free rein to Klan terror (see "The Shaping of Racist American Capitalism," *WV* No. 701, 20 November). In the following years, the U.S. Supreme Court drastically scaled back federal *habeas corpus*. In the 1880s and 1890s, the Court created the "exhaustion of state remedies" doctrine, requiring state prisoners to pursue all state court appeals before going to federal court. In 1915, the Supreme Court endorsed a Georgia high court ruling rejecting Jewish frame-up victim Leo Frank's appeal against his murder conviction, arguing that it had to accept the state court's claim that the lynch-mob trial had been fair. When the Georgia governor nevertheless commuted Frank's sentence, a racist mob broke into the jail and lynched him. The anti-Semitic murder of Leo Frank signaled the rebirth of the race-terrorist KKK.

Missouri Historical Society



In rejecting Dred Scott's suit to win freedom from slavery, Supreme Court ruled in 1857 that blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." 1851 Boston placard: abolitionists waged pitched battles to defend and free escaped slaves.

Legal Rights and Class Struggle

Particularly in the wake of the October Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling upholding every aspect of the racist frame-up which sent Jamal to death row in 1982, liberal supporters of Mumia's cause are placing all their hopes in the *habeas corpus* appeal soon to be filed in federal court. The federal court which will likely hear Mumia's *habeas* petition is the same court which recently sentenced his son, Jamal Hart, to more than 15 years in prison on trumped-up charges for fighting for his father's freedom.

While Jamal's attorneys pull every legal lever to win his freedom, we place no confidence in the "justice" of the capitalist courts and all confidence in the working masses, who uniquely have the class interest and social power to defeat this system of racist repression. The bourgeois judicial system is by nature premised on racial discrimination and class bias. Along with the cops, military and prison system, the courts are an integral part of the capitalist state, whose purpose is to defend the property and rule of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

The only rights to which the bourgeoisie is unalterably committed are those which enforce its property relations—the right to hold private property, to own the basic means of production, to employ wage labor, etc. There can also be under bourgeois democracy specifically proletarian rights—like the right to picket, to strike, to organize unions. Such rights are *wrested* from the bourgeoisie and

Chicago Tribune

UPI

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this ... responsible for ...

2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. [illegible] might have been such a "messiah;" he is the martyr of the movement today. [illegible] all aspire to this position.

... a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

1969 assassination of Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton by Chicago cops was part of FBI COINTELPRO terror operation to "neutralize" black radicals.

CORRECTIONS

In "Government Hands Off New York City D.C. 37" (*WV* No. 701, 20 November), we wrote that as head of AFSCME District Council 37 Stanley Hill "has run point for City Hall's massive cutbacks which have meant tens of thousands of layoffs and further devastation of the ghettos and barrios." In fact, tens of thousands of jobs were slashed largely through "attrition," with the collusion of Hill and other municipal union bureaucrats.

In a photo caption accompanying the article "Protest Racist Murder of Korean Leftist in Japan!" (*WV* No. 702, 4 December), we mistakenly described a 1994 protest as "against anti-Korean attacks." In fact, the protest was directed against Japanese imperialist military provocations against North Korea.

maintained only through the independent action of the proletariat. But even broader democratic rights (free speech and assembly, trial by a jury of one's peers, etc.) are secured under capitalism, especially for working people and the oppressed, through social struggle and are eminently reversible in the absence of such struggle.

It was only as a result of the civil rights movement beginning in the 1950s and the mass protests against the dirty, losing imperialist war in Vietnam that the right to *habeas corpus* gained a new lease on life and the death penalty was suspended for a brief period. In their struggle against segregationist Dixiecrat state and local governments in the South, civil rights activists looked to the federal courts. Intent on preventing black radicalization, the federal government enacted a number of measures dismantling formal Jim Crow segregation. At the same time, the FBI spied on even liberal civil rights leaders like Martin Luther King Jr., including with KKK "informants."

After the social protests and urban upheavals had died out, the bourgeoisie moved rapidly to again regiment the population. In 1976, the same Supreme Court which had four years earlier ruled that the death penalty was "wanton and freakish" in its application gave the executioners a green light to resume their barbaric work. The past two decades of reaction have seen a gutting of *habeas corpus*, going hand in hand with the criminalization of a generation of ghetto youth and the speedup on death row.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

What is clear from the entire history of American capitalism is the fear of black revolt shared by all wings of this deeply racist ruling class and the lengths to which it will go to suppress any radicalization of the black masses. This was evident in the notorious *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision of 1857. Arguing that the black man "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect," the U.S. Supreme Court rejected Dred Scott's suit to win his freedom when his slavemaster took him to a free state. In his ruling, Chief Justice Taney went on to warn against the repercussions of allowing blacks to become citizens:

> "It would give to persons of the negro race...the full liberty of speech in public and in private upon all subjects upon which its own citizens might speak; to hold public meetings upon political affairs, and to keep and carry arms wherever they went. And all of this would be done in the face of the subject race of the same color, both free and slaves, inevitably producing discontent and insubordination among them, and endangering the peace and safety of the State."

Eighty years after the *Dred Scott* ruling, during the Great Depression, the fear of black revolt was spelled out in nearly identical terms in the case of Georgia Communist Party organizer Angelo Herndon. In 1932, Herndon was charged with inciting insurrection on the grounds that he had boxes of Communist literature in his apartment. In its 1937 ruling on Herndon's federal *habeas* appeal, the Supreme Court majority of five found the Georgia statute under which he was convicted unconstitutionally vague. The four dissenting justices who argued that Herndon should remain in jail countered:

> "It should not be overlooked that Herndon was a negro member and organizer in the Communist Party and was engaged actively in inducing others, chiefly southern negroes, to become members of the party and participate in effecting its purposes and program. The literature placed in his hands by the party for that purpose was particularly adapted to appeal to negroes in that section, for it pictured their condition as an unhappy one resulting from asserted wrongs on the part of white landlords and employers, and sought by alluring statements of resulting advantages to induce them to join in an effort to carry into effect the measures which the literature proposed.... Proposing these measures was nothing short of advising a resort to force and violence, for all know that such measures could not be effected otherwise."

Thirty years later, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover expanded his infamous COINTELPRO (Counter-Intelligence Program) conspiracy—originally aimed at the Communist Party—to launch a murderous war to "neutralize" the Black Panther Party, killing 38 activists and imprisoning hundreds more. "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings," ranted Hoover, "they will be dead revolutionaries." One of those targeted by Hoover's hitmen was Mumia Abu-Jamal, then a young spokesman for the Philadelphia Black Panthers. At his 1982 sham of a trial, the prosecution secured Jamal's death sentence by harping on Mumia's Black Panther history and his radical views.

Only last summer, the New Jersey Supreme Court affirmed that revolutionary views can be a basis for imposing a death sentence. When Leslie Nelson was convicted of killing two police officers, the prosecutor argued that she deserved to die because she believed that the right to bear arms was "sacrosanct" and liked to quote Thomas Jefferson about the need for revolution. In overturning Nelson's death sentence, the state Supreme Court explained that her views were only "abstract beliefs" and "the State never established that defendant was actually a revolutionary." But the Court agreed that Nelson would be eligible for the death penalty if the prosecution could show she *were* "actually a revolutionary" who "desired or advocated violent attacks on government."

This ominous ruling harks back to the "sedition" and "advocacy" thought-crime laws which provided the legal basis for the witchhunt against leftist and immigrant workers following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and during the Cold War red purge of the late 1940s and '50s. The latter was carried out under the aegis of the 1940 Smith Act—targeting those who supposedly advocated the "violent overthrow" of the U.S. government—which was first used to imprison 18 Trotskyist leaders for their internationalist opposition to U.S. imperialism in World War II.

The fight to win Mumia's freedom and abolish the racist death penalty is part of the struggle for black equality in America. The Civil War which smashed chattel slavery was the second American bourgeois revolution. But the promise of black freedom was betrayed by the Northern capitalists. Today, the oppression of blacks as a race-color caste segregated at the bottom of American society remains a cornerstone of the system of capitalist wage slavery. The struggle for black liberation is a driving force in the fight against racist American capitalism.

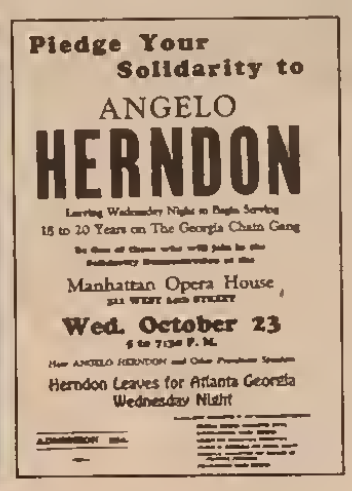
To carry that fight forward to victory requires breaking workers and minorities from the partner parties of capitalism, Democrats and Republicans alike. Complete social and political equality can only be realized through a third American revolution—a proletarian revolution which creates an egalitarian socialist society in which those who labor rule. As a strategic component of the multiracial proletariat, black workers will play a crucial role in that revolution. As we wrote in "Death Row Speedup Targets Minorities" (*WV* No. 694, 31 July, reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15):

> "Karl Marx captured a fundamental truth of American society when he wrote at the time of the Civil War: 'Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded.' The color bar remains a fundamental dividing line in American society, key to obscuring the irreconcilable *class* conflict between capital and labor. The Spartacist League fights to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party, a Leninist tribune of the people. That is the key to sweeping away this system based on exploitation and oppression and putting a final halt to the grisly workings of capitalism's machinery of death."■

AP

November conference on death penalty at Chicago's Northwestern University Law School featured 30 people who had been released from death row after proving their innocence.

Arno Press



Georgia Communist organizer Angelo Herndon, arrested in 1932 on charge of inciting insurrection, was freed by U.S. Supreme Court after mass protests.

Bettmann Archive

Freed slaves voting in New Orleans after Civil War. Reconstruction was most democratic period in American history.

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Racist Backlash in British Columbia

Canada: Labor Must Defend Rights of Native Peoples!

The following is reprinted from Spartacist Canada *No. 118 (Fall 1998), newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

SPARTACIST CANADA

VANCOUVER—The treaty signed by representatives of the Nisga'a people of northern British Columbia and the federal and provincial governments in early August has been met with an outpouring of anti-Native bigotry, spearheaded by the anti-labor demagogue Gordon Campbell, leader of the provincial Liherals. Campbell rails against supposed "special rights and powers" for aboriginal people, threatening legal action to force a province-wide referendum in order to block the treaty.

Opposition to the Nisga'a treaty is the cutting edge of racist reaction on the West Coast today. Union-busting former Social Credit premier Bill Vander Zalm, now leader of the B.C. Reform Party, howls that the deal, which gives the Nisga'a a measure of control over fishing, will leave white fishermen "standing on the shore, not allowed to fish" and unable to feed their families (*Vancouver Sun*, 12 August). In B.C. today, where capitalist plunder of the sea and rivers has produced a disastrous decline in fish stocks, Vander Zalm's populist ravings are an open incitement to violence. Already in July 1995, in an appalling incident of murderous racism, three Native-owned fishing boats in Port Alberni were contaminated with mereury.

Campbell and Vander Zalm are vying to replace New Democratic Party (NDP) premier Glen Clark as the overseer of capitalist exploitation in B.C. Their ravings against "privileges" for Native people are sure to please forestry giants like Macmillan-Bloedel and fisheries companies like B.C. Packers, whose depredations have decimated the province's core resource industries. But these right-wing capitalist politicians are not alone in pushing anti-Native bigotry. While the ruling NDP social democrats have openly attacked aboriginal struggles, their allies in the trade-union hureaucracy have joined in the racist scapegoating of Native people for the loss of johs in the fishery and other resource industries. This is *poison* to effective working-class struggle against the all-sided attacks of the capitalist rulers.

We call on B.C.'s organized working class to come to the defense of Native people against the current racist hack-lash. Only hy taking up the cause of *all* the oppressed can the multiracial working class forge the fighting unity needed to beat back the capitalist onslaught against jobs and social programs. In B.C. as elsewhere, the aboriginal peoples are by far the most downtrodden section of society. Across the country, the Native poverty rate is 44 percent (60 percent for children). Youth unemployment is 85 percent in some communities. Illiteracy is twice as high as in the rest of the population, while AIDS, tuberculosis and other diseases of poverty are reaching epidemic proportions among aboriginal people. Labor must defend Native rights!

Lindsay/Vancouver Sun

Willer/Maclean's

British Columbia NDP premier Glen Clark (above left) and Nisga'a chief Joseph Gosnell. Native peoples suffer vicious racist repression and nearly half live below poverty line.

NDP premier Clark claims the Nisga'a deal is about "righting historic wrongs." But the New Democrats' approval of this treaty, with its limited concessions to aboriginal rights, was hardly based on a sense of historic justice. Last year's federal Supreme Court "Delgamuukw ruling" affirmed the right to aboriginal title to land and natural resources in areas where no treaties were signed, including the vast majority of B.C. The big logging and mining companies have heen threatening massive cutbacks unless the land claims issue is resolved. The NDP wants to reassure the profit-bloated mining and forestry magnates that their "right" to exploit the working class will not bc hampered by unresolved land claims. Thus Clark boasted that the Nisga'a treaty, which sets the stage for negotiations involving about 50 other Native peoples in the province, would "send a strong signal to the world that our province is open for investment."

Far from defending Native rights, the New Democrats have not hesitated to unleash vicious state repression against aboriginal protest. In 1995, the NDP government ordered an enormous combined Royal Canadian Mounted Police/army military operation against a small group of Native people and their supporters at Gustafsen Lake in the Cariboo. Ahoriginal people around the province were harassed, searched and detained without cause. The NDP later railroaded the Gustafsen Lake protesters through a frame-up trial, jailing protest leader William "Wolverine" Ignace. Free William Ignace!

Only Socialist Revolution Can End Native Oppression

Ahout 2,000 Nisga'a live in four small communities in the Nass Valley, where a large majority are unemployed. Another 3,000 live elsewhere in B.C. or across the horder in Alaska. Under the treaty, the Nisga'a will get title to about 2,000 square kilometers of land (approximately 10 percent of their original land claim), governmental powers similar to those of municipalities, $190 million in treaty-settlement payments spread over a number of years, and additional funding to develop infrastructure and social services.

The Nisga'a will receive a guaranteed share of the fishing catch and, eventually, control over all forestry resources on their lands. The racist Indian Act will no longer apply, the reserves will be abolished and Nisga'a will he legally able to own property in their own villages for the first time since 1871. In return, the Nisga'a agree to surrender all future claims for land and resources. Some Nisga'a have denounced the treaty for surrendering too much of their land; meanwhile another Native group, the Gitanyow, has opposed it on the basis that it includes a majority of their own claimed territory.

An editorial in the *New York Times* (15 August) praised the deal as "Canada's Noble Gift" to aboriginal people, comparing it to the treaties signed with conquered American Indian tribes in the late 18th and the 19th centuries. If anything, the degree of self-government now on offer to the Nisga'a is rather less than what many American Native peoples, for example the Navajo, already have. But *any* treaty arrangement between the rich, racist capitalist rulers and the deeply impoverished aboriginal peoples is necessarily based on a wildly unequal halance of forces. There can he no solution to the oppression of Native people short of socialist revolution.

At the same time, we demand that whatever rights Native peoples have heen ahle to maintain or wrest from capitalist governments, whether through treaty agreements or otherwise, be respected. In particular, we defend whatever measure of political autonomy ahoriginal peoples with a land base, like the Nisga'a, are able to secure—including the right to govern their land and control its resources. Where land claims run up against socially useful developments like railways, the Native peoples should receive generous compensation for deprivation of land or disruption of activity, based on completely consensual agreement.

Only a workers government can guarantee these conditions. The destruction of capitalism will provide a real future for the aboriginal peoples, both those living in the cities and those in their traditional territories. A workers state would take special measures to ensure voluntary integration on the basis of full equality for those aboriginal peoples who desire it, and the fullest possible regional autonomy for those who do not. The multiracial working class must forthrightly defend Native rights as an integral part of the fight to sweep away the entire brutal and violent capitalist system.

Native Rights and the Quebec National Question

Clark boasted that the Nisga'a treaty "begins the healing that will bring us all into the 21st century a stronger, prouder and more united country." The New Democrats have long been prominent in the chauvinist "national unity" crusade of the Canadian ruling class against Quebec independence. Indeed,

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the current pretense of the B.C. NDP and the Liberal government in Ottawa to uphold Native rights is intimately connected to their opposition to the national rights of Quebec.

In 1990, Ottawa dispatched thousands of combat-ready soldiers against Mohawks seeking to defend their historical burial ground at Oka, Quebec from redevelopment as a private golf course. Meanwhile racist mobs in the Montreal suburbs rioted for Mohawk blood, shouting "Quebec for the Québécois" as they hung Natives in effigy. In forcibly suppressing the Mohawks, Ottawa showed once again that it is a sworn enemy of Native people. But since the Oka crisis, the federal government has increasingly sought to "play the Native card" against Quebec nationalism.

With the vast majority of the Cree and Inuit of Northern Quebec hostile to Quebec independence, Ottawa has tried to portray itself as an "ally" of Native people against Quebec. Its promises of Native self-government, in Quebec and elsewhere, are transparently hypocritical: in most cases they are a cover for "transforming" the reserves into apartheid-style "self-governed" bantustans. However, Ottawa's strategy of "dividing and ruling" over the oppressed has an impact, and several Native leaders in Quebec have called for Canadian army intervention in the event of Quebec secession, something which we would adamantly oppose.

We Trotskyists advocate independence for Quebec, because we recognize that the forcible retention of this oppressed nation in the Anglo-dominated Canadian state has deeply undermined the consciousness and the struggles of the working class in both English Canada and Quebec. At the same time, we assert the right of the Native peoples of Northern Quebec to determine their own fate. But in addressing the concrete "choice" between being part of an independent Quebec or remaining in a rump Canada, our main point of departure is that within the framework of racist capitalism, this simply means the right of the aboriginal populations to determine by whom they will be oppressed and brutalized. Only an egalitarian-socialist society under workers rule will be able to redress three centuries of abuse and degradation of the Native peoples.

Sygma

Montreal Gazette

Canadian government sent thousands of troops to Oka, Quebec to suppress Mohawk struggle, 1990.

Colonialism, Capitalism and the Nisga'a

The spread of European settler-colonial capitalism across the Americas dispossessed the existing inhabitants, destroyed their way of life and segregated most of the remaining aboriginal societies in barren and unproductive reserves. Isolated on the remote northwest coast, where they largely lived off the abundant salmon fishery, the Nisga'a for a time resisted more successfully than most.

In fact, the first Hudson Bay Company traders into the Nass Valley in the 1830s found Nisga'a living in "two-storey wooden houses the equal of any in Europe." The Nisga'a added European goods to the commodities that moved along their existing trade routes with other coastal aboriginal peoples. Yet when the colony of British Columbia was established in 1858, the Imperial statute referred to the territory as "wild and unoccupied." In 1887, when the Nisga'a first travelled to Victoria to push for land claims, they were dismissed by Premier William Smithe with the insult, "When the whites first came among you, you were little better than the wild beasts of the field."

A perceptive 8 August article by Toronto *Globe and Mail* correspondent Terry Glavin describes how the Nisga'a initially adapted to the encroachments of resource-based industrial capitalism:

> "There were once nine cannery towns around the mouth of the Nass River, where several generations of Nisga'a fished and laboured alongside European, Japanese and Chinese workers. The first labour strikes in north coast history, in 1896 and 1897, were led by Nisga'a protesting against poor wages and working conditions....
>
> "When Indian reserve surveyors came into the Nass Valley, the Nisga'a pulled up their stakes and threw them into the trees, and sent letters to Victoria reminding politicians there of the king's promises. When the first white settlers arrived, the Nisga'a charged them rent for the land they used. The settlers paid."

Ultimately, though, the Nisga'a were beaten down by Canadian capitalism's vicious anti-Native racism. Glavin continues:

> "Then came the residential schools, and then the logging companies, which took millions of board feet of timber from the mountains surrounding the Nisga'a villages. The mining companies left with 68 million grams of gold, two billion grams of silver, 13.6 million kilograms of zinc and 389 million kilograms of copper.
>
> "Then the salmon canneries closed."

In order to maintain their rule, the capitalists constantly exploit national, ethnic and racial divisions among working people and the oppressed. Thus the early attempts at joint struggle by white, Native and Asian workers in B.C. were undermined and destroyed by the capitalist ruling class, and first aboriginal and then Asian workers were largely driven out of industry. In this the capitalists had inestimable assistance from the racist union misleaders, who refused to organize Native and Asian workers and called for their exclusion from the workforce. In 1900, for example, the union tops whipped up a mob to attack a 2,000-strong demonstration by Japanese workers in Vancouver in solidarity with a joint strike of Japanese and white fishermen. Under the pretext of preventing a race riot, the government declared martial law and broke the strike.

Today as well, the union bureaucracy, joined at the hip to the ruling New Democrats, has actively fueled racism against Native people and other minorities. A case in point is the longstanding conflict between the fishermen's union (UFAWU-CAW) and aboriginal fishermen over out-of-season fishing rights. Five years ago, UFAWU leaders helped found the "Fisheries Survival Coalition," set up to protest the small commercial Native fishery. This Coalition, in which the federal Reform Party is very active, has since organized a series of racist protests against the "preference" given to Native fishermen. Thus, rather than waging a serious campaign to organize Native fishermen into a joint union of all fisheries workers, the union bureaucrats have helped to foment the worst kind of racist backwardness. This serves to undermine any prospect of successful class struggle against the avaricious bosses and governments whose drive for profits depleted the fish stocks in the first place.

For Socialist Revolution!

Today, the B.C. proletariat has become decisively multiracial, including tens of thousands of Asian workers and also a small Native component. Once again, the same capitalist ruling class which has destroyed the jobs and livelihoods of hundreds of thousands seeks to point the finger of blame at Native people, immigrants and workers abroad. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste fights to build a revolutionary party which will champion the cause of the oppressed, making the workers conscious of their historic task of overthrowing the entire capitalist system. Such a party can only be forged in sharp political combat against all the purveyors of racism and chauvinism and other tools of the ruling class to divide and divert working-class struggle, exposing and breaking the hold of the pro-capitalist New Democrats and union misleaders.

This perspective stands in sharp contrast to that of the misnamed Communist League (CL). The 24 August issue of the CL's *Militant* carries two articles on the Nisga'a treaty which are carefully restricted to calls to fight the racist backlash and completely *silent* on the role of the NDP. For their part, the International Socialists (I.S.) wail in the 22 July *Socialist Worker* that "we should...demand that Clark and the NDP offer real, not just token self-government to natives in the province, and that they repudiate the use of force against natives on the lines of Gustafsen Lake." As if Native people could get "real" self-government under capitalism, or the supremely violent bourgeois state could possibly renounce the "use of force"! The I.S. fosters illusions that the capitalist NDP government can be pressured into becoming an instrument acting on behalf of the oppressed. But so long as the labor movement is shackled to the bosses through the vehicle of the NDP, it cannot turn back the capitalist assaults on workers' and Native and other minority rights.

Various pseudo-socialists also tail illusions pushed by some Native spokesmen that a return to "traditional culture" can provide an escape from the horrors caused by capitalism. We reject this idealization of "traditional culture," which amounts to a patronizing glorification of backwardness. The chains of "tradition" bind Native women with particular severity. To cite one example, in May 1992 in the Nass Valley town of New Aiyansh, a local doctor colluded with Native elders to prevent a 16-year-old Nisga'a woman from getting an abortion. In the name of *hawatlkw*, an unwritten code which, it is claimed, enshrines traditional cultural relations among the Nisga'a, a Native elder declared, "There was no way she will have this abortion." This interference in a young girl's personal life on the basis of "traditional culture" was vicious and reactionary, and should have been opposed by all who champion the cause of the oppressed.

Labor must come to the defense of Native peoples as an integral part of its own struggle to throw off the chains of capitalist wage slavery. As we wrote six years ago, in an article entitled "Torture of Native Women in NWT" (*Spartacist Canada* No. 89, Fall 1992):

> "We fight to build a vanguard party to lead the proletarian revolution that will finally put an end to the system of private property and capitalist exploitation. Such a party will be, in V.I. Lenin's words, a tribune of the people, targeting every injustice and cruelty that capitalism creates. It will fight for women's liberation, possible only with the revolutionary transformation of society and the emancipation of women from slavery in the institution of the family. The inauguration of the era of socialist development can ensure the all-sided voluntary integration of Native people into society on the basis of the fullest equality and will meet the special needs created by well over a century of injustice and oppression."■

Reuters

Québécois nationalists protest last winter. Against Anglo-chauvinist Canadian government, Trotskyist League demands independence for Quebec, asserts right of Native peoples in Northern Quebec to determine own fate.

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

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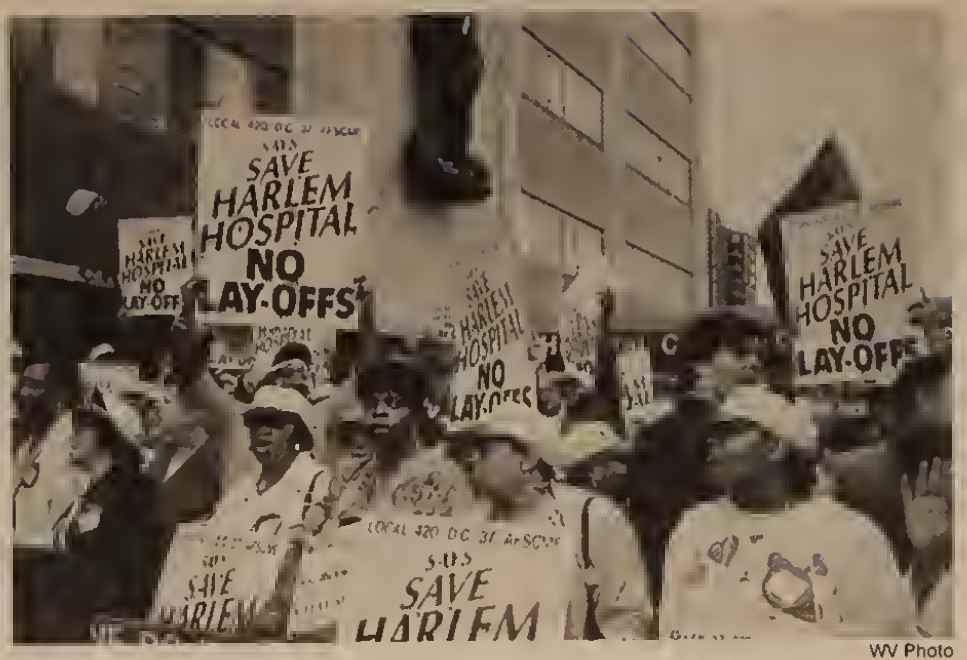
AFSCME...

(continued from page 1)

installed as president under the aegis of the feds, and even expelled him from the union. Carey's newly elected replacement, "old guard" spokesman James Hoffa Jr., likewise used the capitalist government as a battering ram against his opponents in the union. In New York, the union-busting campaign against D.C. 37 escalated sharply in the wake of a militant demonstration and one-day strike by 40,000 construction workers this summer.

The sordid actions by all wings of the AFSCME bureaucracy underscore the burning need for a political fight within the unions to create a *closs-struggle leadership*. With its program of class collaboration, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy serves as the primary agency for subordinating the proletariat to the class enemy. While Hill and his cronies served as flunkeys for Republican mayor Giuliani, the AFSCME International bureaucracy is an enthusiastic booster of Clinton's Democrats, which is no less a party of big business than the Republicans, and trumpets its efforts to "organize" strikebreaking cops and racist prison guards. The armed thugs of the capitalist state have no place in the labor movement. *Cops and prison guards out of the unions!*



WV Photo

AFSCME Local 420 hospital workers in April protest against layoffs.

Erwitt/Daily News

Former D.C. 37 chief Stanley Hill endorsing Mayor Giuliani's 1997 re-election bid.

Cynical hype about "cleaning up" D.C. 37 notwithstanding, the government's real aim is to destroy the union's ability to defend its members against layoffs, speedup and wage-gouging and to intimidate all of NYC labor. Intervention by the bourgeois state is directly counterposed to the fight for union democracy. *Labor must cleon its own house!* The unions were built in struggle against the bosses. For the unions to be instruments of class struggle and not auxiliary instruments for disciplining the proletariat, the precondition is the *complete independence of the labor movement from the capitalist stote and the capitolist political porties.*

Down With Slave-Labor "Workfare"—Organize the Unorganized!

It didn't take a government investigation to know that Hill has been in Giuliani's hip pocket since the racist Republican was elected mayor. The 1996 contract shoved through in the rigged ratification vote was and remains the cornerstone of Giuliani's union-busting, slave-labor "workfare" program, which has forced welfare recipients to fill in for more than 20,000 unionized workers whose jobs were slashed from the payroll. The two-year wage freeze the contract imposed on D.C. 37's 120,000 members was held up as a model for attacks on other city workers.

In his fealty to City Hall, Hill followed in the tradition of his predecessor, Victor Gotbaum, who worked hand in glove with a whole series of Republican and Democratic Party mayors as they slashed city jobs and social services, particularly during the "Big MAC" austerity attacks in the mid-1970s. Hill got his start as a union bureaucrat under Gotbaum's patronage when he was elected to head a welfare workers local in 1970 amid an earlier wave of cutbacks. Among Hill's boosters at the time were a number of self-styled "socialists," notably including the Workers League (now Socialist Equality Party), which supported Hill for Local 371 president in both the 1970 and 1972 elections (see "'Left-Center' Betrayal in Welfare Union," *WV* No. 9, June 1972).

More recently, Hill has had the support of another fake-socialist outfit, the reformist Workers World Party (WWP). WWP's initial tepid criticisin of the 1996 contract sellout rapidly gave way to gushing praise for Hill after it launched its "Workfairness" group. Supposedly aimed at campaigning for labor rights for those press-ganged into "workfare," "Workfairness" was in fact a cover for the bureaucracy's refusal to organize these laborers as full union members. Now a piece in the *Village Voice* (1 December) lauding the CRC "reformers" and red-baiting D.C. 37 members like Mike Gimbel associated with *Workers World* raises the charge that Hill "was funding three positions" in "Workfairness." We don't know the truth of this accusation. But we do know that WWP was politically tied to Hill. *Workers World* (27 February 1997) hailed Hill's cynical talk of organizing "workfare" recipients as a "major turnaround," while a "Workfairness" spokesman enthused that it was an "important step forward."

Hill's cynical scheme amounted to nothing more than "organizing" these desperately downtrodden slave laborers into a sham union auxiliary. What is needed is a class-struggle fight, rallying the ghetto and barrio masses behind the social power of the multiracial labor movement, to *orgonize the unorgonized* as full union members with *equal pay for equal work* and *full union benefits and protection*. This must be linked to a fight for *jobs for oll* through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. Reversing the growing immiseration of the proletariat necessarily poses a struggle, based on a program of such transitional demands, against the entire capitalist system. As we wrote in "Labor Must Fight Racist, Union-Busting 'Workfare'!" (*WV* No. 666, 18 April 1997):

> "As revolutionary Marxists, we fight against the destruction of welfare and other social programs benefiting the working class and the poor. But our goal is not to reintroduce programs that were designed to simply sustain the unemployed poor in permanent poverty. Ours is the fight for a proletarian socialist revolution and the establishment of an egalitarian, planned economy where everyone will have a place in social and economic life."

Government Finks and Phony Socialists

Rallying to the defense of its former allies in the D.C. 37 bureaucracy, WWP declaims how dangerous it is "to turn to the government and prosecutors to 'clean up' a union" (*Workers World*, 10 December). But just as they tail the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats, these reformists have long pushed class collaboration themselves, promoting imperialist "antiwar" spokesmen like 1960s Democratic Party attorney general Ramsay Clark and generally fostering illusions that the capitalist Democrats can be pressured to act in the interests of workers and the oppressed. In 1984, WWP openly supported black Democrat Jesse Jackson's presidential bid, cheering, "Make Way for the 'Jesse Express'!" (*Workers World*, 8 March 1984).

Meanwhile, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) has joined the union-hating bourgeois press in lauding the CRC "reform group," headlining one article, "Reform Victories Rattle Corrupt New York AFSCME Leadership" (*Socialist Worker*, 25 September), and more recently crowing "Dissidents Organize" (4 December). *Socialist Worker*'s coverage of D.C. 37 says literally not one word about the burgeoning government assault. This gives the lie to the ISO's recent lip service to the evils of state intervention following the feds' attack on Ron Carey. The ISO backed Carey through two government-controlled union elections. Its predecessor, the International Socialists, was instrumental in setting up the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), which literally wrote the blueprint for the Justice Department plan to "reorganize" the Teamsters and helped catapult Carey into the union presidency. The ISO continues to serve as press agent for the TDU to this day.

Braintrusting the TDU, CRC and similar pro-government union "oppositions" is the Association for Union Democracy (AUD). The AUD's leading lights have included Democratic Party power-broker Joseph Rauh and Cold War social democrats like Herman Benson and the late Victor Reuther. The CRC was formed following an AUD conference last June on "Strengthening Democracy in DC 37," and the AUD has sponsored such union "reformers" going all the way back to the 1970s, from the Labor Department's Arnold Miller in the United Mine Workers and James Morrissey in the National Maritime Union to Ed Sadlowski in the United Steelworkers.

Like the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy it tails, the ISO promotes the lie that the capitalist state is "neutral." Not surprisingly, the ISO is completely uncritical of the AFSCME tops' recruitment of cops and prison guards into the union. The ISO and its cothinkers in Britain and Canada have even supported the "struggles" of these armed thugs of the bourgeoisie, claiming that when the cops "rebel collectively" they can be allies of the working class (see "ISO: Looking for a Few Good Cops," *WV* No. 664, 21 March 1997). The cops, courts and prison system are the core of the capitalist state, which is an instrument of class repression against the proletariat. The bourgeois state cannot be reformed to serve the interests of workers and the oppressed but must be *smashed* through a socialist revolution and replaced by a workers state.

It's been more than 25 years since D.C. 37 last went on strike. But city workers can win strikes, as was dramatically shown by a 1965 welfare workers strike and the 1966 transit strike. The Taylor Law, imposing draconian fines on public employees unions which engage in strike action, was enacted just after those walkouts. Since then, the D.C. 37 tops have used the lie that you can't strike in defiance of the anti-labor Taylor Law to justify their class-collaborationist betrayals, which have now endangered the very existence of the union. As we wrote in "Government Hands Off New York City D.C. 37" (*WV* No. 701, 20 November):

> "Key to unchaining labor's power is to imbue workers with the understanding that the capitalist state is the deadly enemy of the unions, of blacks and all minorities. The necessary instrument to sow that consciousness is a revolutionary workers party, forged through political struggle against capitalism's 'labor lieutenants' and their 'socialist' mouthpieces."■

TWU...

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against the whole capitalist system.

The New Directions "opposition," which controls nearly half the seats on the Local 100 executive board, shares the James bureaucracy's pro-capitalist politics. Its stock in trade is to use the capitalist courts against its opponents in the union leadership. In 1990, New Directions hailed a "strike" by Rikers Island prison guards. And a recent article in its *Hell on Wheels* newsletter (August/September 1998) reporting the attack on a safety officer by a supervisor did not even call for expelling the foremen from the union! Neither the James team nor New Directions has lifted a finger to fight the racism and anti-woman and anti-immigrant bigotry which is used by TA management to divide the workforce.

Repeated betrayals by both wings of the TWU bureaucracy, who push the lie that the workers have common interests with their exploiters, serve to foster cynicism among the workforce. Instead of seeing the union as an instrument for struggle to better their conditions, many workers actually buy into the notion that becoming foremen is the way to get ahead. Over the years, various reformist and nationalist opposition groups in the unions have promoted the call for more black foremen. Like the call for more black cops, this fosters the illusion that the paid agents of racist capitalism can be allies of the workers.

With the ability to bring the financial capital of U.S. imperialism to a screeching halt, transit workers are a potential powerhouse of NYC labor and could play a key role in the working-class struggle necessary to reverse the bourgeoisie's attacks on living standards, health care and social programs. This would be a pole for mobilizing the city's black and Hispanic population, who are ready allies of labor in this city of stark oppression and racist cop terror. To carry out such a fight would require defying the anti-union Taylor Law, strikebreaking court injunctions and the cops deployed to enforce them.

The key question is working-class leadership. There must be a political fight inside the labor movement against its misleaders, whose reliance on capitalist politicians and collusion with management is a recipe for defeat. To mobilize labor's social power, not only in its own interests but on behalf of all the oppressed, requires the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party committed to ending racist capitalist rule through socialist revolution.■

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***Workers Vanguard* skips a week in December.**

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WORKERS VANGUARD

1998 SUBJECT INDEX

Issue No. 681 (2 January) through No. 703 (25 December)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1998, from issue No. 681 (2 January) through end-of-the-year issue No. 703 (25 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August and one week in December.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  U.S./NATO Hands Off Serbia, Kosovo!, #699, 23 Oct. (12, 9)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 699 dated 23 October 1998, beginning on page 12 and continuing on page 9.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semicolon. Thus:

  Sex Witchhunt—See **Homosexual Rights; U.S.: General.**

  means that articles about the anti-sex witchhunt can be found by going to the subject head **HOMOSEXUAL RIGHTS** and by going to the subject head **UNITED STATES** and looking under the subcategory **General.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person. Foreign political organizations are generally listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names. This year, articles on the various groups associated with Workers Power in Britain are listed under **LEAGUE FOR A REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL**, while articles on the various groups associated with the Socialist Workers Party in Britain (e.g., the International Socialist Organization in the U.S.) are listed under **CLIFFITES.**
- Articles relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Articles which deal centrally with U.S. foreign policy and threats or acts of war involving the U.S. will be found under **U.S.: International Relations.**
- The periodic columns by death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal are listed under the subject heading **ABU-JAMAL** in the subcategory **Message from Death Row**; articles on his case and the campaign to free him are in the subcategory **Defense Campaign.**
- Beginning with this volume, articles contained in the PDC's regular column, Class-Struggle Defense Notes, will no longer be listed under **PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE: CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES** but will be listed under the subject heading to which the individual articles pertain with the notation "(CSDN)" after the headline of the entry. In addition, when articles are reprinted from the press of other sections of the International Communist League, the name of the press will appear in parentheses following the headline of the entry.
- Abbreviations used in entries are:
  - C: Correction
  - CSDN: Class-Struggle Defense Notes article
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